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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

Edited by
GEORGE HARVEY

Ninety-eighth year | JANUARY, 1913 | Vol. 197: No. 1

What is Socialism?—I. . . . . A. MAURICE LOW
Some Problem[illegible]ship . WALTER S. ALLEN
Cabinet Offic[illegible] . PERRY BELMONT
The Canal Diploma[illegible], LEOPOLD GRAHAME
A Concerted Movement of the [illegible]ailways . . . LOGAN G. McPHERSON
Our Policy in Nicaragua . . . A FRIEND OF JUSTICE
Trust Regulation—I. . . . . ALBERT FINK
St. John Hankin's Comedies . . . . . P. P. HOWE
The Bergson Method Confirmed . . . J. W. T. MASON
What is Life on Mars Like? . . . . EDMUND FERRIER
Europe and the War . . . . . SYDNEY BROOKS
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The North American Review Publishing Co., New York
London: Wm. Heinemann, 21, Bedford St., W. C.

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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO., Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

GEORGE HARVEY, President, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

A. D. CHANDLER, Secretary, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

HERBERT E. BOWEN, Treasurer, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter August 17, 1906, at the Post-Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.

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VOL. CXCVII.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

NO. DCLXXXVI

JANUARY, 1913

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

BY A. MAURICE LOW

I

WHAT is Socialism? What are its aims? What does it seek to accomplish? What are its articles of faith? Why has it taken such tremendous hold on the educated as well as the ignorant that it threatens the destruction of society? If Socialism succeeds and Socialists come to be in the majority, will the world be happier, better, more virtuous; will life be made easier? These are some of the questions I have asked myself, after a careful study of the writings of the leading authorities on Socialism, which I shall endeavor to answer through the pages of this REVIEW.

What is Socialism? Here at the very threshold of the inquiry one runs, not against a closed door, but a door that swings both ways and leads to more than one passage. It must first be determined whether the speech or writings of a man calling himself a Socialist are those of an evolutionary or a revolutionary Socialist, for although both have the same end in view they reach it by different means. Such men as H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, to mention only a few of the most distinguished in England, and Victor Berger, John Spargo, and Robert Hunter in this country, are evolutionary Socialists; while Keir Hardie, Tom Mann (who was recently sentenced to prison for six months for

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trying to corrupt the British army), and Victor Grayson there, like Eugene V. Debs, W. D. Haywood, and the McNamara brothers here, are revolutionary Socialists. What is the difference in their methods and aims? In what do they agree? What is the common object for which they are striving, even though their policy may be different?

Before entering on an examination of these questions it is not out of place to say that the opponents of Socialism have too often approached the subject in a wrong spirit. They have been persuaded to regard Socialism as a disease and Socialists as vicious or ignorant persons laboring under a temporary obsession who needed only to be sternly scolded to be made to see their stupidity; or if they were not stupid, but simply criminal, then they must be treated like other malefactors and punished for trying to overturn an accepted law of society. Or they have regarded Socialism as something not to be taken seriously and not to be met with serious argument, but to be ridiculed or denounced, forgetting that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church and that in our day ridicule and denunciation have taken the place of the fagot and the rack. Or they have complacently dismissed Socialism as a dream, theoretically admirable, but practically impossible; and as this is an intensely practical age, the Socialist, they say, will outgrow his folly just as the child does who in infancy longed for the moon and forgets when given a new toy, for it is only idealists who pursue with one-ideaed persistence the unattainable. Finally, against Socialism are turned the guns of the Church and morality; Socialism is pronounced destructive to religion and subversive of morality; logically, therefore, a Socialist must be irreligious and unmoral; an enemy of society to be treated as a social pariah.

In every movement in which men are earnestly engaged, which they regard as vital for the good of mankind, which they honestly believe is for the advancement of society, the happiness of humanity, or the welfare of the individual, there are always to be found at least some elements of truth even if the cause is wrong and the zeal of the missionaries outruns their judgment and fanaticism engulfs charity. No really great cause can succeed without its fanatics, who are always the pioneers to prepare the way for a more refined civilization. Both Socialists and anti-Socialists are wrong, not entirely, but in part, because they are unable to see that

there may be a measure of truth in what the other claims. Both Socialists and anti-Socialists are right, not entirely, but in part, because each sees the weakness of the other's position and yet is unable to see that what now seems to be hopelessly irreconcilable is capable of reconciliation if justice and charity are substituted for the fagot and the rack.

Socialism is to be regarded neither as a disease—unless we look upon all ignorance as a sign of intellectual weakness—nor as the vagary of disordered minds. It is something far deeper than that. It has taken too firm a hold to be destroyed by a phrase. It would be an insult to intelligence, to the intelligence of the writer no less than to that of the reader, to attempt to dispose of such men as Wells and Shaw and Webb, and the thousands of others less well known, but almost their equal mentally, by branding them stupid or unintellectual, incapable of thinking for themselves, insincere, deluded, or dishonest. There may be, as there doubtless are, stupid or base or selfish Socialists, just as there are unworthy protectionists or free-traders, homeopaths or allopaths, lawyers, and clergymen, for man is the sum total of his temptations and environment and training; but human nature is as little influenced by the individual's economic belief as it is by the color of his coat. Even the most violent anti-Socialist, if a protectionist, would resent the imputation flung at him by the free-trader that all protectionists are fools or knaves and usually a combination of both. Let us, therefore, dismiss the idea that for a man to avow a belief in Socialism is to confess stupidity or dishonesty. It will make the problem easier if we stop calling names and concede to our opponents the same virtues we modestly claim for ourselves.

Nor is it judicious to look upon Socialism as a phase of evolution, of serious consequence for the moment but without permanent results. The wisest and most ignorant cannot be brought under the same influences without character being modified. A belief in Socialism permeates all classes, all ranks of society, all countries. Great thinkers and the unlettered peasant are its disciples. It is the one thing to destroy nationalism and to break down the barriers of creed and race, to merge class, to bring about that dreamed-of dream of the visionary, the reduction of society to a common level, which would result in dull mediocrity, stifle incentive, destroy initiative, and set back the progress of the

world. Socialism is a plant that thrives luxuriantly in all soils. It throws out its roots in the workshop, the factory, the mine, the college; it loses few adherents and gains many recruits. There are more Socialists to-day than there were last year, many more than there were ten years ago. And every year they become not less, but more sincere in their convictions, more firmly convinced of the justice of their cause, greater in their faith that ultimately they will prevail. The anti-Socialist who thinks the Socialist is not to be taken seriously is as wise as Pliny, who showed his philosophy in the face of the eruption of Vesuvius and perished for his temerity. Philosophy is a very valuable quality, but common sense is even more valuable at times.

Socialism is a dream, but its believers are not dreamers. We who see in it the realization of the impossible may be justified in calling them visionaries, but to the very practical men who are the rank and file of Socialism there is nothing about it that to them seems impractical. It is no closet philosophy, and its high priests are not mystics. The man who thinks and works with his hands has neither time nor inclination to indulge in vague speculations. He is a materialist through the association of ideas, for under his hands the material shapes itself, but the spiritual has no place. To the miner working in the bowels of the earth coal is simply coal—to be expressed in the terms of so much labor, so many dollars, so much clothing and food, perhaps a little happiness; more often misery and death; but the wonder of Nature's workshop does not touch him; the imagination that can conceive trees and leaves slowly transformed into coal through ten thousand years, there to lie for another decade of centuries until it is dug out by his own hand so it may give him warmth and cook his day's food is denied him. These are the practical men to whose materialism Socialism makes its appeal. Socialism glorifies the material and debases the spiritual.

Socialism cannot be combated by the attempt to outlaw it as an enemy of religion or morality. We have come to that time in the world's history when we live in a secular and not a theological age; and while religion enters into man's life, it is apart from it and not a part of it, as it was in the day when the Church claimed the right to rule. Nor can religion be tied to morality nor morality to religion. A man may be religious in the sense in which the term is gen-

erally understood and yet be a Socialist; he may be none the less moral because he is ready to overturn a social system that he regards as morally wrong and indefensible and built on an unmoral foundation. Later this phase of the question will be discussed more at length, but it is sufficient now merely to refer to it.

A cause that numbers its adherents by the hundreds of thousands, in whose ranks are found men and women of all classes and all conditions, many of whom are of a high order of intelligence, sincere, devoted, leading blameless lives, sacrificing comfort and wealth in an effort to ameliorate conditions that an advanced state of civilization has made inevitable, cannot be whistled down the wind as a thing trivial in itself or without serious consequences. Back of it there must be a reason. What, then, is there to Socialism that makes it popular and threatens society?

The answer is to be found in a single word—Economic.

Socialism, it is believed, will correct every economic abuse. If we are as honest as some of the anti-Socialists contend their opponents are dishonest, then we must admit—which is not possible of denial, for the evidence is all around us—that there is great inequality of conditions, that many men have so much money that it is bad for them and many more have a great deal less than is good for them, that rewards are not equally distributed, that there is much suffering and misery, that life to the average man and woman is harder than it ought to be. It is easy enough to find the reason with a wave of the hand. It is the arm-chair philosopher who tells us that every man has that to which he is exactly entitled—no more, no less. If he is industrious, frugal, intelligent, he prospers; if he is slothful, extravagant, stupid he fails. He has to blame no one but himself. Sitting in his well-warmed library, now and then unconsciously thinking of the snow falling outside and the sleighing he will enjoy to-morrow, the arm-chair philosopher loves to write of Opportunity. The Republic is Opportunity, he writes with facile pen; for the library is well warmed and well lighted, and the books he needs for reference are conveniently at hand. It is easy to write of the virtues of thrift when one has a comfortable balance in the bank and the usual semi-annual dividends have been declared payable next month; but the poor wretch who is shivering outside knows nothing of the virtue of thrift and has been denied that opportunity

which the philosopher believes is waiting for every man to grasp.

The man shivering in the cold, hungry, homeless, friendless, is a Socialist, if not in *esse,* in *posse,* ready to believe that Socialism is the short cut to perfection and the remedy for all wrongs; that if society was organized on a Socialistic instead of an individualistic basis there would be no wrongs; that instead of being cold he would be warm, instead of being hungry he would be well fed, instead of being homeless he would have a home and comfort, instead of being friendless he would have companions. And the man who sits in the library writing futile things, who has risen once or twice during the course of the evening to draw aside the heavy curtains so that he can enjoy the beauty of the snow-decked trees, their branches glistening under the electric lights—for the man has the soul of the poet as well as the mind of a philosopher—is an anti-Socialist to whom Socialism is not only an abhorrent thing, but also a foolish thing. The meaning of the homeless wretch he can no more understand than his philosophy can find a remedy.

Socialism, a thing conceived in the brain of man, is to undo the work of man, its disciples believe. Poverty, injustice, hardship, suffering; painful toil niggardly paid; risks that must be taken without adequate reward—all those things, in fact, of which the average man complains, sometimes with justice, sometimes because he is ignorant or dishonest—in a word, everything that is wrong because of the imperfection of human nature has been brought about, Socialists say, by the dishonesty of man. The laws on which society has been slowly built and has advanced from barbarism to civilization are unjust. The whole social scheme, which is the painful growth of two thousand years, for which man has labored and fought and died, is a mistake, and man has always been on the wrong track. Everything is to be corrected, everything complained of is to be swept away by Socialism, the latest device of man's invention. If for two thousand years man has been wandering in a maze, is there any guarantee that Socialism will lead him to the right path? Why is Socialism wisdom and all else ignorance? Is it not true that Socialism is simply a theory, another of those experiments that the world is always making; and is it not equally true that it is an experiment too dangerous for prudent and patriotic men to sanction?

It is not to be wondered at that Socialism should be popular. It is not to be wondered at that men of intelligence, as well as ignorant men, should be allured by its fallacies. The surprising thing is not that Socialism has its thousands, but that it has not its tens of thousands, for it *seems* to lead the way out of all difficulties; it is such a simple cure for all evils; it appeals so strongly to self-interest; it is the one remedy that is efficacious where all others have been tried and failed. The man who is weak in mind or spirit believes in the nostrum that is offered him until he knows that it, like scores of other concoctions, has no virtue; but profiting nothing by experience, still seeking health or peace, he can be prevailed to continue his search and fatten the pockets of quack purveyors. Socialism is wrong, fundamentally wrong. Economically and socially it is wrong. It is founded on false principles, although it contains a glimmer of truth. If Socialism were put into operation the very men who now so ardently demand it would be the first to see that its theoretical perfection is a practical impossibility and would be the loudest to clamor for a new order of things. Their last state would be worse than the first. Instead of the mass having gained, it would have lost; instead of the world having advanced, it would have fallen back; instead of man having found promise, he would meet despair. To the Socialist Pandora, typical of hope, is symbolic, but if his foolish wish were gratified his tutelary deity would be the goddess Ate, who, cast out of Olympus by Zeus, wandered about the earth confusing men and leading them to their ruin.

It will be the purpose of subsequent articles to point out wherein Socialism is wrong and why it offers no solution for the faults of our social system; to offer, perhaps, before the series is concluded, a suggestion or two that will neither revolutionize society, nor make the poor rich, nor the foolish wise, nor the feeble strong—for these are things laws cannot do, but each man must do for himself to the utmost of his capacity—but which may bring about that amelioration of conditions which men of all shades of opinion are united in agreeing is desirable.

A. Maurice Low.

(To be Continued.)

SOME PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

BY WALTER S. ALLEN

THE question of the public ownership of those community services which are commonly grouped together under the title of "public utilities" is one which affects the individual in many ways. As a member of the community he is interested in the social effects of an assumption of an industrial undertaking by the State, as a citizen he is interested in the way in which this extension of governmental functions would affect the political organization of the State, and as a taxpayer and a user of service he is directly interested financially in the success or failure of the undertaking.

The problem must be discussed along broad economic lines and falls naturally into three main divisions—the social, political, and financial effects of such an assumption of business undertakings by the State.

There are those who take the extreme view that the functions of government should include the public ownership and management of all those services which cannot be provided by the individual for his own use. They see in the formation of groups of individuals for these purposes an interference with the rights of the community. They claim that since the public services must be monopolistic in their character in order to be efficient, such groups may become sufficiently strong to be independent of government, and that, at least as far as their own business is concerned, they attempt to usurp the powers of government itself.

The charge is freely made that these group activities control regulative and legislative bodies and tend to degrade these into representatives of the utilities rather than representatives of the people. If this were a fact there would be no question but that such groups would be a social

menace, but actual facts indicate the contrary. The general trend of the decisions of the regulating commissions throughout the country shows a spirit of fair-mindedness and a study of the laws put upon the statute-books of the United States and the separate States shows many more acts restraining public-service companies than favorable to them.

There is undeniably an increasing tendency in this country to assume that whenever there is such a general demand for any service, that group ownership becomes necessary and individual ownership is impossible, that then it is the duty of the whole community as represented by the government to step in and assume control of the business, either by strict regulation or by actual possession. The major part of the people are apparently satisfied with governmental regulation, but those who think that the public authorities are best fitted to deal with the questions involved refuse to believe that it is possible for the State to establish such form of control as will lead to satisfactory relations between group activities and the community.

The growth in the activities of the State in the last twenty-five years has been very rapid, and unless a study is made, it escapes attention. We have grown so used to ownership and maintenance by the community of roads and bridges that we cannot see why these absolute needs for communication should ever have been allowed to be in private hands.

Health matters, including the supply of pure water and the disposal of sewage, plainly have such an effect on society as a whole that no one questions the propriety of community assumption of these duties. The care of the insane, the deficient, the sick and the poor is being each year more largely assumed by the community. Parks and recreation-grounds are readily supported as being a benefit to the whole mass of citizens. Education at the expense of the State is now an essential, even through university grades.

All these activities are plainly of such a character as to demand co-operative action for the welfare of the whole and in many directions there must be compulsory action which can only be supplied by the power of the State.

But when we consider those other needs of society, known as the public utilities, we find that although they are of great importance in the development of the community, still they do not so closely touch each individual as do those enumerated.

These services which have been developed in the last few years are of vast importance both to society and the individual, but they are not of such universal use as to demand their assumption by the government for the benefit of the community.

The public utilities generally recognized as such furnish service to the whole community, but these services are for many reasons not availed of by each member of the community.

The question then becomes: What will be the social effect of the operation of these utilities by the public? Would the direct assumption of the duty of supplying the public with these services be of social and economic advantage to the community as a whole? Would there be any advantage to the whole community in such a supply? Would a public supply, instituted for the benefit of the community, lead to placing a disproportionate burden on those who actually avail themselves of the service? These questions must be carefully considered.

A study of the economic conditions governing the relations of the community to the public utilities indicates that the two factors most directly controlling the assumption of the utilities by the community, are the monopoly character and the maturity of the business. None of the so-called public utilities is a complete monopoly. That is, a substitute may be found for each which will actually compete with it. For instance, light can be furnished by electricity, gas, or oil; urban transportation by street cars, stages, and automobiles. There may be differences in convenience, but there is no complete monopoly. Practically, however, each of the various utilities must be a monopoly in its own field if adequate service is to be obtained, so that on this side the utilities fulfill one of the conditions pre-requisite to public ownership.

On the other hand, that of the maturity of the business—the argument is wholly against public ownership.

No one of the public utilities has reached maturity. No one of them is free from the chance of being radically changed by inventions and modifications which will result in making obsolete present methods, and wiping out capital already invested in good faith and in accordance with the best practice at the time the investment was made. Even in the case of the oldest of the utilities—gas—there are impor-

tant changes from time to time, and often radical changes, such as the comparatively recent introduction of water-gas and the use of coke-oven gas. In electricity for light and power the changes have been even more rapid; the introduction of electric traction on urban and interurban railways is but of a few years' standing—wireless telegraphy and telephony are in their infancy.

This lack of maturity carries with it a risk which may be heavy and one which no government should incur. To risk in such enterprises the money of the taxpayers is beyond the value which the community might obtain from any benefit.

It might be possible to imagine a condition where a government is urged, in the interest of the community as a whole, to assume a public utility. Take, for instance, a small community which feels the need of lighting its streets, and no group of capitalists is willing to assume the risk because of restrictions of one kind or another, say the refusal of the authorities to grant a franchise except on prohibitive terms. The representatives of the people known as the government say—we can do this—we will risk the collective capital of this community, and this we can do because, no matter what the results of our operation of this utility, we shall have behind us the entire property of the taxpayers.

The "bottomless purse of the taxpayer" and the thoughtless assumption by the public of the idea that government is something apart from the taxpayer and always has money to spend, or can raise money some way or other if a community wants necessities or luxuries, has become so a part of American life that it never occurs to the average man that government is merely the aggregation of all of us, and that although taxes are paid directly by only a few, in the end it is always the consumer who pays the taxes, that taxes increase the cost of production, the cost of distribution, the cost of doing all business and the scale of rents, and that finally the wage-earner, who has been brought up in the belief that only the rich pay taxes, pays out indirectly in enhanced cost of living a far greater proportion of his income than those who pay taxes directly in money to the tax-collector.

One of the persistent claims of the advocates of the extension of governmental functions is that, if the State or the municipality undertakes to operate large business prop-

erties, then the community at large will take a greater interest in government, better men will be induced to take part in politics, and there will be an inevitable raising in the standard of the civil service.

This has a most plausible sound, but experience everywhere fails to lead to this conclusion. Government may become so bad that the voters overturn it, but the effect of this lasts but a short time and things drift back to their old conditions. We try a series of experiments, but in a short time the people lose interest because they fail to realize that they themselves are the government and that government is just what they themselves make it. They fail, too, to realize the fundamental fact that all the expenditures of government are made from the taxes which they pay directly and indirectly.

Take as a concrete example the Post Office Department. Its gross revenue places it among the first half-dozen big business organizations—it touches at first hand every individual in the community; it discriminates in its rates and in its methods to an extent to which no private enterprise would dare; its bookkeeping methods and its business methods are such as would put a private business in a receiver's hands—but yet the people care little for its management. The buildings occupied by the Post Office when owned by the United States are given free to the Post Office Department, and lighted and cared for at the expense of the Treasury Department. Yet, when in making up the accounts by including at the end of the year only audited vouchers, by charging various expenses to other departments, the Post Office shows a meager excess of revenue over expenses, we declare it to be a business success.

"The public will, if it serves itself, be more anxious to give the public service." This is another of the catchy phrases of the advocates of public ownership, but unfortunately, like so many phrases, the facts are against the assumption. Private initiative based on a desire for gain undertakes to secure business by inducements—it advertises, it canvasses the possible user, it looks for new methods of utilizing the service, it seeks to popularize the service, it extends its facilities in all directions as the community extends, and, based on the desire to increase its business, it employs all the devices of able commercial men to devise new methods for introducing its service generally.

Public initiative may be said to be non-existent. The publicly owned utility waits for the customer to come to it. It assumes that if any one wants an extension of facilities he must ask for them, and in many cases he must guarantee a certain return on the cost before the extension is made. Public management pays little attention to new uses for its service and looks on advertising and canvassing as simply a waste of money. In another direction, too, that of the introduction of new technical methods, public management is almost universally devoid of initiative. There is no incentive to introduce improved methods when those which are in use yield reasonably satisfactory service; there is no inducement to introduce labor-saving devices when these involve a reduction in the working staff and the throwing out of voters.

Public management, too, is more arbitrary toward its users—payment in advance is more rigorously enforced—the discontinuance of service on account of the non-payment of bills is more rigidly enforced—and once service is discontinued a penalty is laid on the user by making a charge for resuming service. In short, any comparative study of public and privately operated utilities will show that so far as showing any public-spirited desire to secure business and aid all the members of the community to secure service suited to their needs, the privately managed plants are greatly in advance of those managed by the public ostensibly in the interests of the public.

It is claimed that public ownership benefits the employees. If this means that employees receive more than the usual rate of wages or are employed fewer hours, or that more men are employed than would be the case in a private plant and that this is a benefit, then it may be true, but such an economic waste is plainly a detriment to the user of service. The individual user wants his service at as low a price as possible and he is plainly entitled to it, and any excessive wage paid to a favored few is an injury to the user and a serious demoralization to society. Such action confirms every one in the belief that the Government is not bound in any way by broad general economic laws, but is something apart whose object is to favor a class.

There is claimed a benefit to the users in the superiority of service rendered. Every progressive manager of a privately owned public utility—and the progressive managers

are vastly in the majority—recognizes that his business is to furnish good service, and that while he is manager primarily for the purpose of making the business pay, he must recognize that the only way in which this can be accomplished is to furnish such a grade of service as will satisfy the people served and make them the friends of the management. There is nothing sentimental in the question of good service, as the advocates of public ownership would have us believe; it is simply good hard business common sense to give the best service possible, and commercial men see it far more plainly than any one else.

But the claim which appeals more strongly to many of those who realize the present unsatisfactory condition of government is that already referred to—namely, that the extension of the business activities of State and municipal governments will enlist more actively the influential men of the community in public affairs.

In support of this argument the partial success of governmentally managed business in England and Germany is cited, and the claim is made that because of these wide activities of government a better class of men go on the administrative bodies. This is, as a matter of fact, inverted reasoning, and the true state of affairs is that because of the presence of able and influential men on administrative boards who have the ability to choose and to retain capable executive officers the governmental business activities of England and Germany have shown a certain amount of success; but, unfortunately, this condition is not improving, but is deteriorating slowly. There was a time when the Council Committees in English cities were willing to accept the opinions and recommendations of their managers. To-day the tendency is for the committees to dictate to the managers, and the often brilliant managers of publicly owned gas-works and tramways in Great Britain of twenty-five years ago are being gradually replaced by technically well-trained managers who carry on the business, not on an independent basis, but under instructions of a committee more concerned with the vote at the next election than with the proper development of the service.

In Germany the thoroughgoing extension of a real civil service, combined with the bureaucratic organization of the country and a system of suffrage under which the large taxpayers hold a predominant place in the administrative

bodies, has, up to the present time, produced fairly good results, but even there questions political rather than purely social are arising which are disturbing to keen thinkers.

In short, neither experience nor economic analysis leads to any belief that public ownership yields any real social benefit.

One of the most prominent writers supporting the side of public ownership wrote some years ago: "The referendum and a civil service managed in the public interest form essential elements in any reliable plan for a real public ownership, for without them we merely go from the private ownership of a group of stockholders to the private ownership of a group of officeholders."

In this quotation we have a plain recognition of the fundamental political difficulty in the way of a general introduction of public ownership in a democracy. We have not today an efficient civil service—things have improved in some ways, but still in every public enterprise we find employment governed in large measure by political pull or pressure and an excess of employees put into places created for them regardless of the needs of the service. This state of affairs is not confined to the United States, but may be also found in England and Germany, where the civil services stand on a much firmer basis.

A frequent claim is made that labor conditions under public ownership are better as regards hours of labor, wages, safe conditions of operation, and so forth. If this were true, it merely means that the methods employed are such as will increase the cost of the service at the expense of the users and lead to the establishment of a privileged class of workers. So far as working conditions are concerned, careful investigation will fail to show any appreciable difference between publicly and privately owned utilities. Individual cases can be singled out where one or the other shows greater consideration for the safety and comfort of the employees. As an instance of the failure of public employment to yield greater consideration than private we may compare the work of the railway mail clerks with that of the baggage-men working on the same trains.

It is often said that public employees will show more interest in their work than private employees. A casual inspection of public work will easily disprove this assertion. Indeed, in Australia, where public operation has been carried

to extremes, we find frequent references to "the Government stroke" to indicate slowness and inefficiency.

The average wage-earner in either public or private employment looks only to his wages, and the great mass of them care little for anything else; the work will be carried on efficiently or otherwise, according to the individual interest of the worker. To those who are ambitious chances for advancement are to be found in both kinds of employment, but as a general rule these are more rapid in private than in public enterprises.

"Strikes will be eliminated" is the often-made statement; but, unfortunately, strikes have not been eliminated—as, for instance, the Australian and French railway strikes, gas-workers' strikes in England, and in this country there have been strikes of street laborers and once a strike of letter-carriers. This last was based upon a wage question and brings to light a wage situation in the administration of the Post Office which would become of great importance if the Government should take over the railroads, the telegraph, and telephone—namely, that wages are based, not on labor conditions and cost of living in different parts of the country, but simply upon the size of places and the length of service of the employee.

A danger from the political side in a wide extension of public ownership under a system of universal suffrage lies in the enormous political machine which could easily be built up. Even under rigorous laws the Post Office continues to exert a great influence in national politics, and if to such a body of voters we should add the millions of railway, street-railway, gas, electric, telegraph, and telephone employees a voting-machine could be built up which would be irresistible.

This condition is feared in those countries where the extension of public ownership has been the greatest. In Germany the late Dr. von Miquel, Prussian Finance Minister, said that he felt that nationalization and municipalization of public services had gone quite far enough, as the increasing number of employees who could be and were used for political purposes at election-time were detrimental to the interests of good government. In England Mr. Robert Donald, an urgent advocate of the policy of the assumption of all forms of public utilities by the municipalities, has recognized the same danger; and, although urging the grant by

Parliament of greater powers to the municipalities, he has suggested that it might be well to deprive municipal employees of the right to vote in municipal elections.

In England there exists an organization known as the "Association of Municipal Corporations" made up of representatives of about three hundred municipalities. This has for its object the influencing of legislation in Parliament and it has exerted a tremendous influence not only in securing legislation favorable to the municipalities, but also in preventing legislation in favor of private ownership of utilities promising improvements in service; notably in the case of tramway and light railway matters and in opposing the formation of central companies for the sale, at wholesale, of gas and electricity.

The London County Council for years harassed the London water companies on account of their deficient supply, but just as regularly appeared before Parliament to oppose the application of the companies for the authorization of new capital to enable them to increase their facilities.

These two examples show the working of the governmental "lobby" in its most offensive form. The same interference with legislation is seen in the efforts of the various associations of civil servants in Great Britain—notably the Post Office clerks, and in this country the activity of departmental officers in matters before Congress is notorious.

Facts show that public ownership not only fails to remove the utilities from politics, but increases their political activities, oftentimes in a way detrimental to the public interests.

But the most often-heard reason given for public ownership is that the private utilities corrupt the legislative bodies for their own private ends against the public interest, and that this is the cause of legislative corruption. We have here a case where the effect is treated as the cause—it is the demoralized conditions in political life which have led to the corruption. Professor Taussig says, in his *Principles of Economics:*

"The occasion [for corruption] is the great fund of gain which the monopoly enterprises can yield; the cause is political demoralization. It matters little whether the initiative in corrupt ways is taken by the heads of the monopoly corporations or by the public officials, whether the first step be bribery or blackmail. In either case it is the existence of venal legislators and administrators that brings coarse and characterless persons

into the management of the 'public-service' industries. Honorable men withdraw from the unsavory affairs and are replaced by those less squeamish. The root of the difficulty is that a bad political situation invites corruption, not that corruption makes the political situation bad."

The first claim made for public ownership is that service can be rendered cheaper, but when all proper items of expense are included—such items as a private enterprise must include if it is to live—it will not be found that there is any very great difference in the cost of supplying service between well-managed private and public supplies, while poorly managed public supplies make a worse showing than poorly managed private supplies.

First of all, it must be admitted that although the accounting methods of public-service companies often leave much to be desired, that certainly, in this country at least, municipal and governmental accounting methods are hopelessly antiquated and as varied as the whims of officials make them. An effort is being made to introduce modern methods, but until this has been done and the accounts of the business enterprises carried on by governmental authorities have been properly arranged to include all charges legitimately belonging to the different branches, it will be impossible to argue intelligently on the figures as presented. For example, the Post Office accounts made up at the end of the year include only audited vouchers, and it is perfectly easy to make up the accounts in a way to show anything desired.

So, too, in municipal enterprises—clerical work done for the public plants is often charged in general city expenses, water is furnished free, engineering assistance is given without charge, offices are furnished free of rent, and a host of minor charges which must be paid for by a private company are thrown into general municipal expenses. In this way the cost of supplying service in a publicly managed plant may be made to appear low, but it must be remembered that the failure to charge these items to the cost of furnishing the public service results only in raising the expenses of some other department; as, for instance, while the Post Office Department saves on rent, heat, and care of its buildings, the Treasury Department pays for these and has no benefit from them. We are hopelessly at sea when we undertake to make financial comparisons under these conditions.

There are, however, certain tangible points upon which

comparisons may be made. One important reason given for public ownership has been the fact that municipalities have been able to borrow money at a lower rate than companies. This has been true and is now, to a certain extent, but the rates for municipal loans and public utility bonds have been steadily approaching one another and this process is likely to continue. The enormous municipal debts which American and English cities are running up are tending to render capital cautious; and although not only the property of the municipality, but that of every individual citizen, stands as security for the municipal loans, still the difficulties which would arise if a municipality should go into bankruptcy—not an unthinkable proposition—does not allure the investor. This may seem an exaggerated statement, but the United States Census Bureau reports show that between 1902 and 1908 the sixteen largest cities in the United States increased their gross debts by $646,000,000, or 71.6 per cent., while during the same time their population increased only 15.5 per cent. This means that the gross debt of these cities for each man, woman, and child living in them increased from $75.47 to $112.50. Such an increase cannot continue without a demand from investors for a higher rate of interest to compensate for the risk.

It has often been claimed that a charge against income for sinking-fund in the case of municipal plants is unnecessary because such a charge only means that the present users are paying for the plant for the benefit of the future generations, who later will have the plant free of capital charge. Theoretically, this is true—practically, when a public utility stops growing it begins to die, and as the demand for fresh capital always continues the time when the plant is fully paid for free of all incumbrances extends into the dim future. The Glasgow gas-plant is one of those longest in possession of public authorities anywhere in Great Britain, and if it had been possible to get rid of a capital charge that plant should have shown it; but, as a matter of fact, but a very small proportion of the capital charge has been extinguished by the operation of the sinking-fund. So that the day is far off when we shall arrive at what the enthusiasts designate as full public ownership.

The question of the proper charge for service furnished by a publicly owned plant is one of the most troublesome which has to be met. Theoretically, the service should be

furnished at cost—practically, as we have seen, the actual cost is rarely known. When rates are established they are either fixed at the supposed cost or else they are figured so that they may produce a surplus large enough to perhaps allow for furnishing the municipality with service free. In England, where tradition accepts fluctuations in price up and down and where the public takes it as a matter of course that when costs increase selling prices must increase also, it is easy to fix rates close to cost; but in this country, where the public expects a continuous fall in price and seems never prepared for an increase, it is much more difficult to hew close to the line.

If, on the other hand, a price is fixed which will yield a profit, we have a condition which is unjust. The users of the service, who, except in the case of water, represent but a small part of the whole community, have levied on them a special tax for the benefit of the whole community. It is not unusual to find statements that certain towns receive their electric street lighting for a nominal sum or even at no cost—and these claims are boldly advanced as an argument for public ownership. Even a slight consideration must convince any one that where such a condition exists it simply means that the commercial users of electric light are paying the cost of lighting the streets for the benefit of the whole community. This is a situation which is absolutely indefensible; it is the plainest possible illustration of inequitable taxation, taxation not even according to ability to pay, but a forced levy on those who use electricity.

An analysis of British municipal trading is to be found in a Parliamentary paper of 1902. In this Sir H. Fowler shows that the British municipalities make a profit of approximately one-half of one per cent. on the capital invested after deducting interest on the loans, but with practically no allowance for depreciation. If we assume that the average rate of interest on the loans was three and one-half per cent., then we have a return on the investment of four per cent., with no charge for depreciation or a net loss on the investment of fully two per cent.

Although the accounts of the telephone, telegraph, and postal service are inextricably mixed in the continental countries, it is probably well within the bounds of reason to say that the entire telegraph service of the continent of Europe is conducted at a loss and that the telephone service

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returns nothing on the sums invested. In Great Britain the telegraph plainly loses money; in the last year practically five million dollars ($5,000,000); and even this showing fails to give the full extent of the deficit, for many items properly belonging to the telegraph are charged to Post Office accounts.

A most important feature to be considered by any public body before embarking in a plan for public ownership is the risk of obsolescence and the possible need of entire replacement in a short time. This is a risk which private companies always bear in mind and one which public bodies usually ignore, yet certain municipalities—for example, Bradford, in England—found themselves seriously handicapped when the pressure of public opinion forced them to change their steam and horse tramways to electric. If it were not for the bottomless purse of the taxpayer, municipal bodies might be slower in adopting public ownership.

The logic of the situation and the experience of those governments and municipalities which have embarked in these enterprises prove conclusively that whenever capital groups are willing to undertake to serve a community with the so-called utilities, to assume the risk and submit themselves to a sensible public control, then the public will be better served by public management; in this way the public is protected, capital is allowed a fair return, and inducements are offered to the managers to develop the business in a way to yield advantages to all interested. Such a plan as exists in Great Britain in the gas industry, as is in force in the Boston (Massachusetts) Gas Company, as is covered by the Chicago Traction Company franchise, under which economies in production made possible by good management are divided between the users and the management, such a plan offers inducements to the companies to introduce economies in their methods and the public gets its share. That efficiency in management should be rewarded is conceded by all those who have studied the subject; that the public is entitled to all the economies as claimed by some means simply that there will be no inducement to careful managers to exert themselves to meet the demands and introduce improved methods.

Common-sense regulation seems, in the light of experience, far better than public management.

Walter S. Allen.

CABINET OFFICERS IN CONGRESS

BY PERRY BELMONT

THE enlargement of the intercourse between the executive and legislative branches of the Federal Government has long been proposed, not by means of an amendment to the Constitution, which would be unnecessary and undesirable for that purpose, but by a mere change in the rules of procedure requiring, at stated times, the presence before Congress of members of the Cabinet or the heads of the executive departments. They would thus have the privilege of discussing measures concerning their departments, and the legislative branch would have the opportunity and advantage of obtaining direct oral and officially responsible information from executive officers, which would be of great value in framing legislation.

President Taft's happily phrased reference to the subject, in a recent speech at the Lotos Club in New York, has stimulated renewed interest in the proposition, especially among those who have had experience in the practical business of the legislative and executive branches of our Government, and who are gradually coming to a full realization of the great benefits which would certainly result from the proposed change. On that occasion Mr. Taft said:

"I doubt not that the presence of able Cabinet officers on the floor of each House would give greater harmony of plan for the conduct of public business in both Houses, and would secure much more valuable legislation in accordance with party plans than we have now. On the other hand, the system would enable Congress to come closer to the Executive, and pry more effectively into each act and compel a disclosure of the reasons justifying it immediately at the time of the act, and keep the public more quickly advised by the direct questions of hostile critics which must be answered of the progress of business under Executive auspices."

He added:

"It would necessitate the appointing to the Cabinet of men used to debate and to defend their position, and it would offer an opportunity

for the public to judge of the Executive and his administration much more justly and much more quickly than under our present system."

During the recent Presidential election the absence of nearly all the members of the Cabinet from the arena of political discussion was noticeable, but would hardly have been possible had the Cabinet been formed with a view of meeting more exacting requirements.

It is interesting to recall the fact that the President was preceded by another statesman from Ohio, Mr. George H. Pendleton, of Cincinnati, then a Representative in Congress and afterward Senator from his State, who brought the subject to the notice of Congress in 1864. A select committee was appointed, of which Mr. Pendleton became chairman, and on March 3, 1865, amendments to the Rules of the House were reported by him, of which the following are the main features:

1. That the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster-General shall be entitled to occupy seats on the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to their departments under such rules as may be prescribed.

2. That the said Secretaries, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster-General attend the sessions of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, immediately on the opening of the sittings on a stated day of each week, and give information in reply to questions asked under the rules.

This would secure to the heads of departments or members of the Cabinet the right to take part in discussions upon subjects relating to their respective departments and, at stated times, require them to attend. That limits might be placed on the right of inquiry, the rules of the House might be amended somewhat in the manner proposed by Mr. Pendleton's committee. These amendments were intended for the House of Representatives only, but could be made applicable to the Senate as well, in order that the clerk of the Senate and of the House of Representatives should keep notice books in which they should enter on the request of a member or Senator any resolution requiring information from any of the executive departments or questions intended to be propounded to any member of the Cabinet.

The member giving notice of such resolution or question

could, at the same time, give notice that the same shall be called up on a stated day or days of the succeeding week: *Provided,* That no such resolution or question shall be called up, except by unanimous consent, within less than —— days after due notice shall have been given. The clerk could, on the same day on which notice is entered, transmit to the chief officer of the proper department a copy of the resolution or question, together with the name of the member proposing the same and of the day when it would come before the House for action. On the days chosen of each week, before any other business shall be taken up, except by unanimous consent, the resolutions and questions could be taken up in the order in which they have been entered upon the notice book of that day. The member offering a resolution could state succinctly the object and scope of his resolution, and the reason for desiring the information; and the Secretary of the proper department could reply, giving the information, *or the reasons why the same should be withheld,* and then, without further debate, the House could vote on the resolution unless it should be withdrawn or postponed. In putting any question to the Secretaries or the Attorney-General or Postmaster-general, no argument or opinion should be offered nor any fact stated except so far as may be necessary to explain such question. And in answering such question the Secretary, the Attorney-General, or Postmaster-General should not state facts or opinions other than those necessary to explain the answer.

Under the existing law organizing the Treasury Department enacted September 2, 1789, the Secretary of the Treasury can at any time be required by resolution to appear in person before Congress. The Treasury Department is the financial agency of Congress, which therefore can exercise the authority of a direct control over it, and its head holds a different relation to the legislative branch than does any other member of the Cabinet. This is in accordance with the constitutional provision that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives." The law creating his office provides that:

"He shall make report and give information to either branch of the Legislature *in person* or in writing as may be required respecting all matters referred to him by the Senate or House of Representatives or which shall appertain to his office."

The framers of the Constitution of the Confederate States

had previously had a long experience of our system of Government, and undoubtedly had observed, even at that time, when the business of the Government had not grown to its present enormous proportions, the lack of sufficient direct intercourse between the legislative and executive branches. On that account, in their provisional and, afterward, in their permanent Constitution, which was modeled upon that of the Federal Government, after the words, "And no person holding any office under the Confederate States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office," they introduced this clause:

"The Congress may by law grant to the principal officer in each executive department a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his office." (Confederate States Constitution, Article I, Section 6.)

The Constitution distributes the functions of Government among three departments, and for the better preservation of constitutional methods these departments — executive, legislative, and judicial—are kept distinctly separate. The tradition of the early history of the Federal Government is that the annual messages of Presidents Washington and John Adams were delivered in person, and that the annual messages of the first two Presidents were answered by an address from Congress. This practice was changed by President Jefferson, and, ever since, all messages from the President to either House of Congress have been delivered by messenger or in writing.

There is a distinction between the executive office of the President and the office of the several heads of the executive departments; a different rule is applied to each. The President alone is the constitutional Executive. He alone is the co-ordinate branch of the Government. The Constitution declares that "the executive power shall be vested in the President of the United States of America." It also declares that "he shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The heads of departments are there to aid him in the performance of certain duties, and so far are responsible to him alone. But Congress creates offices by law, all the heads of departments are the creatures of Congressional legislation; new duties may, therefore, be assigned to them by the power which created them. An ex-

ecutive officer cannot be a member of either House of Congress, under the provision of the Constitution that "No person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office." Therefore, all idea of giving the head of a department a vote in either House of Congress is out of the question, nor would it be desirable under our system.

There are those who seem to believe that to enable members of the Cabinet to appear before either House would not be the complete parliamentary system of other Governments, because it would not give to the Cabinet the power to direct and control legislative action. It is much to be preferred that it should not. The parliamentary systems of Europe lead to much more instability than does ours. There the Cabinet is in effect the Executive; also, in that respect, a little more than a committee of the Legislature to carry into execution its general policy, and an adverse vote is usually taken to mean a change of government. It may be well to keep in mind that the idea of bringing officers of the executive departments before the House of Congress is not suggested by the parliamentary system of Great Britain. That system is, in its fundamental principles, so different from ours as to be hardly a safe guide for us.

Changes similar to the plan here suggested as applicable to our system have often, by the nature of things, presented themselves for consideration during the history of American legislation, and the annals of Congress contain debates upon the subject at times when information was to be obtained through heads of departments. It belongs to the development of our own laws and ought to be discussed within its capacity of being adjusted to our American system.

The Constitution contains no such phrases as "Cabinet officers" or "constitutional advisers." It does say that the President may require the opinion in writing of "the principal officer in each department," and therefore such officers are said to be constitutional advisers to the President. As it is within the scope of the law and spirit of the Constitution that the executive officers may be admitted to discuss public measures on the floor of Congress, it is only a question of expediency whether or not such a change in the method of procedure ought to be adopted.

If we accept the law organizing the Treasury, as evidence of the solution of this question, it would appear that

a head of a department can be required to give information in person, although he must await an invitation or call from Congress. The President is invested with the authority to make treaties and appoint foreign ambassadors and ministers with the consent of the Senate. Congress has not the power to compel the Secretary of State to give information respecting such matters, nor could the lawmaking power require the Secretary of State to appear in person before the House of Representatives and give such information as might be required in respect to an appointment, the negotiation of a treaty, or in respect to the management of the foreign affairs of the country. The Secretary of State is not required by the law creating his office to make report or give information to either branch of the Legislature. Nor does he report to either the President or Congress, but whatever is said in respect to foreign affairs is said directly by the President of the United States in his annual message. But as to matters relating to the Department of State, there appears to be no reason why the Congress should not claim and exercise the same power which is established in the law organizing the Treasury. To the Executive is given the power to carry out in secret certain measures of foreign policy. Yet if Congress should open its doors and invite the Secretary of State to the floor, even in regard to such questions, certain things which in his opinion ought to be made known could in this way be communicated, and perhaps with greater facility and despatch than at present.

Can the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy be compelled to appear before either House and answer in respect to the manner in which the President of the United States proposes to exercise his function as "Commander-in-chief of the army and navy"? Laws have been enacted prescribing the duties of the Secretaries of War and Navy which have invested them with a discretion respecting certain specified acts, in regard to which they are independent of the President. The law establishing the War Department was enacted August 7, 1789, and defines the general relation of the Secretary to the President. By subsequent acts—1809, 1866, 1868—the Secretary was required to lay before Congress annual statements of contracts and purchases, reports of bids for works, reports of examination of river and harbor improvements, abstract of returns of Adjutant-Generals of States, and laws have been passed giving the

Secretary certain discretionary powers; the same may be said of the Navy Department. Thus again did Congress make those officers its agents for the doing of specified acts without the intervention of the President.

The heads of other departments have a similar discretion. In regard to such matters the lawmaking power can require oral information, as it does written reports. As to other matters an invitation to attend upon Congress would recognize the right of an executive officer to withhold information that was considered inconsistent with executive authority to impart. If the lawmaking power can make such appearance before Congress obligatory upon a head of a department, can the latter be lawfully required to appear against the will of the President? In other words, does the Constitution declare that the will of the President shall govern in the performing of all executive acts by executive officers?

Since the Tenure of Office Act the relation of executive officers to Congress has been materially altered. The first Congress affirmed the power of the President to remove from office without the assent of the Senate. This question was much agitated during the administration of President Jackson, but finally, under President Johnson, the lawmaking power declared, in effect, that the President cannot remove even a Cabinet officer without the assent of the Senate. It has, moreover, now grown to be very much the habit of Congress to require subordinate executive officers to do certain acts without making any mention of the President, and a large proportion of them may be done without any special direction from him. Here, therefore, we find again the distinction between acts about which Congress may compel information, and those about which information can be obtained only in such manner as the Executive may see fit or may be withheld, as he directs.

There is enough of deference pervading the transactions of our public business in Washington to make such a system successful. When the heads of departments go before Congressional committees, as they very often do, they have been received with the utmost official courtesy even by members politically hostile to them. A committee of the whole House or Senate would undoubtedly in the same manner preserve its official dignity.

In every successfully administrated legislative body an

important part of legislative work must be transacted in the committee-room. There a critical examination of existing laws can best be made and legislation carefully and thoroughly prepared. Before such committees executive officers can give, and do give, their information without restraint and in that conversational manner which permits freedom. The appearance of Cabinet officers before Congressional committees occurs with constantly increasing frequency, indicating a marked tendency toward more direct methods of communication. In the last session of Congress the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, came before the Committee on Foreign Affairs on several occasions, and took part in the deliberations of the committee, in the preparation of the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill. This proved of great service to the committee and of equal benefit to the department. The chairman of that committee, Representative Sulzer, of New York, now Governor of that State, has expressed himself as strongly in favor of more direct and open intercourse, and there are many members of both Houses holding similar views. Much of such information which can safely for the public interest be given in the privacy of a committee-room might not be useful for a public session of the whole House. Yet it often happens that the secret methods of committees are not as desirable as would be public discussions of executive details, and such publicity is frequently even necessary for the purposes of an administration and as an exposition of its policy. Official reports of the proceedings before committees are therefore published, and they are generally of the greatest value, but members of Congress have not always time to study them. They are there to represent Districts and States; they have special work to attend to in the different committees, and if they give the rest of their time to participating in part in what actually goes on in the deliberative body, little more can be asked of them. A few words spoken by the head of a department would place the whole of Congress on the same vantage-ground as members of a committee.

The written reports from the executive departments of the Government are prepared with the greatest care and ability, and are everywhere recognized as of the highest order of merit. Should the proposed change in regard to the Cabinet officers be carried out, it would in no way diminish the importance of continuing the written reports now required, and

which are so valuable to constructive legislation. There is a disposition to undervalue our Congressional debates, and especially the *Congressional Record*. It may be that occasionally the adverse criticisms in regard to the *Record* are partially justified, but no legislative body in the world contains members of more ability or of better equipment for the work of legislation than the Congress of the United States. Speeches are printed and debates are recorded which prove this assertion, but it is seldom that the country at large is enabled to obtain sufficient evidence of the fact. Although when some especially important or sensational event occurs in Congress, the attention of the nation is for the time being concentrated upon that body.

The patriotism of the American people is their distinguishing trait. They are not indifferent to what occurs at the national capital; yet as long as there are no public debates between the executive and legislative departments, this seeming indifference will, as a matter of course, continue. Nor is the press of the United States indifferent to Congressional debates or to their results upon the legislation of the country, yet no newspaper can be expected to print continuously the proceedings in the legislative branch where the executive department does not enter. Were the proposed change to be made effective, public discussion of national questions would assume a new aspect of vital importance to the nation. It would leave undisturbed the powers of the executive and legislative branches and would afford an opportunity of free and open consultation between them which would materially aid Congress in reaching its decisions upon questions of policy.

Laws are often framed which in the course of time and by force of circumstances bring about results at variance with the purposes of the lawmakers. The converse is equally true. Difficulties are often raised and obstacles suggested to a proposed legislative plan which are found to be fanciful or exaggerated, and to which the practical working of the law, when enacted, suggests an easy and effectual remedy. This would hold good particularly in matters of administration, such as the proposed change in the method of procedure, which would bring about a necessary direct, open, and public intercourse at present lacking between the executive and legislative branches of our Federal Government.

PERRY BELMONT.

THE CANAL DIPLOMACY

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE BRITISH PROTEST

BY LEOPOLD GRAHAME

WHILE the scope of the public discussion of recent canal legislation has been considerably widened by Mr. Archibald Colquhoun's admirable and closely reasoned article in the October issue of the REVIEW, it is to be regretted that the writer, whose authority on the subject is generally recognized, did not deal more exhaustively with the historical aspect of the matter.

Public opinion on this question in the United States has been largely influenced by the constant references of publicists to specific clauses of the Clayton-Bulwer and Hay-Pauncefote treaties and to the susceptibility of those clauses to an interpretation other than that justified by the facts of the case. Such references, however, constitute in themselves wholly inadequate material whereon to form a matured opinion as to the merits of the claims respectively urged in this matter by Great Britain and the United States. It is necessary to go back to an earlier period of the nineteenth century — to the administration of John Quincy Adams and to the establishment of the independence of the Spanish republics—in order to trace the sequence of events which culminated in the later treaties whereby this country acquired the right to build and control the great undertaking which is destined to produce such fundamental changes in the political and economic organisms of all the American nations. It is equally necessary, for the purpose of obtaining a comprehensive view of the situation, to place in juxtaposition, through the period under review, the established interests of Great Britain on this continent with the growing responsibilities of the United States toward her sister republics, and to see what was the actual consideration to each

for the mutual concessions and surrender of privileges embodied in the two important treaties arising out of the protracted and at times delicate negotiations between the two countries. To avoid the necessity for quoting extensive extracts from a mountain of historical and official literature, it is proposed in this article to supplement Mr. Colquhoun's valuable contribution on the subject by presenting a summarized record of those events which have some relation to the pending dispute in so far as they disclose the motives, views, and objects of the two Governments in their extended diplomatic controversy and various transactions concerning the construction and control of the Canal to link up the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

The first recorded official step adopted by the United States in regard to the construction of the Canal is to be found in the instructions formulated by Henry Clay, Secretary of State, in 1826 for the American delegates to the abortive First Congress of Panama, convoked by Bolivar the Liberator. Clay said in his note of instructions:

"If the question of the construction of an interoceanic canal should be submitted for the consideration of the Congress, the representatives of the United States must sustain the principle that the advantages to be derived from a direct passage from one ocean to another shall not be conferred upon any single nation, but shall be extended to all the nations of the world on payment of just compensation or reasonable dues."

From this time forward increasing attention was given by the United States to the construction of the Canal; and on March 3, 1835, the Senate voted the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That the President of the United States be respectfully requested to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with the Governments of other nations, and particularly with the Governments of Central America and New Granada, for the purpose of effectually protecting by suitable treaty stipulations with them such individuals or companies as may undertake to open a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus which connects North and South America, and of securing forever by such stipulations the free and equal right of navigating such canal to all nations on the payment of such reasonable tolls as may be established to compensate the capitalists who may engage in such undertaking and complete the work."

In terms of this resolution President Jackson appointed Colonel Charles Biddell to make preliminary investigations as to interoceanic communication through canals or railways. This agent, however, only visited Panama, and ulti-

mately recommended the construction of a railway. At the same time, the Government of New Granada granted a concession to Baron Thierry to unite, by a canal, the waters of the Chagres with those of the Rio Grande, with an outlet to the Bay of Panama, but this concession lapsed before work was begun.

In 1839 the United States Congress passed another resolution directing the President to avail himself of the opportunity to open, or continue, negotiations with the Governments of other nations, and especially with those exercising territorial jurisdiction in the Isthmus of Panama, with the object of establishing communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by the construction of a maritime canal to traverse the isthmus, assuring

"for all time, by treaty stipulations, the free and equal use of the said canal by all nations."

Before, however, the President could give effect to this resolution the Government of New Granada again conceded authority to a French firm to construct macadamized roads, railways, or canals across the Isthmus.

During these years anxiety increased in some of the Latin republics, as well as in the United States, as to the possibility of the commerce of the Western Hemisphere being imperilled by the pretensions of Great Britain to extra-territorial rights in the Orinoco (Venezuela) and the River Platte (Buenos Ayres); and by a supposed desire on the part of that Power to usurp the canalizable portion of the Isthmus of Panama. This feeling induced renewed activity in the canal scheme, with the result that after considerable diplomatic negotiation the first treaty with New Granada was concluded on December 12, 1846. Under this treaty, as is well known, New Granada granted co-extensive rights to the United States, securing in return an absolute guarantee for the sovereignty of New Granada over the territory of the Isthmus and for the complete neutralization of the projected canal or other passage to unite the two oceans.

In transmitting this treaty to the Senate for ratification, in February, 1847, President Polk's Message referred at length—and in terms of the utmost significance at the present moment—to the motives which moved the Government to depart from the settled policy of the United States in guaranteeing the territory of a foreign State. He said:

"It will constitute no alliance for any political object, but for a purely commercial purpose in which all the navigating nations of the world have a common interest. . . . If the United States, as the chief of the American nations, should first become a party to this guaranty, it cannot be doubted—indeed, it is confidently expected by the Government of New Granada—that similar guaranties will be given to that republic by Great Britain and France. . . . In entering into the mutual guaranties proposed by the thirty-fifth article of the treaty, neither the Government of New Granada nor that of the United States has any narrow or exclusive views. The ultimate object as presented by the Senate of the United States in their resolution (March 3, 1835) is to secure to all nations the free and equal right of passage over the Isthmus."

In the period intervening between the communication of this message and the submission of the treaty (with amendments) in June, 1848, important developments had taken place in the extension of British influence in Nicaragua; and it was entirely due to the diplomatic skill, displayed equally by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain in the difficult negotiations which ended in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850), that a war between the two countries was happily averted.

It is not necessary here to enter into the origin of this British influence in Nicaragua. Suffice it to add that soon after Spain had lost her sovereignty over the Central American countries, Great Britain reasserted her former claims to a protectorate over the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua and subsequently converted the British settlement on the River Belize into a colony under the title of British Honduras. Under this protectorate, the Mosquito Indians were removed from the jurisdiction of Nicaragua and by the aid of British troops a headsman of the tribe was proclaimed and crowned as king, the territorial limits of the protectorate having been later extended until they included the mouth of the River San Juan, the most important point of the coast of Nicaragua. At a later stage the King of the Mosquitos declared his intention to include within his jurisdiction the entire River San Juan; and on the 1st of January (1848), assisted by a British naval force, hoisted the Mosquito flag at the mouth of the river. After a few skirmishes with Nicaraguan troops, the British forces took possession of San Juan del Norte (the name of which they changed to "Greytown"), strengthening their position by a new treaty with Nicaragua, in which there was formal recognition of British sovereignty over the Mosquito territory.

The successive advances of Great Britain in that portion of Central America intensified feeling in the United States, not only because they constituted open violations of the Monroe Doctrine, but also for the reason that the acquisition of sovereignty over the territory in question gave to Great Britain absolute future dominion over the entrance to the projected Nicaraguan Canal.

The avowed policy and intentions of the United States during the preceding twenty-five years to secure a neutral canal to unite the two oceans being thus imperilled, and to appease the warlike feeling which manifested itself throughout the country, President Polk proceeded immediately to secure further concessions in the pending treaty with New Granada. At the same time the United States Government sent a representative, Mr. Elijah Hise, to Nicaragua to report upon the action of Great Britain in relation to the Mosquito protectorate and to the extent of that Power's invasion and occupation of Nicaraguan territory. No authority was given to Mr. Hise to negotiate any treaty or convention with the Government of that country; but having in view the treaty with New Granada and the discovery of vast mineral wealth in the then recently acquired territory of California, he assumed the responsibility, on behalf of the United States, to enter into a treaty (June, 1849) with the Government of Nicaragua which gave to the United States, in addition to privileges similar to those embodied in the amended treaty with New Granada, the right to erect fortifications over the whole length of the canal and to fortify and guard the entrances thereto. In exchange the United States undertook to guarantee the integrity of the territory of Nicaragua.

To avoid a war which would inevitably have followed the recognition by the United States of such a treaty, the Government at once retired Mr. Hise and replaced him by another envoy, Mr. E. G. Squire, with instructions to inform the Nicaraguan Government that the Government of the United States was entirely disposed to maintain the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and that it would be no departure from that attitude to provide that all the nations of the world should enjoy equal rights of transit through the proposed canal. In accordance with these instructions, Mr. Squire concluded a new treaty with Nicaragua whereby the right of interoceanic transit was conceded to this country,

which, in turn, guaranteed the sovereignty of Nicaragua only over the territory of the proposed waterway and its terminals, reserving the right to Nicaragua to enter into similar treaties with other nations.

Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty the British Government sent an expedition to the Gulf of Fonseca, in Honduran territory, for the alleged purpose of dominating the entrance to the projected canal, while Mr. Squire simultaneously hastened to Honduras, where he secured from the Government of that republic a concession to the United States of the Tiger Island in the Gulf of Fonseca; and practically, at the same moment, the British expedition took possession of this island to secure payment of a debt in default of the Republic of Honduras.

The victories obtained by the United States in its war with Mexico at that time had aroused the patriotic enthusiasm of the American people, and the Government was assailed by a popular demand for a firmer foreign policy and an energetic protest against the British invasion of Central America. The Secretary of State, Mr. Clayton, seeing the dangers of the situation and the immediate necessity for a retirement of the British forces from the mouth of the River San Juan, at once initiated negotiations with the British Minister in Washington (Mr. Crampton) to arrive at some arrangement with Great Britain in order to prevent an outbreak of war.

The policy of the United States in these negotiations was to secure from Great Britain the renunciation of all her rights over Nicaragua, or at least over the mouth of the River San Juan. To obtain this result the United States was disposed to agree to a community of interests and to a joint control over the canal. That which was sought to be avoided in any form was the exclusive control by Great Britain of the proposed canal. The British Government, inspired by like fears of the United States, entered into the negotiations with a view to preventing the United States from securing a similar exclusive control, so that when it became apparent that these fears were equally groundless in both cases, the way was paved for an honorable settlement of the dispute; and as a result of the changed attitude of the two Governments the first Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was concluded in April, 1850.

The main provisions of this treaty are too well known

to need recapitulation, but they may be summarized in the stipulations (1) that neither Great Britain nor the United States should be entitled to exclusive control of the proposed canal; (2) that neither country should be entitled to fortify the canal; (3) that neither should occupy, fortify, colonize, or exercise dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, or other parts of Central America; and (4) that these and all the other conditions of the treaty should apply to any other practical means of communication, whether canal or railway, which might be constructed to traverse the Isthmus, and especially to interoceanic communications, by canal or railway which were then proposed to be established by way of Tehuantepec or Panama. After much further correspondence on the subject between the two Governments, the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate by a vote of 42 to 10, Webster, Clay, Seward, and Cass having all voted in its favor.

Notwithstanding that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was assumed, at the time of its conclusion, to be a settlement of the main points of difference existing in regard to the construction and control of the proposed canal, frequent misunderstandings occurred in succeeding years in connection with the action of the British authorities, arising out of treaties with Nicaragua, regarding the position of the Mosquito Indians in that country. In 1860 the third of these treaties, known as the Treaty of Managua, was concluded between Great Britain and Nicaragua, with the object of giving a clearer interpretation to various clauses in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty which had been the subject of conflicting interpretations. Among other things, the Treaty of 1860 provided for a form of semi-independence for the Mosquito Indians under the sovereignty of Nicaragua, subject to certain conditions and guarantees to the British Government in regard to the right of the Indians to observe their domestic regulations and customs. This reservation was for many years the source of constant friction between the British and American Governments, but finally, in 1894, all these difficulties were removed by the decision of the Mosquito Indians, in terms of the Treaty of 1860, to incorporate themselves as citizens of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Thus there remained only the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty as a bar to the United States constructing on its own account

and under its own control either the Panama or Nicaragua Canal, although conditions had so changed that, subject to the guarantee of complete neutrality and equality in the use of the canal by all nations, no real objections existed to this country carrying out the great enterprise.

During all this time active steps were being taken to secure the construction of the canal. Concessions had been granted to different companies both by the republics of Colombia and Nicaragua, and commissions were appointed by the United States to investigate the merits of the respective routes. Ultimately private negotiations were entered into between Secretary of State Hay and the British Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote, which culminated in February, 1900, in the conclusion of the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. The provisions, however, of this treaty led to much opposition in the United States Senate, where it was proposed to introduce amendments which would have been entirely unacceptable to Great Britain. Realizing the possibility of failure in the endeavor to fulfil the long-cherished desire of the American people, Secretary Hay, with characteristic energy and skill, renewed the private negotiations with the British Ambassador, and finally settled, on the 18th of November, 1901, the conditions of the agreement which entirely disposed of all the obstacles created by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty to the construction by this country of the proposed canal. The second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was submitted without delay to the Senate for ratification, and on the 16th of December of the same year it was approved by 72 votes to 6.

For the purposes of this sketch, which has for its object the elucidation of the reasons and the consideration to each of the countries for these repeated modifications and surrenders of privileges, the details of what followed in regard to the selection of the route, the purchase of the French company's rights, and the subsequent agreement and rupture with Colombia, may be passed over as events of common and recent knowledge. In the present dispute between this country and Great Britain as to the exemption from the payment of tolls by American coastwise steamers passing through the Canal, and to other points which have become the subject of the British protest, the whole question between the two countries rests upon the interpretation not alone of specified clauses in the treaties of 1850 and 1901, but

upon the spirit and obvious intentions breathed throughout those instruments.

Surely it cannot be reasonably contended that instead of receiving compensation, Great Britain acceded to a proposal not only to surrender her legal rights, but to the creation of a barrier to the advancement or even to the maintenance of her then, as now, existing commercial interests. The argument that as the United States subsequently acquired ownership of the territory embracing the canal zone and built the canal at her own expense in no way weakens the case established by the facts here recited, for the simple reason that the canal could never have been constructed by the United States with the remotest degree of safety unless the Clayton-Bulwer treaty had been abrogated. Had it been otherwise, there would have been no necessity for the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which embodies the principle of the most absolute equality in every respect for all the maritime nations of the world.

Having in view the attitude of the United States in the universal effort to secure arbitration of international disputes and to the explicit instructions upon that point given to its delegates to the two Peace Conferences at The Hague, it cannot be assumed that this country would jeopardize its well-merited prestige in the Council of Nations by a refusal to refer to The Hague Tribunal for settlement a question of treaty interpretation which affects neither its honor nor its independence. It is to be hoped, however, that an adjustment of the matter will be effected, as in previous cases, in a manner satisfactory to both countries through the channels of diplomacy.

LEOPOLD GRAHAME.

A CONCERTED MOVEMENT OF THE RAILWAYS

BY LOGAN G. McPHERSON

ALTHOUGH agreements among the railways have not met with favor in this country, very nearly all of the principal railway companies entered into a movement somewhat over two years ago that is not likely to meet with popular condemnation. This concerted action will be the better understood through a recountal of the development which led to it.

In the light of popular attitude toward them, the history of the railroads of the United States is of a series of fairly well-defined periods. When the application of steam as motive power on roads of rail was first undertaken there was the incredulity and distrust that greet radical and far-reaching innovation. When the practicability of the steam railway had been demonstrated there was a railway-building mania. Pretty much everybody who had money or who could rake and scrape money together, and towns, cities, and States, put money into railway projects. There ensued an over-building which was a large factor in bringing about the panic of 1857. During the Civil War the usefulness of through routes, constituted of the connected lines of two or more railroads, became manifest. After the war there was a renewed stimulus to railway construction, especially in the Middle West. Men of rugged force utilized in building railroads the labor of thousands of those whom the disbanding of the armies had left without vocation, as Napoleon three generations before had utilized the waste labor of Europe in building the roads across the Alps. Men of grasp who perceived the country's future transformed short local railroads into through lines and coined their foresight into dollars. In many cases the means employed were subordinate to the end attained. There were vast opportunities not only for men of affairs properly so designated, but

also for the speculative promoter and the financial manipulator, and therefore this was the heyday of the railway buccaneer. Excessive construction and speculation again helped to bring about a panic, that of 1873. After it had run its course, railway-building again outstripped any immediate need.

As railways had been built in advance of traffic there arose an intense competition for business. This was the period when cut rates, rebates, and other stealthy devices spread like the weeds they were. There were discriminations that the railway managers believed to be just. The truth is that they arose in the main from that process of adjustment entailed by the extensions and ramifications of the channels of trade, an adjustment which is still in process. Not only did discriminations whether justifiable or not give rise to complaint, but there was discomfiture because of the loss of large amounts that had been invested in railroad construction, and there was bitterness of feeling, frequently well founded, against promoters, speculators, and manipulators. Wide-spread agitation led to the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887, which has been followed by amendments giving the Interstate Commerce Commission greater authority, and by drastic legislation enacted by the separate States for the regulation of the railways.

During the past generation many a railway manager has said that there ought to be public discussion of railway problems by railway men that the people might understand the railway attitude, especially in situations giving rise to contention, and the reasons for that attitude. Virtually all railway managers agreed that this ought to be done, but they were absorbed in work that pressed for attention, immersed in immediate practical problems. Largely because of the lack of such discussion, misunderstanding succeeded misunderstanding. The people came to distrust the railways; the railways came to distrust the people.

The will of the people in this country is supreme, and however misguided they often have thought it, the railway managers have found that it has come in greater and greater degree to assert itself in railway affairs. Therefore, it was borne in upon the minds of railway presidents that instead of simply agreeing there ought to be discussion with the people, it was high time discussion began.

It took the enactment of the Mann-Elkins bill in 1910

to bring the railways to the consideration of a definite programme. A committee of six railway presidents was appointed, and this committee engaged in analysis and introspection. They quite understood that the railways were unpopular with very nearly the whole people. They reflected, however, that the whole people do not come directly into relation with the railways. Except in populous centers with suburban traffic, but a small fraction of the people take railway journeys with any frequency, and a still smaller fraction are immediate shippers or receivers of freight or have first-hand knowledge of freight rates.

They reflected that a man is judged in the community by the things which he does, that if he is gruff and ungracious in daily intercourse and is not a good neighbor he is apt to be disliked, no matter how essentially upright he may be. They reflected that so also it must be with a railway, and thereupon recommended that each railway be a good neighbor in every community along its lines, that planks in station platforms be nailed down securely, that approaches to freight stations be kept in good order, that details of service be kept as nearly as possible above reasonable criticism, that the local agent take an interest in the affairs of the town, that all employees be courteous in their intercourse with patrons. One of these railway presidents, when vice-president of a Western road, had assigned to an officer of intelligence and adequate authority the duty of going in person to any community where a complaint arose, of investigating, applying a remedy if there were a real grievance, or of explaining the reasons for the attitude of the railway when it did not think the situation ought to be changed. This procedure gave excellent results, and he has followed it with increasing success on the trunk-line of which he is now president. The committee recommended to all of their colleagues that they do likewise.

These six railway presidents reflected that in the absence of accurate information people are likely to believe that which is inaccurate if it is plausibly put before them; that the railways had permitted all sorts of accusations to be made against them in public speeches and in the public prints, usually without making an effort to reply, and that the cumulative effect of these accusations had been considerable. Therefore, they recommended that whenever an unjust accusation or unfounded reflection appeared in a

newspaper or emanated from a source of influence in any community along the lines of a railway, it spare neither time, trouble, nor expense in bringing the falsity of the accusation home to the source of utterance, to the end that a retraction be secured, or in any event a greater degree of care be exercised thereafter.

It was borne in upon these six railway presidents that the course of railway administration for many years had tended more and more to remove the managing officers from contact with the people; that the formation of the great companies with headquarters in large cities more or less remote from the regions traversed by their lines had centralized the management in the hands of executive officers; that although the most of these men are, and by the very nature of their duties must be, earnest, well disposed, upright, they are not infrequently regarded as ogres by the public at large. An editor of a newspaper in southern Michigan thirty years ago once said that when his town was a station on a local railway every editor along the line knew every officer of that railway; that even when there was not mutual agreement, there was the immediate discussion that brought out the respective viewpoints. When the local railway was absorbed by a larger company, and the administrative headquarters were removed to a great center, where the officers became more and more absorbed in their duties of direction and management, this personal contact waned and vanished. Then it came about that the only intercourse between the newspapers along the line and the railroad was between the local station agent and the local reporter. The local station agent, frequently without information and often forbidden to disclose what he possessed, became distrustful of the reporter. The reporter, bound to "get a story," published rumors and became distrustful of the station agent.

Therefore, it was recommended that officers of the railway companies from the president down mingle in public gatherings and accept invitations to make public addresses; that they take every opportunity when in the different communities served by their lines to become acquainted and have face-to-face discussion with the citizens; that they cultivate and have their local representatives cultivate such cordial intercourse with the newspaper editors and others as would lead to mutual discussion and mutual understanding of matters in interest.

It was hoped that action along the lines of the foregoing recommendations would tend to bring about a certain measure of neighborly good-will. But these six railway presidents were also obliged to reflect that because of the network of through routes and the relation of this ramifying network to the industry and commerce of the whole country, and because of a certain tendency of the regulating powers to regard the railways from the standpoint of their service to the public collectively rather than from that of their existence as separate corporate entities, it was necessary that the railways at all times be in possession of information in regard to the broader questions of common interest to them enabling intelligent discussion of the facts that would guide them in avoiding error. Recognizing that adequate analysis and elucidation of the various factors entering into the broader questions could best be accomplished through an instrumentality exclusively devoted to their study, this committee of railway presidents established the Bureau of Railway Economics and selected Washington as its headquarters because of the accessibility to the official reports and statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of other departments and bureaus of the Federal Government. It was decreed that the work of the bureau be performed in the spirit of the economist, that its researches be impartial, its compilations strictly accurate, and all of its presentations without bias. Indeed, such stipulation was made by the officers of the bureau before accepting appointments to its staff.

Thus has been outlined the programme recommended by the committee to the railway presidents of the United States in July, 1910. There is now to be considered the extent to which that programme was adopted and carried out and what the results have been. It is not to be implied that all of these recommendations indicated a change in the policy that had been pursued by various railways and by some of them for many years. In fact, they were based in part on the success attained by them. It is beyond question, however, that these recommendations have stimulated the railways to cultivate in greater degree cordial relations with the patrons of their lines and with the public in general. Several of the companies, especially in the West, where the feeling against the railways had become embittered, inaugurated "getting acquainted" trains. The heads of

the various departments, starting from the headquarters offices of a railway, traversed the entire system, stopping at the principal stations. At each station the agent had been advised in advance to say that the officers would be glad to see as many of the citizens as might care to make their acquaintance and discuss matters of mutual interest. The results are reported to have far exceeded any expectations. At nearly every station representative citizens awaited the special train. Sometimes a meeting was held in the railway station, but frequently it was necessary to adjourn to a convenient hall. Everybody was introduced to everybody else, and the railway officers would ask for frank statements of any complaints that might be entertained against the company. Sometimes genuine grievances were disclosed. As the head of each department was present, there was not the reference from one officer to another that is so often the fate of written communication, but a remedy was applied at once by the head of the department having jurisdiction. Other complaints were threshed out on both sides, and after a statement of the situation from the railway's standpoint many a supposed grievance was found to the satisfaction of the gathering to be without foundation. These " getting acquainted " trains are now run once or twice a year by the railways which inaugurated them. It has happened that the better part of the able-bodied population of a town has met such a train at the station with a brass band. In other parts of the country railways have pursued the quieter but none the less effective procedure of having their officers make a practice of calling individually upon the representative citizens of the various communities for mutual and candid discussion.

The policy of refuting unjust accusations and proving the falsity of unfounded reflections has been pursued with like success. During the last two years few, if any, attacks upon the railways in general have appeared in magazines without the president or an officer of one or another railway requesting the editor to give like prominence to a refutation. Usually the editor has complied in the spirit of fairness, but not always. Men of public prominence who have attacked the railways have been met with rejoinder. When a newspaper has published an article unjustly prejudicial to a railway the editor has been called upon in person. Convincement that he has been in error not

infrequently leads to retraction; in other cases space has been given to a refutation over the name of a representative of the railway in interest. The traffic official of a Western railway to whom had been assigned the duty of thus replying to newspaper attacks upon his company said that at the beginning this work occupied the greater part of his time, but that in the course of a year it came to require very little, the newspaper editors in his district having attained a sense of responsibility in regard to what was said about the railways which they had never had before.

These recommendations of the committee of six railway presidents have been so carried out that the severe criticism of the railways in general that were rife but a few years ago have greatly diminished and now seldom emanate from responsible sources. Current criticism is, as a rule, at this time more concrete, directed particularly against specific practices. Such criticism pointing out directions of improvement ought always to be welcomed by the railways.

The stimulus toward the coming of the railways to a keener realization of their duties as public servants has been marked by the organization of " safety committees " to impress upon employees that feeling of personal responsibility which is the most effective safeguard against accidents; and of " efficiency committees " to scrutinize operation for the purpose of effecting economies. A crusade has been inaugurated against that trespassing upon railway right-of-way which is the cause of the greater number of the fatalities reported in the accident bulletins of the Interstate Commerce Commission. There has also been a renewed and extended effort toward bringing about a greater diversification of traffic through the extension of industrial agencies which call attention to available sites and business opportunities; and an increasing intensiveness of production has been furthered by the running of demonstration trains accompanied by lecturers, who explain to farmers the processes whereby greater economy and increasing efficiency can be attained in the production of crops. Many railway presidents and other officers have given personal time and effort toward furthering the improvement of the rural highways.

The Bureau of Railway Economics has found a steadily widening field of activity. For the information of its subscribers it has made or has under way analyses of such

propositions as the parcel post, physical valuation, and railway taxation. For use before the Board of Arbitration in the recent engineers' controversy it made exhaustive compilations showing the effect of various factors in wage increases and in traffic movement; and through first-hand investigation in various cities secured information as to the actual earnings in other vocations of employees whose skill and responsibility are comparable with that of the engineers.

This bureau is continuously engaged in a line of studies designed to develop information as to the broader economic relations of the railways. Its recent bulletin, entitled "Comparison of Capital Values—Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Railways," makes clear from published statistics of the United States Government that the capital value of railway property in the United States is increasing less than half as fast as the capital values of either the agricultural or manufacturing industries and that the percentage of net return on capital in manufactures is over twice as high as on that of the railways.

This bureau is making a comparison of the railway status in the United States with that in the principal countries of Europe, and of this two sections have been published. The first brings out that in proportion to population the United States has from four to five times as many miles of line as either England, France, or Germany; that the ton miles per inhabitant are seven times those of France, while the freight revenues per mile of line are virtually the same; and four times those of Germany, while the freight revenues per mile of line are only a fraction over half as great. The capitalization per mile of line of the railways of the United States is less than one-fifth that of the railways of England and Wales, less than half that of the railways of France, and but little more than half that of the railways of Prussia-Hesse, which are the more important of Germany.

To a comparative study of railway wages and the cost of living the bureau gave extended study and laborious compilation which resulted in its being able to announce, on the basis of official statistics, that "it is well within the truth to estimate in a broad and general way that while the cost of living of a railway employee in the United States is less than fifty per cent. higher than that of a corresponding employee in the United Kingdom or on the Continent, his compensation averages over twice as great."

Among other studies is one demonstrating that the capitalization per mile of the railways of Texas is less than half of the average for the whole United States; that while in 1909 the average dividend rate on the total railway stock of the United States was but 4.2 per cent., this was more than seventeen times as great as the average dividend on the stock of the Texas railways.

Another study discloses that if account be taken of the capital expenditures on the Erie Canal, of interest charges, extraordinary repairs, and depreciation, in addition to the charges of the boatmen for hauling traffic, the total cost of transportation of a ton of freight on the Erie Canal is at a higher rate per mile than the average rate per ton mile received by any of the railways parallel to it; and these railways, of course, are obliged to meet their capital charges, repairs, and depreciation, as well as the immediate cost of hauling out of their revenue from transportation.

A service performed by this bureau is the publication of a monthly summary of revenues and expenses of the steam railways. This is compiled and computed from the reports made by the railways to the Interstate Commerce Commission for each month. These returns are not presented by individual roads as in financial reports designed mainly for the information of the investor, but by geographical groups in each of which there is an approximate similarity in traffic conditions. Thus the ebb and flow of receipts and of expenses is indicated for the railways of the East, for the railways of the South, and for the railways of the West. The returns are given not only in aggregates for the month, but also per mile of line—the proper unit of measurement and comparison. When it is understood, for example, that during the record-breaking month of August the net operating revenue of the railways as a whole, which is that proportion of their receipts available for taxes, rentals, interest on bonds, appropriations for betterments, and dividends, averaged only $14.11 per day, which is but $1.41 greater for each mile of line for each day than during August, 1911, it is easily comprehended that the railways as a whole have no more than a narrow margin of profit. When it is remembered that throughout 1911 railway managers were bitterly complaining that their expenditures did not leave sufficient margin with which to make needed betterments and attract the capital necessary for the extensions and additions

requisite to handle the growing traffic of the country, verisimilitude is given to their claim that even the increased traffic of this year does not solve their pressing problems.

These are but a few examples of the manner in which the Bureau of Railway Economics is quietly and unobtrusively rendering a service not only to the railways but to the public. As originally planned, the results of its studies were to be communicated to its subscribers for such use as they might choose to make of them. As the work developed it was urged by many newspaper men that as these studies are of public interest they ought to be made available to the newspaper press. After repeated urging, the bureau entered upon the practice of sending its more important bulletins and brief summaries thereof to editors throughout the United States "for their information, their reference, and their publication if they so desire." The first and foremost aim of the bureau is to be a source of accurate and authentic information; and it is obtaining recognition as such from railway commissioners, from educational institutions, and from the general press.

Not the least important service rendered by the bureau is that of its library. Its librarian has in preparation a complete bibliography, and a volume entitled *Railway Economics: A Collective Catalogue of Books in Fourteen American Libraries* has already been published.

It remains to be said that the programme recommended by the committee of six railway presidents has not been carried out with equal vigor by all of the railways. Those who have been earnest and continuous in the procedure report that there is evidence of a growing mutual good-will between their officers and the people of the communities served by their lines, of an atmosphere in which points of difference can be discussed and, it is to be hoped, adjusted without the acrimony of the past.

The necessity on the part of many railways to observe the most rigid economy stands in the way of their incurring even the additional expense necessary to carry out such a programme. The inertia that tends to pervade large organizations has militated against energetic action on the part of other railways, and it must be admitted that there are still a few railway presidents of the old school who will have nothing to do with such innovation.

LOGAN G. MCPHERSON.)

OUR POLICY IN NICARAGUA AND THE RECENT REVOLUTIONS

BY A FRIEND OF JUSTICE

THE recent revolution in Nicaragua would seem to be the last step in the ruin and degradation of that country. About a year ago the Conservative party now in power took possession of the Government after a bitter struggle. After many hardships and many sanguinary battles that desolated and impoverished the country, they succeeded in driving out Zelaya and depriving of power the Liberal party that had supported him.

As there was just cause for this revolution, and high principle and patriotism apparently animated most of the leaders, it seemed that the new Government would initiate an era of better things in Nicaragua. José S. Zelaya came into power in 1893, and at first he exercised his power justly in accordance with the laws of his country, which are as liberal as those of the most enlightened nations. As he gained a firmer grasp on the country he grew more arbitrary until, as usually happens, he became a military dictator.

A dictatorship founded on the army seems to be the only kind of government that preserves peace for any length of time. It is the logical and suitable method of governing a people, the great majority of whom are but one degree above a state of barbarism, much like the nations of northern Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The mass of the people of the Central American countries are Indians who are in the stage of development that is suited to a government by chiefs or kings; but they have been forced to adopt a republican form of government for which, in their stage of development, they are unsuited.

This form of government, instead of proving a blessing, has, in the case of Nicaragua, proved a curse, as it has promoted wars and revolutions; and unless some principle

can be found or outside influence be exerted to stop the endless revolutions and give the people a proper chance to develop, the end will be a state of anarchy and the complete impoverishment of the nation.

The two parties that have struggled for the possession of the government in Nicaragua are the Conservatives, who endeavored to keep up the old Spanish régime, and the Liberals. The Conservatives opposed universal manhood suffrage and favored the power of the clergy. Originally most of the old aristocratic families belonged to this party. The Liberal party, in normal times the more numerous and powerful, comprises the more progressive men of the nation. It was this party that brought about the separation from Spain. They advocated manhood suffrage, separation of Church and State, and the advancement of the material wealth of the country.

Both parties have advanced in liberal ideas with the progress of civilization, and it would seem that the only difference between them lies in the fact that one is in power and the other out; and they struggle equally for the possession of the government and the control of the finances. Zelaya was strong enough for many years to hold the chief power in the government, and he gave the country during the greater part of this time the blessings of peace. But in addition to the oppressive measures he was forced to use for self-preservation, he was accused of financial corruption. He was said to have received a great deal of money from the persons or corporations who were granted concessions, a great number of which were granted to foreign capitalists, mostly Americans. Millions of acres of land, with the agricultural and mineral rights, were sold for a nominal sum, and nearly one-fourth of the area of the country was thus given over to foreigners. The people who had grown weary of his despotic power made the concessions one of the causes of starting a revolution to put him out of power.

The revolution started on the east coast in 1909, and the chief cry was, "Down with all concessions!" Most of the Americans on the coast aided the revolutionary party because of Zelaya's oppressive acts, and no doubt some of the Americans were influenced by selfish interests, desiring to see the concessions cancelled so that they could get in on the lands and make "denouncements" for mining and agricultural purposes.

At the outbreak of the revolution one of Zelaya's best generals, Juan J. Estrada, was governor of Bluefields, and, as his adherence was of great importance to the revolution, it is said a few members of the revolutionary party went to his room at night and, placing a pistol at his head, gave him the choice of death or joining the revolution. Whether this be true or not, General Estrada gave his adherence to the revolution, and he was afterward named the provisional president of Nicaragua when the new government was set up at Bluefields. Zelaya held the interior of the country and the populous west coast; the revolutionists held a narrow strip along the east coast which was practically a wilderness except for Bluefields, a town of fifteen hundred inhabitants, and the settlements along the rivers to the north of Bluefields. The strategic position of the revolutionists was very strong, for the enemy could not get at them except by coming through the wilderness of primeval forests of the interior or by coming down the San Juan River to Greytown and thence up the east coast.

The march through the interior of the country was not possible in the rainy season, which lasts from June until December; and even in the dry season it was one of great difficulty, owing to the lack of roads and to the almost impenetrable growth of trees and underbrush. The few trails to the east coast led through mountain passes and along the rivers, and they were susceptible of easy defense by a small force. The best of these routes was from Lake Nicaragua to the headwaters of the Escondido River and then to Rama, which is about sixty miles by the river to Bluefields. Granada is situated on Lake Nicaragua, and is connected with the capital, Managua, by a railroad. Zelaya would probably have crushed the revolution, as he had the army and the rich west coast back of him, but for an event that aroused the hostility of the United States. This was the execution of two of our citizens, Cannon and Groce, soldiers in arms of the revolutionary party. They were captured in an attempt to blow up a steamer transporting Zelaya's troops down the San Juan River, tried by a drum-head court-martial, and ordered shot by Zelaya. The United States withdrew its recognition of Zelaya and prepared to intervene in Nicaragua.

As the discontent was manifesting itself in various parts of the country, and the gathering of the United States forces

seemed to be drawing the net around him, Zelaya left the country on a Mexican gunboat in Corinto Harbor. In accordance with a proviso in the constitution, Zelaya " deposited " the power of the government on Dr. Madriz, who was confirmed by the Congress, and he thus became the lawful president of Nicaragua.

The United States Government refused to recognize Dr. Madriz as the constitutional president, as it was claimed he represented the same corrupt men who were in power with Zelaya, though he held the capital of the country and was supported by the great majority of the inhabitants and ruled over three-fourths of the country, including the populous west coast.

The action of the United States gave great encouragement to the revolutionists, and they continued their struggle to get possession of the government. The United States, after Zelaya left the country, assumed publicly an attitude of neutrality, recognizing each party as the *de facto* government in the territories held by them, respectively, but secretly it aided and encouraged the revolutionists and thereby caused their final triumph.

The attitude of the United States was due entirely to self-interest, for it was the policy of the State Department to secretly aid and put in possession of the Nicaraguan Government the revolutionary party, trusting that this party would show its gratitude by favoring the financial plan advocated by the State Department for rehabilitating the finances of the country and in the end placing the country under the virtual protection of the United States and making it a safe field for the investment of American capital. The weakness of the revolutionary party made it absolutely dependent on the support of the United States and it could not have retained power a week had this support been withdrawn. The bankruptcy of the country and the desolation caused by the revolution had prepared the field for the seeds of the so-called " dollar diplomacy " initiated by Secretary Knox, and resistance was hopeless.

Dr. Madriz made preparations to crush the revolution, and an army was sent through the interior to attack Bluefields, but it was met at Rama and defeated by General Mena, a full blooded Indian of large and powerful physique and great natural ability, who held that strategic point.

The revolutionists then made an advance on the western

country with an army under the command of General Chamorro, and they were routed by the forces of Dr. Madriz at the battle of Tipitapa near Lake Managua early in 1910. Then Dr. Madriz organized an army of four thousand men for another attack on the east coast, and to assist in this attack an old merchant steamer named the *Venus* was bought and mounted with a few guns, and the old gunboat *San Jacinto* put in condition to accompany her.

These two vessels proceeded up the east coast and soon captured and held all the ports on the coast with the exception of Bluefields and its outlying custom-house, situated on the high promontory at the entrance of the bay. The revolutionists now held only Bluefields and the Bluff and Rama.

An army of 3,000 men under General Lara, who was an excellent general and a fierce fighter, was marching through the interior to attack Bluefields. About 1,000 men were marching against Rama, and with all but one of the ports on the east coast in the hands of the Madriz forces, and the sea controlled by their armed vessels, there seemed very little hope for the revolutionists who could not muster more than 1,200 men. General Lara, who was much feared, had threatened to loot and burn Bluefields, and as there were many Americans and considerable American property in the town a force of 120 sailormen was landed from the United States gunboats off the Bluff for their protection. The revolutionists constructed an excellent system of trenches and earthworks on the hills back of the town. Outposts were established and scouts were sent out.

The boats navigating the river were seized for the transportation of men to and from Rama, and every preparation was made for a desperate battle. Negroes at Bluefields who had taken no part in the revolution feared for their homes in case the town was captured and joined the defenders in the trenches. Many of them had seen service in the British West India regiments, and their services were of inestimable value in the battle that followed.

About this time the revolutionists made an effort to destroy the armed vessels of the Madriz forces. They seized one of the Norwegian steamers chartered by an American fruit company and put a field-gun on board and went in search of the *Venus* and the *San Jacinto;* but a defective breech-plug prevented a serious battle, and the Norwegian vessel, after exchanging a few shots with the enemy off Grey-

town, returned to Bluefields. The Norwegian Government made a vigorous protest and threatened to withdraw all its vessels from Nicaragua, which would have ruined Bluefields, as no other vessels trade there. The United States State Department adjusted the matter, it seems, and the threat was not put into effect; but no more merchant vessels were seized, and the *Venus* and *San Jacinto* held undisputed command of the sea.

In the latter part of May, 1910, the inhabitants of Bluefields were awakened one morning at daylight by the sound of heavy firing at the Bluff and numerous small boats were seen coming rapidly across the bay containing refugees, who told the story of the capture of the Bluff by the land and sea forces of Madriz. The Bluff had been considered impregnable, as it was a high point of land connected by a low and narrow sandy beach with the land to the northward. This narrow beach was the only land approach, and it had been mined and defended by automatic guns. The high bluffs and bold shores made it impossible to land men in boats. In the hands of a well-disciplined force it could have been held against a greatly superior force. It fell into the hands of the Madriz forces who barely outnumbered the defenders, it was claimed, through the treachery of its commander.

When the Bluff fell, the revolution would have been ended if the United States Government had not robbed the Madriz forces of the fruits of their victory by prohibiting the blockade of the port, on the ground that it would interfere with American commerce. Even without blockading the port the revolutionary party would have been compelled to give up the fight if the Madriz forces had been permitted to collect the customs duties on the goods entering the port for Bluefields, for this was their only source of revenue.

The United States Government authorized the passing of all vessels carrying American cargoes by the Bluff under the guns of the Madriz forces with an armed guard of American sailors on board, and the cargoes were landed at an island up the river, where the revolutionary party established their new custom-house. When the Bluff fell General Estrada realized the hopelessness of the struggle, as the only source of revenue, the last custom-house on the coast, had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

He consulted the American consul, and, with tears in his

eyes and a broken spirit, expressed a desire to surrender and end the useless bloodshed, but he was advised to await the decision of the United States in regard to the blockade and removal of the custom-house. The decision being favorable to the revolution, he continued the struggle.

Thus a second time the action of the United States Government prevented the ending of this ruinous war. The attack on Rama occurred before the attack on Bluefields, and by means of the boats on the river, owned by an American company, the force under General Mena at Rama was strengthened; and the enemy was defeated by that capable general, who retained only a small force to guard that strategic point and sent the rest of them back to Bluefields.

The American naval force practically held the town and defended it on the side of the bay, for the Madriz forces had been notified that no fighting would be allowed within one mile of the town on account of danger to American property. As neither side was equipped to have a sea fight on the bay outside of the one-mile limit, and the American force would not allow fighting within this limit, the revolutionists considered this a sufficient protection on the bay side of the town and put all their men in the trenches back of the town. Thus it is seen that the landing of American sailors strictly for the protection of American life and property aided and strengthened one side in the struggle.

General Chamorro, an excellent general and a man of great courage, was in immediate command of the defenses of Bluefields. This was not his first experience in a revolution, as he had on former occasions led armed revolts against the tyranny of Zelaya. He and Adolfo Diaz were the guiding spirits of the revolution at Bluefields. The latter had been secretary to an American mining company, and he was well liked by all Americans. He had suffered under Zelaya, and the property of his family had been confiscated.

The battle around Bluefields lasted about ten days, and many bullets and some shells fell in the town. The enemy undoubtedly tried to bombard the town, but their artillery was not powerful enough to reach farther than the outskirts, and no one in the town was injured. After several unsuccessful attempts to break through the defenses, and knowing the uselessness of a siege owing to the actions of the United States, the forces of General Lara withdrew.

Had the attack been successful, the position of the Ameri-

can naval force of 120 men would have been one of great danger, and they would have been unable to keep out a victorious army half starved and animated by an intense hatred of Americans, whom they believed to be the authors of all their woes. Foreseeing the crisis that might arise, 200 marines were brought up from Panama; and, though they did not arrive until the fighting was over, the knowledge that they were on the way was reassuring. The Madriz forces along the east coast, supported by the *Venus* and the *San Jacinto,* held on for a while; but after the failure of the attack on Bluefields, and as the revolutionists were organizing an army to invade the western country, they withdrew from the places they had occupied, and the *Venus* and *San Jacinto* were abandoned in a port of Costa Rica.

The country had been impoverished by the war, and the inhabitants desired peace, as it seemed hopeless to struggle against the power of the United States. The revolutionists met with little opposition from the disheartened forces of Madriz and soon advanced into the western country and took possession of the government. Dr. Madriz fled to Mexico, where he has since died of a broken heart, which his friends attributed to the injustice of the United States.

General Juan J. Estrada and Adolfo Diaz became president and vice-president of the provisional government, and they were later confirmed by a general election. It is taken as a matter of course that the leaders of a successful revolution shall have possession of the government, having won it by the physical force on which all governments ultimately rest. The election as a mere outward conformity to the constitution is easily arranged, for the leaders control it.

Mr. Thomas C. Dawson was sent out by the State Department, and he arranged the terms of an agreement whereby the Nicaraguan Government guaranteed civil and political liberty and agreed to appoint a special court called the Mixed Claims Commission for the adjustment of all claims against the Nicaraguan Government arising out of the war. The United States recognized the Estrada government and a minister was sent to Managua.

It was not given out to the public, but it was a part of the agreement, that the Estrada government would have the treaty passed by the Nicaraguan Congress, which was to be the last step but one in the policy that had governed the attitude of the United States. This policy was the so-called

"dollar diplomacy" of Secretary Knox, by which the finances of the country were to be rehabilitated by a syndicate of Wall Street bankers, and the custom-houses were to be placed under the control of the United States in order to guarantee the interest on the loan. The syndicate was to advance $1,500,000 at once to establish a bank, and a further sum of $15,000,000 was to be advanced when the United States Senate should have passed the treaty authorizing the custom-houses to be placed under United States control; and the administration of President Taft undertook to use its influence to have this treaty passed.

One of the most important features of the financial plan was the paying off of the large debt owed by Nicaragua to the Ethelburga syndicate, said to be a branch of the Rothschilds of London and Paris, amounting to about $6,000,000. This debt was a probable cause of future trouble, in view of the responsibility of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine and the conditions of affairs in Nicaragua. The Wall Street syndicate was granted important railroad concessions with enormous land grants to develop the country.

The new government of Nicaragua was hardly established when the rivalries of President Estrada, General Mena, and General Chamorro disturbed its harmony. General Chamorro endeavored to control the assembly, which met to formulate a new constitution, in his own interests, and he was opposed by General Mena, who as Minister of War and by reason of the glory he had won in the war was the most powerful and popular man in his party. Mena was friendly with Americans owing to his association with them in the revolution on the east coast, and he hoped to gain their support for his efforts to win the presidency.

The old assembly having been dissolved, the new assembly which had been elected showed the power of Mena to be in the ascendancy, and it elected him president for the term beginning January 1, 1913, nearly two years in the future, a most unusual method of election. This assembly also passed the treaty for placing the custom-houses under the control of the United States, in accordance with the plan of Secretary Knox.

Soon after Estrada became president he got proof that General Mena was plotting to start another revolution to put himself in immediate power, and Estrada removed him from his position as Minister of War and placed him under

arrest. If the United States minister had supported President Estrada in this effort to preserve his government the career of Mena would have been ended then, and the latest revolution probably would not have been started.

President Estrada, who knew that his position depended upon the support of the United States, went to the American minister and informed him of the situation in regard to General Mena and agreed to leave the matter in the minister's hands, stating that he had no desire but the good of his country and that if he released General Mena he would have to turn the presidency over to Adolfo Diaz and leave the country. It was to the interest of the United States to retain the political aid of General Mena in furtherance of the policy of "dollar diplomacy," and the minister advised the release of General Mena. Estrada left the country, and the vice-president, Adolfo Diaz, became president, or acting president, for Estrada should be still the constitutional president, as he never resigned his power.

Thus the interference of the United States practically deposed the lawful president of the country and sowed the seeds for further trouble, which grew into the revolution headed by General Mena. However well intentioned may have been the minister of the United States, his action made his government largely responsible for the recent trouble.

After the release of General Mena he became more powerful than ever, and it was evident that he intended to control the government and finally put himself in power.

The acting president, Adolfo Diaz, was closely watched by General Mena; and, though they generally appeared in public together and seemed to be friends, it was evident that Adolfo Diaz was virtually a prisoner in Mena's hands.

Adolfo Diaz, with the support of the present United States minister, who relieved the former minister, whose action sent Estrada out of the country, determined to throw off the power of Mena, and he removed him from his post as Minister of War and appointed his friend and the opponent of Mena, General Chamorro, in his place. General Mena, as was inevitable, started a revolution and attacked Managua, which was probably saved from capture by the presence of American sailors and marines.

General Chamorro represents the extreme Conservatives, the narrow men of the party who are opposed to concessions and who hate foreigners generally. General Mena is a Con-

servative, but he is more liberal than Chamorro, and he has always been friendly to American interests.

The Liberals, who are in normal times the strongest party, have made overtures to General Mena, and they have arisen in Leon, the home of Dr. Madriz, and massacred the government troops. It remains to be seen whether the Liberals will join with their former enemy, General Mena, and make common cause against the Conservative government. The interference of the United States would seem to promote such a combination, for there is no more powerful political cry in Nicaragua than hatred of the United States, as the action of the State Department has succeeded in gaining the hatred of all parties there. The State Department made a serious mistake when it attempted to carry out a definite policy in Nicaragua without the approval of the Senate, for experience should have given warning of the probable refusal of the Senate to sanction such a course and of the sad consequences to Nicaragua in case of failure.

The State Department essayed to carry out a new and far-reaching policy in Nicaragua. In view of the opening of the Panama Canal and the future importance of Central America, and especially of Nicaragua, which has the only other practicable route for a canal which might be dangerous to our interests if in the hands of a powerful country, the time seemed to be opportune for this policy. The object was the control of the country by the United States and the establishing of a stable government under which the wealth of the country could develop, making it a fertile field for the investment of the increasing capital of the United States.

Recently the United States has very actively and forcibly interfered in the affairs of Nicaragua and carried on a war without the authority of Congress under the pretense of protecting American life and property, the same pretense that has been employed to justify its former actions in that country. Thus as soon as Congress adjourned the administration took up the threads of its former use of dollar diplomacy, and by a recent pronunciamento issued by the State Department and appearing in the public press about September 18th, it has disclosed a further view of that policy which may have momentous consequences in our future relations with the Central American countries.

This pronunciamento declares that the United States has a *moral mandate* to preserve the general peace of Central

America; and that it will support the constitutional governments and protect the interests of American citizens holding concessions in these countries.

In accordance with this policy, it has supported the existing Conservative Government, and it has opposed the revolutionists under General Mena, declaring a fixed purpose to prevent him at all hazards from gaining possession of the government. The armed forces of the United States have taken control of the railroad and boats which are leased by American capitalists.

The power of the United States is maintaining in office the Conservative Government, which is friendly to the carrying out of the "dollar diplomacy." It is thereby maintaining in power a government in opposition to the wishes of the majority of the people, as represented by the more numerous and more powerful Liberal party, which party is animated by an intense hatred of Americans, due to the actions of the United States in the former revolution.

There is great uneasiness among the other Central American countries at this latest development in the attitude of the United States, and it is possible that our Government may find not only the Liberal party of Nicaragua in opposition to its policy, but the whole of Central America combined against it.

The State Department, however honorable its intentions, has acted without authority, and through its lack of power to announce and follow openly its policy it has alienated whatever good-will the people of Central America held for us. The method of interference by the United States in Nicaragua has caused most of the woes of that country. The time has come for Congress to authorize open intervention not alone for the protection of American life and property, but for the sake of humanity, for the purpose of correcting the evils caused by the former action of the State Department and for which this Government is responsible, and for establishing a stable government under which the Nicaraguan people may develop in peace and prosperity until they are fit for self-government. Unless some outside influence intervenes directly and firmly for these purposes, Nicaragua may cease to be a habitable country.

A Friend of Justice.

TRUST REGULATION

BY ALBERT FINK

I

In view of the apparent unanimity of opinion among many of the leaders of political, industrial, and financial thought, that the time has now come when the National Government should assume some kind of definite control over "Monopolistic Trusts," and among other things regulate the prices at which commodities shall be sold, a casual investigation of this suggestion may not be amiss. The subject would seem, naturally, to divide itself into the following inquiries: 1. What power, if any, exists in the premises? 2. The expediency of the exercise of this power. 3. The solution. It will be the purpose of the present article to deal primarily with the question of power.

The proponents of Federal legislation, looking to the regulation of the prices of trust-controlled or quasi-controlled commodities, seems to rest their belief in such constitutional power of Congress upon a presumed analogy between the fixing of the prices of commodities and the adjustment of transportation rate. In the December, 1911, number of The North American Review Mr. Andrew Carnegie makes the suggestion in the following significant statement: "An industrial court passing upon fair prices as the Interstate Commission passes upon railway rates is all we need." In his "Trust article," published in the *Outlook* of November 18th, in speaking of the extent of the desired control, Colonel Roosevelt expressed the same sentiment: "This control should, if necessary, be pushed in extreme cases to the point of exercising control over monopoly prices, as rates on railways are now controlled." To the same effect was Judge Gary's testimony before the Stanley Investigating Committee.

The argument upon which these suggestions are made to rest seems syllogistically stated to be about as follows: To fix the rate of transportation is the same as to fix the price of commodities. Congress has power to fix the rate of transportation. Therefore, Congress has power to fix the price of commodities.

If by the minor premise is meant a power to prescribe a fixed, definite rate, it may well be questioned. While it seems to be the general impression among the members of the American Bar that power exists in the National Government to clothe the Interstate Commerce Commission with rate-fixing authority, it is believed that the last word upon this subject has not yet been said. Common carriers by reason of the public character of their business have ever been prohibited from charging unreasonable rates. Thus, even in the absence of statute, carriers may not enforce excessive charges or discriminate unjustly between shippers or markets. The enforcement of this duty by national legislation, and the prohibition of unreasonable or unjust rates or discrimination so far as Interstate Commerce is concerned, may be admitted. But it by no means follows that because Congress has the right to prohibit unreasonable rates it has the power to prescribe or fix rates above or below which the carrier may not charge.

To say that a rate is unreasonable is one thing. To say that it shall be a given fixed amount is quite another. In the one case the exercise of the power is regulative and clearly within the constitutional grant; in the other, it may be the taking of private property without compensation. As was said in the Railroad Commission cases:*

"This power to regulate is not a power to destroy, and limitation is not the equivalent of confiscation. Under pretense of regulating fares and freights, the State cannot require a railroad corporation to carry persons or property without reward; neither can it do that which in law amounts to a taking of private property for public use without just compensation or without due process of law."

Nor is it an answer to this objection to affirm that it cannot be assumed that the rate fixed by the Commission will be unreasonable, and that as to all reasonable rates so fixed the carrier is deprived of nothing, in that it is permitted to charge that which the law allows—a reasonable rate. For inasmuch as there is in many cases a margin above

*116 U. S. 307

which the rate becomes unreasonably high as against the shipper, and below which confiscatory as against the carrier, it is the obvious privilege of the latter between these extremes to fix its own charge. The prescription of a definite rate in such cases by the Commission would seem to infringe this prerogative. And so, as a rate which is perfectly reasonable to-day may be and frequently is, through changing conditions, unreasonable next week or month, it follows that any law granting to a commission the power to fix such rates as it deems proper, and continue them in force for any given length of time, is a law which will, in its operative effect, result in the imposition upon carriers of a rate admittedly unreasonable.

By way of illustration: A rate of $1.25 on lemons from California to the Eastern seaboard is reasonable to-day. Next month the increase in the value of the product, or other changing conditions easily imagined, renders this rate unreasonably low. Yet the carrier may not increase the rate because it has been fixed by a commission, and is therefore compelled to accept for its services a compensation admittedly unjust. Such a law would seem to take from the carrier its property without compensation. And if it be conceded that a carrier has the right at all times to charge reasonable rates, any law which limits and violates this right must necessarily *pro tanto* be confiscatory and unconstitutional.

Nor is the objection answered by saying that the unreasonable rate shall be enforced for only such time as will enable the fact of its reasonableness to be determined, unless provision is also made for reimbursing the carrier should the rate fixed by the commission prove unreasonably low. For if it should transpire that the contention of the carrier was eventually sustained, very obviously has the latter been deprived during the interim of that to which it was justly entitled. In this connection it is well to remember that of the cases which have come to the courts upon appeal the Interstate Commerce Commission has been reversed in an overwhelming majority, and that had its orders been enforced in the Maximum Rate Cases, pending appeal, it would have cost the interested carriers over $3,000,000 per annum, not one cent of which would they have been able to recover.

The fact that the amendment of June 29, 1906, carried into that of June 18, 1910, permits the Commission, under certain defined circumstances, to " Prescribe what will be the just

and reasonable rate or rates . . . to be thereafter observed in such cases as the maximum to be charged," and to make an order which may be continued in force for two years " that the carrier . . . shall not thereafter . . . collect . . . in excess of the maximum rate . . . published " proves nothing, for, it is submitted, that if the question of the constitutional power of Congress to enact such legislation in the absence of a provision for reimbursement of the carrier in the event of an ultimate determination that the rate fixed was confiscatory has ever been submitted to the Supreme Court, that tribunal has at least never decided it.

Nor has the Supreme Court ever yet sustained the constitutionality of any law attempting to confer an absolute rate-making power upon the Commission. In the " Social Circle "* and " Maximum Rate Cases,"† decided in 1896 and 1897, such power was denied the Commission under the Act of 1887, though the constitutional point was not raised. And the question as to the power of even Congress itself was expressly reserved in the Northern Securities Case.

Quite recently a unanimous court in commenting on this power said.‡ "A power which, if it obtains, would open a vast field for the exercise of discretion to the destruction of the rights of private property in railroads, and would in effect assert public ownership without any of the responsibilities which ownership would imply." This decision was followed October 5th by that of the Commerce Court§ (also unanimous), holding void an order of the Commission reducing a rate when the reduction was not based upon any unreasonableness of the prior charge, but upon an assumed authority to protect an industry from foreign competition.

The foregoing considerations have put entirely out of view the question as to whether or not, conceding in Congress the power to prescribe rates which shall be charged in the future, Congress would yet have the power to delegate such legislative functions to a commission, for as was said in the "Maximum Rate Case": "It is one thing to inquire whether the rates which have been charged and collected are reasonable—and that is a judicial act; but an entirely different thing to prescribe rates which shall be charged in the future —that is a legislative act." Whether or not the exercise of

* 162 U. S. 184. † 167 U. S. 489.
‡ So. Pac. *vs.* I. C. Co., 219 U. S. 433, Feb. 20, 1911.
§ 190 Fed. 591.

such power by a commission would be the exercise of purely legislative functions or merely " the filling up of details " under a general provision remains to be determined. Though it is to be noted that the Court said: " Congress might itself prescribe the rates or it might commit to some subordinate tribunal this duty." But this question was not involved in the decision, and the language was used only in relating one of the modes of regulation suggested to and considered by Congress during the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act.

But this is not all. The Commerce Clause of the Constitution is limited by other provisions as they have been judicially construed. And it has been one of the settled doctrines of that instrument that Congress cannot enforce upon the Courts legislative or quasi-legislative administrative functions by the grant of either original or appellate jurisdiction. If a discretionary rate-making power were exercised either by Congress itself or a Commission, here would be a legislative act incapable of review by the Court, except upon the sole ground of its being confiscatory as against the carrier, or extortionate or discriminatory as against the shipper. In all cases where the rate prescribed was neither confiscatory nor extortionate the action of the Commission or Congress must be final and not subject to review by the courts, because the question sought to be reviewed would be neither of law nor of fact, but one wholly within the legislative discretion. The net result would be that in those cases in which Congress, or its Commission, fixed a rate not confiscatory, and yet lower than the carrier might fix without violating the inhibition against extortion, there would be a taking of the property of the carrier by the legislative branch of Government, without possibility of review by the courts, and in apparent violation of both the " Compensation " and " Due Process of Law " clauses of the Fifth Amendment.

As was well said by Senator Bailey in an address before the New York State Bar Association:*

" If the Legislature can say what is a just compensation for a railroad service and prevent the railroad from resorting to the courts to challenge the reasonableness of the rate prescribed, then by the same process of reasoning the Legislature can fix the value of any property which it may authorize the railroad to condemn and deny its owner his day in court."

* January 20 1910.

Again, it is to be remembered that by the sixth paragraph of the ninth section of Article I. of the Constitution, Congress is prohibited from giving any preference by "*any regulation of commerce*" to the ports of one State over those of another. So long as the carriers are permitted to fix their own rates limited only as to their reasonableness any preference given one port over another is the act of the carrier, and therefore not violative of this clause. But as soon as the Congress, acting either directly or through its Commission, shall assume the rate-making power the regulation ceases to be the act of the carrier and becomes that of Congress. It is true that the late Mr. Justice Moody while Attorney-General expressed a contrary opinion, holding in effect that rates which were in and of themselves reasonable, just, and *impartial,* though fixed by legislative authority, would not be violative of this clause even though they entailed a varying charge per ton per mile. But Victor Morawetz seems to have sustained a different view.* And a careful reading of the Attorney-General's opinion conveys the impression that his conclusion was made to rest upon an assumption that such rates would not in fact be preferential, and so they would not, if "*impartial*" in the sense that they were the same; but that they would not and could not be the same must be conceded, and it is "*any*" preference which is prohibited. To sustain the contention the provision must be construed to mean any *unreasonable* preference. And when it is remembered that the construction of an American freight tariff upon a mileage basis so as to keep the markets of one section of the country open to those of another, and at the same time admit of the carrier's earning even the interest on their bonded indebtedness, is an utter and absolute practical impossibility, it is not quite observed how a rate-making power could be exercised by the Government without violating both the spirit and the letter of the clause in question.

Nor can the matter be disposed of as in a recent decision of the Land Department,† holding that the granting of the right of way for ditches over the public domain for "manufacturing purposes" did not include in its provisions ditches for the generation of electric power, because electricity was "*unknown*" at the time of the passage of the act.

* *Harvard Law Review,* June, 1905.

† 38 L. D. 302.

But granting *arguendo* the minor premise or assuming that only such regulation of the prices of commodities is desired, as is now exercised with reference to transportation rates — that is, the establishment of a maximum beyond which the charge may not go—does it follow that because the power exists in the one case it exists in the other? In other words, is the fixing of the rate of transportation the same as and equivalent to the fixing of the price of commodities?

Undoubtedly an argument, apparently irresistible in logic, can be constructed to establish the affirmative of this proposition, for it will at once be pointed out that the service rendered by a railroad in the transportation of freight or passengers is in fact a commodity sold by the carrier. From this the conclusion will be drawn that if the power is extant in the one case it must necessarily exist in the other. And if it be suggested that in the one case Congress is dealing with the instrumentalities of commerce, while in the other with its subjects, there will be three answers, each apparently equally conclusive. First, it will be said that the power extends to the one as well as to the other. Secondly, that the commodity of the carrier, its service, is as much the subject of commerce as other merchandise offered for sale; and lastly that the great industrial corporations engaged in the manufacture and interstate distribution of commodities are as much the instrumentalities of commerce as the carriers thereof. Then if it be suggested that the price at which the commodities are sold forms no part of the true definition of commerce, but is merely one of its incidents, the reply will be that such is equally the case with the price at which the service of carriage is performed. Nor can any discrimination be observed between the price at which the commodity is sold and that at which it is carried in their relation to commerce. Both are equally direct.

The result of this seemingly complete analogy must be that either the right to regulate the price at which commodities may be sold must, in fact, exist or the power over transportation rates must have been erroneously assumed. The latter is believed to be the case. The error, if such it be, was probably begot of the urgent necessities of the situation, as well as of a failure to clearly distinguish between powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States and between commerce and its incidents. At the very threshold of the investigation appears a difficulty in

pointing out the origin of the error by reason of the peculiar and interesting fact that the precise question seems never to have been presented to the Court for determination. The power of the general Government to inhibit carriers from levying unreasonable charges seems to have been assumed as a matter of course and to have been acquiesced in by bar and bench without protest.

The history of the origin of this assumption seems to have been about as follows: Prior to 1876 the carriers assumed the position that they were immune from any such governmental interference; that their commodities—that is, the price of their service—was private property which they might sell for such price as they saw fit. By the judgment in the "Granger Cases" the contrary was established, though by a divided court, Mr. Justices Strong and Field dissenting. But the decision did not involve any question of Federal control, and was made to rest upon the principle that such power was one of the inherent prerogatives of sovereignty and therefore within the *police power* of the States. Not only this, but in one of the cases presented the question was as to the right of the State to provide by law a maximum of charge for rates of transportation upon property taken up outside the State and brought within or taken up inside and carried without, both propositions, of course, involving interstate traffic. Following the decision in Munn *vs.* Illinois, the Court sustained the contention of the State as a legitimate exercise of the police power, resting the pronouncement in part upon the principle that the matter was local in its nature and that the State might regulate at least until such time as Congress had taken action in the premises.

When the point was next examined in the Wabash Case* a divided Court† in effect reversed this ruling, holding that inasmuch as the rule there stated would work endless confusion in the event of different States prescribing contrary rates for the same transportation, such a construction could not have been within the purview of the Constitution. The Court then established the doctrine that as to all intrastate business the power of regulation was with the State; as to all interstate traffic, with Congress. In 1887 the Interstate Commerce Act was passed, and from that time on it

*1886—118 U. S. 557.

†Mr. Justices Bradley and Gray and the Chief Justice dissenting.

seems to have been conceded without question that the rate-fixing power was one properly deducible from the Commerce Clause.

Thus was begotten the notion that there exists in Congress from this clause, so far at least as carriers of interstate traffic are concerned, the same power as is inherent in sovereignty, by reason of its *police power,* a conception which, no matter how justified by expediency, is believed erroneous in principle and an invasion of the powers reserved to the States. And this view is much fortified by a consideration of the circumstances surrounding, and the purposes and motives which compelled the incorporation of, this clause into the Constitution. The primary consideration of the grant was to prevent discrimination by one State against the commerce of another, and as was said by Mr. Madison:*

"It was intended as a negative and a preventive provision against injustice amongst the States themselves, rather than as a power to be used for the positive purposes of the general Government, in which alone, however, the remedial power could be lodged."

But the correctness of the doctrine is of more historical than practical interest, for even if its propriety as to carriers be conceded it does not follow that it must be extended beyond that point. A construction which is demanded by some imperative governmental necessity need not be pressed beyond that precise situation—*a fortiori* is this the case when such extension would involve a conflict with other principles and entail a further invasion of the power reserved to the States. There are, perhaps, many principles which, carried to the limit of their logical conclusions, would result in absurdities or utterly destroy the equilibrium of our dual form of Government. Thus, that under discussion would vest in Congress a power to prescribe the maximum wage beyond which a locomotive engineer might not charge, for no distinction can be made in logic between the service rendered by him and that of the engine he drives. Both are engaged in interstate commerce, both are the agencies thereof, and their relations thereto are identical. Yet the most latitudinarian construction would hardly contend for such power under the Commerce Clause. So, it is believed, that if it can be shown upon principle and authority that the right to regulate the prices of commodities cannot be con-

* Letter to Cabell, February 13, 1829.

stitutionally sustained, such will be the holding, irrespective of however perfect may be the supposed analogy to the power to prescribe rates of transportation, if such right indeed exists.

"Commerce"—as defined by the great Chief Justice in Gibbons *vs.* Ogden (a definition which, by the way, has been neither enlarged, modified, nor changed since the pronouncement of that judgment) "is traffic, but it is something more—it is intercourse. It describes the commercial intercourse between nations and parts of nations in all its branches and is regulated by prescribing rules for carrying on that intercourse." How can the price at which a given article is sold be said to be "commerce" within this definition. Is it [the price] traffic or intercourse? Is it any part of the branches of intercourse between nations or parts of nations? In the sale of commodities it is the negotiations, the transmission, the delivery, which is commerce, not the particular inducement, consideration, motive, or price upon which parties may have acted. The particular price at which a thing is bought or sold cannot with any show of reason be said to be commerce, but at most can be held as merely one of the incidents thereof.

But it is not to the mere incidents that the Commerce Clause extends, for as was well pointed out by the present Chief Justice:*

"There is a difference between interstate commerce or an instrumentality thereof on the one side and the mere incidents which may attend the carrying on of such commerce on the other. If the power to regulate interstate commerce applied to all the incidents to which such commerce might give rise, and to all the contracts which might be made in the course of its transaction, *that power would impress the entire sphere of mercantile activity in any way connected in trade with the States and would exclude State control over many contracts purely domestic in their nature.*"

And as said by Mr. Justice Holmes,† "Commerce depends upon population, but Congress could not on that ground undertake to regulate marriage and divorce." And by Mr. Justice La Mar:‡

"The buying and selling, and the transportation incident thereto, constitute commerce, and the regulation of commerce in the constitutional sense embraces the regulation at least of such transportation. If it be held that the term includes the regulation of all such manufacturers as are intended to be the subject of commercial transactions in the future,

* 150 U. S. 655. † 24 S. C. R. 468. ‡ 128 U. S. 1.

it is impossible to deny that it would also include all productive industries that contemplate the same thing. *The result would be that Congress would be invested, to the exclusion of the States, with the power to regulate not only manufactures, but also agriculture, horticulture, stock-raising, domestic fisheries, mining—in short, every branch of human industry.*"

The confusion upon the subject seems to arise from a mistaken impression that anything connected therewith is commerce. Such is not the case. The insurance of merchandise is very intimately connected therewith, but it has been held that a contract of insurance, even though the parties thereto be domiciled in different States, is not commerce.* So where a State had chartered a railway company upon condition of payment by the carrier of a proportion of its receipts from interstate freight (and the argument was advanced that here was a burden upon commerce) the contrary was held.† So a State statute forbidding the consolidation of competing carriers engaged in part in interstate traffic was upheld because not directly affecting commerce.‡ And a contract in restraint of trade between persons engaged in selling cattle imported from different States and destined for distribution to others was held not within the provisions of the Sherman Act because not interstate commerce, and therefore not within the regulating power of Congress.§ The direct purpose of the consolidation of the refineries in the Knight Case¶ was the control of the manufacture of sugar. The monopoly was admitted to the extent of ninety per cent. of the entire business conducted in the United States. Nevertheless, the case was held not within the Sherman Act because not interstate commerce. The Court, speaking through Chief Justice Fuller, said:

"Contracts, combinations, or conspiracies to control domestic enterprise, manufacture, agriculture, mining production in all its forms, *or to raise or lower prices or wages* might unquestionably tend to restrain external as well as domestic trade, but the restraint would be an *indirect result,* however inevitable and whatever its extent, and such result would not necessarily determine the object of the contract, combination, or conspiracy. Slight reflection will show that if the national power extends to all contracts and combinations in manufacture, agriculture, mining, and other productive industries whose ultimate result may affect external commerce, *comparatively little of business operations and affairs would be left for State control.*"

* 8 Wall, 168 † 21 Wall, 456. ‡ 161 U. S. 677.
§ 171 U. S. 578. ¶ 156 U. S. 14.

In the Green Case* an indictment charging the creation of a monopoly in violation of the Sherman Act was held invalid upon its face because it did not involve interstate commerce. Circuit Judge, afterward Mr. Justice Jackson, in defining commerce, said:

"Neither the production nor manufacture of articles or commodities which constitute the subjects of commerce, nor the preparation for their transportation prior to the commencement of the actual transmission thereof, constitutes that interstate commerce which comes within the regulating power of Congress, *and after the termination of transportation, and the mingling thereof in the general mass of the property in* the State of destination, the sale, distribution, and consumption thereof forms no part of interstate commerce."

And in commenting upon the power of Congress:

"But Congress certainly has not the power or authority under the Commerce Clause, or any other provision of the Constitution, to limit and restrict the right of corporations created by the States, or the citizens of the States, for the acquisition, control, and disposition of property. *Neither can Congress regulate or prescribe the price or prices at which such property or the products thereof shall be sold by the owner or owners, whether corporations or individuals.*"

So tested by the decisions of the Court in cases arising under the taxing power of the States where it has been suggested that the particular tax in question casts a burden upon commerce, it is not quite observed how the power contended for can be sustained. That States may not tax interstate commerce has long been established, even though a similar tax is levied on intrastate commerce. Nevertheless, it has been held that a State may tax property within its borders, though manufactured for shipment beyond, or merchandise imported from another State after it has been incorporated into the general mass of the property of the taxing State for the purposes of use or sale therein, and may even tax property temporarily within its borders for the expenditure of work and labor thereon.

There seems to be little similarity between the power necessary to regulate the prices of commodities sold or offered for sale by private corporations operating under State charters and that sustained in the so-called trust decisions. The principle upon which these cases have been decided is that the acts complained of throttled competition, that free and untrammeled competition was necessary to a healthy commerce, and that anything which tended to embarrass

* 52 Fed. 105.

the former was a restraint of the latter. In other words, *a restraint of competition was a restraint of trade* within the inhibition of the Sherman Act. This may be conceded *arguendo,* but it does not follow that the fixing of prices of commodities would destroy that restraint of competition which in itself is believed a restraint of trade. On the other hand, it would appear that such action would entail the very opposite effect. *The regulation of the prices of commodities does not tend either directly or indirectly to prevent restraint of trade.* If the American Sugar Company, having a virtual monopoly of refined sugar, is prohibited by law from charging more than a fixed price, say three cents per pound, how does this destroy or tend to destroy restraint of competition?

The competition has already been destroyed *by the acquisition of the monopoly.* Certainly the ten per cent. of independent competitors would not be benefited by prescribing a maximum beyond which the trust could not charge. As the minimum charge will secure the trade, so the fixing of a maximum merely defines the price beyond which the trust cannot sell. But how does this assist the independent? Must he not meet or reduce this price in order to secure the business. As the competition is not destroyed by the selling at a maximum by the trust, but, on the other hand, by underselling, so the remedy must necessarily be *the fixing of a minimum under which the trust could not sell* rather than a maximum beyond which it might not charge, this minimum to be such as to afford competitors a reasonable profit. Thus, then, we have a Commission which, after full hearing, determines that though refined sugar is being sold at a profit at three cents in the open market, this price is so low that it cannot be successfully met by independent competitors. That five cents would be a price at which the independents could realize a reasonable profit. A minimum of five cents is, therefore, fixed by the commission as a figure below which sugar may not be sold. Obviously the law must be uniform in its operation, and affect both the trust and its competitors, for it can hardly be conceived that Congress would have power to tie the hands of one competitor under the Commerce Clause in order to permit another to reap the profits. Thus we have Congress, through its Commission, under the plea of a regulation of commerce, legislating into an article of ordinary necessity a fictitious value in

excess of that which it really possesses: a tax levied upon the entire community to be offered as a bounty to those who desire entering into competition with the Sugar Trust. And inasmuch as many of the articles of necessity are more or less affected with trust ownership, any general law upon the subject must embrace within its provisions a large proportion of the merchandise of the country now forming the subjects of interstate commerce, thus creating a market based not upon the law of supply and demand, economic conditions, or the cost of production and distribution, but solely upon a fictitious value which in the minds of the members of a Commission is sufficient to enable an independent to compete with such trust-tainted merchandise. *Surely the mere statement of the case should be sufficient.*

Finally, if it be admitted that the price at which the article is sold or offered for sale be commerce, it certainly is not interstate, for the sale of the commodities takes place either in the State of its manufacture prior to its transportation and when it is a part of the general property of the State wherein it is located and thus subject to the local law, or else it takes place in the State to which it has been transmitted for the purpose of distribution, use, and sale, and after it has become incorporated into the general property of that State and subject to its local law. *In neither case can it be quite observed how the sale or the price could be interstate commerce.*

In conclusion, let it be remembered that it is not contended that when any combination or individual secures such control over the manufacture or distribution of a given commodity as to acquire monopoly or quasi-monopoly therein the business remains of a private character. On the contrary, it is believed that under such circumstances the industry becomes as public in its nature and functions as that of common carriage. Nor must it be assumed that it is contended that there is no inherent power in sovereignty to regulate such monopoly, or to prescribe maximum charges beyond which such corporation or individual may not go. Monopolies have ever been held illegal and odious even at common law, and the sovereign power to establish maximum charges and the kind, character, and extent of service to be rendered has long been recognized and fully settled in this country.

The point is that such power is distinctively police, is

reserved to the States, and not within any of the powers granted to the National Government. It is distinct both in its operation and effect, as well as in the principle upon which it rests, from that granted to Congress under the Commerce Clause.

One remaining question suggests itself as worthy of some comment. Can the Federal Government accomplish by indirection that which it could not do directly? That is to say, could corporations engaged in interstate commerce be compelled to renounce their several State charters and incorporate under a general Federal statute, so as to bring them within the desired control by virtue of the provisions of the new enabling act? Such a suggestion was made by Mr. Samuel Untermeyer in a most interesting article in the REVIEW of July, 1911, where it was said:

> "It is now axiomatic that the power to regulate commerce includes the power to control all the agencies and instrumentalities of commerce. Congress can at any time take unto itself the sole right to charter those engaged in interstate commerce."

This, of course, assumes the power of Congress to prohibit any person or corporation from engaging in interstate or foreign commerce except upon the terms and conditions imposed by it, which in its last analysis amounts simply to this: *the power to regulate includes the power to prohibit.* Here it might be pertinently asked why such power was not granted in terms so that the clause would have read "*regulate or prohibit,*" etc. Certainly regulation does not mean prohibition and is in no sense interchangeable therewith. Prohibition is the larger term, and if the delegation of such power was intended, no sufficient reason can be assigned for the use of the lesser instead of the more comprehensive. It cannot be said that the "fathers" were accustomed in their choice of words to use one when they intended another, and certainly no one familiar with the history of that age would contend that it was ever within the intention of the members of the Constitutional Convention, or the ratifying States, to invest Congress with a power which might by any possible construction enable a general and absolute prohibition of commerce either among the several States or with foreign nations, or put it in the hands of any possible combination of agricultural States to legislate against the interests of those chiefly engaged in commerce. It is true that

in the Lottery Cases* it was held that the power to regulate might in certain instances, such as the one then under consideration, include the power to prohibit, but the judgment was by a divided court† and the logic was clearly with the minority. And even in the opinion of the majority the language is most guarded, and with the evident purpose of preventing the extension of the doctrine beyond the facts of that particular case, where the traffic complained of had been locally legislated out of most of the States, was admittedly a general nuisance and obnoxious to the moral sense of the entire nation.

But as to the argument that such power necessarily carried with it the power to exclude from commerce any article, commodity, or thing of whatever kind or nature or however useful or available, the Court said:

"It will be time enough to consider the constitutionality of such legislation when we must do so. The power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States, although plenary, cannot be deemed arbitrary, since it is subject to such limitations or restrictions as are prescribed by the Constitution. This power, therefore, may not be exercised so as to infringe rights secured or protected by that instrument."

If there are any privileges secured by the Constitution to the citizens of the several States, whether they be individuals or corporations, it would certainly seem that among those guaranteed would be found the right to engage in commerce among the States or with foreign nations at least in all lawful, useful, and necessary merchandise. If the people of this country desire to give to their Congress powers in addition to those already possessed, clearly the grant should be made by constitutional amendment and not by judicial construction.

* 23 S. C. R. 321.

† Chief Justice Fuller and Mr. Justices Brewer, Shiras, and Peckham dissenting.

ALBERT FINK.

ST. JOHN HANKIN AND HIS COMEDY OF RECOGNITION

BY P. P. HOWE

THE English drama as Oscar Wilde left it is the English drama that St. John Hankin took up. "I took the drama," wrote Wilde at the end of his life—"I took the drama, the most objective form known to art, and made it as personal a mode of expression as the lyric or sonnet; at the same time I widened its range and enriched its characterization." That Wilde did not do all these things it is needless to say. Wilde made the theater, or found the theater, rather, a perfect vehicle for his own personal wit; in a sense, by producing "Salome" with the one hand and "The Importance of Being Earnest" with the other, he may be said to have widened the theater's range; but certainly he did not proceed, by elevating character into its rightful importance above action, to open up a new path for the contemporary drama. This he left to be done by his successors and as much by St. John Hankin as by any man. Wilde enriched the English theater with one perfectly delightful play, the Continental theater with another play of peculiar beauty, and the theater everywhere with a tradition of wit at any cost that has proved, in the hands of lesser men, an embarrassing possession. He did not enrich at all the theater's characterization if by this we mean the creation of living and recognizable persons, to know whom is to know more of life, and to wonder at it more pleasurably. If Wilde could surprise us, he was well enough pleased; and his way of surprising us was by shining dialogue and by situations so artfully contrived as often to be quite impossible, rather than by the greater artist's way, which is to show us the wonders in the heart of man. At least he *does* surprise us by dialogue and situation, and to do that is out of reach of the journey-

men. But there is another way that the lesser and more sincere artist than Wilde may take. He may take the beaten path, and by keeping close to character, although he may surprise us very little, he may yet give us the real and constant pleasures of recognition. The advantage of keeping upon this path is that it is the path the great dramatist, when he comes, will inevitably tread, only he will find great surprises in it at every turn. The pioneer dramatist like Hankin (and the beaten path in the arts is always in great need of pioneers), if his bent be gently ironical, will write comedies with an intention very like that of the Restoration writers:

> "Follies to-night we show ne'er lashed before,
> Yet such as nature shows you every hour;
> Nor can the pictures give a just offense,
> For fools are made for jests to men of sense."

Hankin's people—one might almost write Hankin's fools, but not quite—may not, as Mrs. Cheveley in "An Ideal Husband" did, "make great demands on one's curiosity." But then, in reality, neither do Wilde's people in the just sense that Shakespeare's or Sheridan's people do. The complete justification of Hankin's minor comedy of recognition is that Nature shows us such people every hour and that the dramatist has rendered them noteworthy by his own fine sense of dramatic style.

Hankin's work for the theater* took the form of five full-length comedies, two short plays, and some clear-headed and witty criticism. If we look at the plays we shall soon see how close, in 1904, he was to the Wilde tradition:

Lady Faringford *(to Mrs. Jackson)*. "You remember her? She was Stella's governess. Quite an intelligent, good creature. But I dare say you never met her. She never used to come down to dinner. I always think German governesses so much more satisfactory than English. You see, there's never any question about having to treat them as ladies. And then they're always so plain. That's a great advantage. And German is such a useful language; far more useful for a young girl than French. There are so many more books she can be allowed to read in it. French can be learnt later—and should be in my opinion."

Mrs. Pratt. "I quite agree with you, Lady Faringford. But the Rector is less strict in these matters. He allowed my girls to begin French directly they went to school at Miss Thursby's. But I'm bound to say they never seem to have learnt any. So perhaps it did no harm."

* Collected edition, *The Dramatic Works of St. John Hankin.* Edited by John Drinkwater. Three volumes. New York: Mitchell & Kennerley,

MRS. JACKSON. "Yes, I have always heard Miss Thursby's was an excellent school."

But Wilde would never have written "The Return of the Prodigal." He would never have studied so patiently as Hankin did the lesser country houses of Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, and Dorsetshire. Hankin's first play is set in the suburb of Norwood, and in the suburb of Norwood Wilde could never have been prevailed upon to set foot at all. The Duchess of Berwick and her little chatterbox, Lady Stutfield and the Archdeacon, Lady Bracknel and the Honorable Gwendolen were seen for a moment in galvanic action during the London season; their stage counterparts without the wit were already types in the theaters of Wilde's day. Hankin is at no pains to keep his people from appearing types; the vaguely fatuous old lady or the "very pretty girl of twenty-two" is of frequent recurrence; but Lady Faringford and Stella, Lady Denison and Margery, Mrs. Jackson or the Countess of Remenham, may at any moment falsify their author's small hope of them and develop a character. Hankin was happy in this, too, that no sudden success in the theater set him writing plays out of his mere cleverness and facility. He waited, as the wise artist waits, for an idea and then he made a play of it. Five plays with Hankin mean five genuine ideas apt for comedy. A bad Mr. Wetherby, living in a bachelor flat, and a good Mr. Wetherby, living *en famille,* may shake hands over the walnuts and wine and congratulate each other. "My bad reputation is as hollow as your good one. We're both frauds together." A prodigal son so arranges his return that he gets the whip-hand of his family and is enabled to go out into the wilderness again replenished in his resources. An excellent lady and her pretty daughter arrive at an interesting distinction between the false hospitality and the true, in accordance with which they invite a lot of people to their house not because they like them, but "out of kindness," with results that are both dreadful and amusing. A wise little lady of family, whose son has engaged himself to the usual musical-comedy actress, puts into practice, in the belief that "love thrives on opposition," a plan of killing it by kindness—an exercise, almost mathematical in its neatness, in the process of exhaustion. A minor county family that has run all to tarnished family portraits and not at all to brains or character, and now not even to sons, turns out-of-doors the

daughter who has spirit enough to seek to live her life in her own way; and then when she produces an heir would like to take her back again, but she won't come. The "idea" of a Hankin play is always concrete and well imagined enough to be readily statable in a few words, but its progress is never cluttered up with a lot of unnecessary "ideas." For Hankin is perfectly clear about the essential thing. "It is the dramatist's business," he says, in one of his essays on the plays of other people, "to represent life, not to argue about it."

He is equally clear about the things that make up good stagecraft, the audible and visible things in the dramatist's art that subserve dramatic idea in its illumination of character; but these he did not always achieve so clearly as he may have wished to have done. The critic who finds it comparatively easy to know what he thinks good is liable, when he becomes author, to find himself resting contented with the less good. It is probable that Hankin never wished very consciously for an art of the stage that was much in advance of that which he found around him—no more consciously than Wilde did; but in technical matters, in matters of the general ordering of his stage, his taste was for neatness and the elimination of conventions that were accepted merely because they were easy. His sense of the theater, together with its subtlety, we see very early, when at the final curtain of his first play we have the bad Mr. Wetherby, newly constrained to accept his wife's dominion, and still very easy in his own mind about it, going out carrying "both the bags." In a later play there is a true instance of the way in which the authentic dramatist will secure effect out of the interplay of dialogue with stage possibilities. The Denison family and guests are at dinner, and as the man who looks after the dynamo has been accepted on the same principle as the guests, that of true hospitality—he isn't *really* an electrician—the lights suddenly go out. The ordinarily placid Lady Denison is worried and hopes it isn't going to be one of his bad nights. The lights come on again, and she has no sooner said, "That's better," than they go out afresh. This depresses her, but a moment later the lights recover, have a series of spasms, and finally settle to work again. This is very good; as good as the moment in Wilde's play when Jack, having gone out of the room in great excitement to find the natal hand-bag, a terrible noise

is heard overhead; "It is stopped now," remarks Lady Bracknel, and immediately the noise is redoubled. We all catch ourselves in these little acts of premature congratulation, and the recognition of other people making themselves ridiculous is always pleasant. In addition, Hankin's touch is a touch of the truest comedy; a great deal of dialogue could not give us with such beautiful precision the full amenity of life in this household where charity begins at home.

But Hankin's plays are not especially notable for their good ordering of the stage. He put up with most of the conventions of the theater as he found them. He suffered his first play to be printed with R. C. and L. C. and R. U. E., like a proposition in Euclid, because he was frankly contented that his play should be acted by amateurs; and amateurs have to be told when and where and how to come on—to "move up" or to "cross" or to "come down"—for otherwise they would not be able to act a piece at all. (Happily, in the new collected edition, the play may be read without these things.) Later, of course, he evolved a form of literary stage direction that is particularly his own; something more must be said of this in a moment. In the mean time we may see, by a glance at any one of the plays, that Hankin was content even at the height of his powers to ask actors and producers to do things that they should not be asked to do by a dramatist who has full mastery over his art. In "The Return of the Prodigal" there is a love scene at one side of the stage while, we are told, "*everybody else is immersed in conversation*"—conversation that goes, nevertheless, by one of the most popular and arbitrary conventions of the stage, unreported. Shakespeare has no stage directions that are of guidance on this point,but he,of course, did not pretend to observe the new unity of the stage that, with its retirement within the picture-frame, has come by general consent to be desirable. By the time of the Restoration, however, we may read in several dramatists the direction, "*They talk in dumb show*"—that is to say, one pair of characters has been made to relapse into a sudden silence, not because in reality they would have done so, but factitiously, in order that another pair may have the center of the stage. This expedient of convenience is a characteristic part of the Pinero technique; and in "The Cassilis Engagement" we read, sure enough, "*They converse in dumb show,*" while

another couple "come down stage" and engage our ear. There is, of course, no question of right or wrong in this; merely the confession that the dramatist has taken the easiest way instead of conquering an unnecessary convention, for "to conquer an unnecessary convention is one of the greatest delights of an art; to loyally accept and work within a necessary convention is no less a delight"—a remark that Mr. Henry Arthur Jones made once, but did not proceed conspicuously to exemplify. Much depends upon what are the necessary conventions. But here is Hankin, in illustration of the general willingness we have found in him to be upon the side of good sense and economy in technical matters, doing very much better only a few minutes earlier in the same play. Major Warrington and Ethel, it will be remembered, have just been having a rather intimate little talk together. Meantime (we read):

"Lady Remenham has been conversing in an undertone with Mr. Herries, occasionally glancing over her shoulder at the other two. In the sudden hush which follows Warrington's movement toward the fireplace her voice suddenly becomes alarmingly audible."

LADY REMENHAM. "Such a common little thing, too! And *I* don't even call her pretty."

This is at least an admission of the claims of good technique and an honest attempt at their satisfaction; it is a scene that need not distress the best of producers. In itself—and Hankin's work is full of instances of such honest good workmanship—it is an advance on anything Wilde saw to be necessary, who would crowd his stage with conversational groups and bring out one after another into audibility like couples circulating on a merry-go-round, while any necessary business that there might be to be considered he would generally impart quite naïvely in a soliloquy. Hankin is never guilty of soliloquy—or almost never. Janet de Mullin remarks "under her breath," it is true, "Monty Bulstead engaged!"—a lapse which gives us a bad quarter of a minute in an otherwise good play. But Hankin's returned prodigal, having safely secured admission to the family drawing-room and everybody having run in various directions in search of restoratives, does not get up and tell us all about himself. Oh no! He takes advantage of the moment to "raise himself cautiously from his recumbent posture and wring out the bandage on his forehead, which he finds disagreeably wet." This done, he hears the sound of returning footsteps

and "resumes his fainting condition." Everything about the prodigal is revealed in due order and with a proper piquancy; this moment is used in masterly fashion and is a true instance of Hankin's faculty of quietly humorous surprise. It is a moment of very good comedy indeed.

We cannot go further without considering the general question of stage directions. Every play that can be read (and every good play can be read, make no mistake about that!) must make plain to the reader by means of commentary upon the words and actions of the persons all those things which in the theater would be made plain to the spectator by the actor's art and by the constant co-operating service of the stage. Drama is one-half a matter of visual demonstration: a blind man sitting in a theater could take away only one half of a true play's content; and to read the bare printed words of a play is to be in the position of the blind man. The function of the printed stage directions is to supply all that difference between what would be apprehended by the blind man and what would be apprehended by the spectator with the whole quintet of his senses about him. But their function is not to supply more. Mr. Shaw's stage directions do supply more; they will give us the appearance of the front steps, of the entrance-hall, and of the staircase of a house, of which in the theater we see only the interior of one room; and when we get to this room the stage directions will describe it, perhaps, from the point of view of a supernaturally observant sparrow on the window-sill. Mr. Shaw's stage directions do not stop short of giving us the whole flora and fauna of the neighborhood, together with the prevailing political opinion and the amount of the water-rate. But Mr. Shaw's narrative excursions are not in any strict sense stage directions at all; they are delightfully readable, and he could no more issue a play without them than he could issue a play without a preface. Hankin, who did issue a Play without a Preface, hit upon a very happy mean between Mr. Shaw's narrative excursions and the alphabetical efforts of the school whose plays looked like a proposition in Euclid or a handbook of instructions for one desirous of becoming proficient in the Morse code. His stage directions, besides adding to our pleasure by the neatly pointed wit of their expression, do really achieve their true function by giving us exactly, or almost exactly, what we miss through not seeing the play in

the theater. The best moment in the best of Hankin's comedies is thus one in which dialogue plays a small part. Ethel Borridge, bored stiff in the Cassilis drawing-room and rendered quite reckless by the German ballad Mabel has just sung very prettily, determines to show these people what *she* can do. She plunges into a "refined ditty," in which the Hankin who wrote "Lost Masterpieces" has caught quite perfectly the style of the less than first-rate music-hall article. The effect is critical:

MAJOR WARRINGTON. "Splendid, by Jove! Capital!"

"That, however, is clearly not the opinion of the rest of the listeners, for the song has what is called a 'mixed' reception. The ladies, for the most part, had originally settled themselves into their places prepared to listen to anything which was set before them with polite indifference. A few bars, however, suffice to convince them of the impossibility of that attitude. Lady Remenham, who is sitting on the sofa by Lady Marchmont, exchanges a horrified glance with that lady and with Mrs. Herries on the other side of the room. Mabel looks uncomfortable. The Rector feigns abstraction. Mrs. Cassilis remains calm and sweet, but avoids every one's eye, and more particularly Geoffrey's, who looks intensely miserable. But Warrington enjoys himself thoroughly, and as for Mrs. Borridge, her satisfaction is unmeasured. She beats time to the final chorus, wagging her old head and joining in stentorian accents, finally jumping up from her chair, clapping her hands, and crying, 'That's right, Eth. Give 'em another.' In fact, she feels that the song has been a complete triumph for her daughter and a startling vindication of old Jenkins's good opinion of her powers. Suddenly, however, she becomes conscious of the horrified silence which surrounds her. The cheers die away on her lips. She looks round the room dazed and almost frightened, then hurriedly reseats herself in her chair, from which she has risen in her excitement, straightens her wig, and—there is an awful pause."

Here we are told—very well told—everything we need to know and nothing that we need not. If we have an ounce of imagination we can see the whole scene for ourselves; but no foolish attempt is made to leave nothing to the imagination. To understand how well and surely this scene is done we have to read not only in the stage directions of other dramatists, but in those of Hankin himself. He is not always, as we have seen, equally sure of himself; if he had been quite as conscious as he might have been that the burden of the dramatist's directions is merely What the Actor Has to Show and nothing else, he would hardly have set Margery Denison the task of showing that she was "quite unconscious of her mother's agitation, as she sat too far from her at luncheon to notice that she was not in her usual spirits" Margery, by her demeanor in the drawing-room,

could hardly be expected to show all that. No, Hankin is here frankly telling us something—as frankly in his own interpolated person as when he tells us somewhere else in the same play that Verreker does not like Hylton, "I'm afraid." This is, however, the defect of a quality. Hankin really did believe in the drama as "the most objective form known to art." He is determined that his people shall stand upon their own feet; and, in the light of this admirable determination, his affectation that he knows no more about them than does the reader or spectator is seen to be an amiable little pose.

Of course an absolute objectivity is as impossible in drama as in any other of the arts. Hankin himself is not forever speaking through the mouths of his people, as Mr. Shaw is, reducing them to mere *raisonneurs;* but in their every utterance there is something of his own sense of style and form—his people bear the impress of their author or they would not be his people at all. The most realistic of artists has thus to put shape upon events and speeches or he is no artist. It is probable that Hankin was not a very conscious realist; but because he kept character in the forefront and refused to give in to what was sentimentally expected of him, he was able to make that scene of Ethel shocking her fiancé's drawing-room as truthful a scene as any on the modern stage. We see most clearly his views on objectivity in drama in the essay already quoted "On Happy Endings." Being content to represent life and not wishing to argue about it, he need not "end," as the writer with a thesis wishes to end. His plays have each the neatness and inevitability of a theorem or proposition, but at the end of them there is no Q. E. F. or Q. E. D. This is what he set out to do with his plays:

> "I select an episode in the life of one of my characters or a group of characters, when something of importance to their future has to be decided, and I ring up my curtain. Having shown how it was decided and why it was so decided, I ring it down again. The episode is over, and with it the play. The end is 'inconclusive' in the sense that it proves nothing. Why should it?"

Why should it, indeed? Does not "Le Misanthrope" of Molière end with the words, "Come, madam, let us leave no stone unturned to hinder the plan he has in view"? Inconclusive words, and yet we are left in no discontent because the play is quite certainly over. It is a different matter

from the ending on a question mark (which is thought to be so clever just now) for no other reason than that the writer has not skill enough to bring his play to a proper end. Hankin, who took the liberty before he wrote plays of his own of showing in his "Dramtic Sequels" that other people's plays need not have ended so soon as they did, showed, in his own turn, that plays need not go on so long. They might stop short of wedding-bells. His own do invariably; partly because to end thus pleased his amiable cynicism, partly because to end thus was quite right. One play, his first, he spoiled. After first begging the question ("I wonder how you two ever came to marry"), the courage of his cynicism failed him, and he flattered the amateurs by reuniting his Constantia and his Dick. Afterward the endings are uniformly "inconclusive" and uniformly right; the disturbing person, having fluttered the dovecote—Eustace or Verreker or Ethel Borridge or Janet de Mullin—goes out, and the dovecote settles once more into its lazy and unimaginative peace. The country house is at rest again; free to take cold baths and to shoot partridges, to crochet counterpanes for the sick, and to manipulate orphans into asylums. That is the true ending for the people Hankin chose to depict. The interesting, disturbing people generally do disappear. There is nothing more manifestly recognizable in Hankin than the truthfulness of his endings.

The chief defect in Hankin's plays is their lack of emotional momentum. His comedy is as minor as is that of the Restoration writers, but what he makes up in sincerity they made up in splendid, spirited speech. "How pleasant is resenting an injury without passion," says Sir Harry Wildair, a damnable sentiment stated quite beautifully; and Hankin's people always do everything "without passion." Their author doubtless felt it was pleasanter so. His inability, after he has given his people life, to give them ardor, does not matter much until we come to Janet de Mullin, whose tirade against her family sounds a little thin and tiny for lack of her eagerness in life having been made real to us. Hankin's last play is in many ways his ablest; but on the title-page of his first play he wrote a line from Horace Walpole—"life is a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel"—that retained its application to his own work to the end. For Hankin thought his way successfully through most of his comedies; but the theme of

"The Last of the De Mullins" is one that demands more feeling than he was able to give it. "Then I met—never mind. And I fell in love with him. Or perhaps I only fell in love with love," says Janet. It is a subject for feeling; but we feel it no more than we feel the "One may like the love and despise the lover, I hope," of Farquhar's pert Melinda. It would not, however, be quite true to say that Hankin worked with his brain alone; numberless touches that we recognize for their emotional truthfulness would have been beyond him so; there are passages like the following with sufficient feeling:

GEOFFREY *(picking rose and bringing it to Ethel)*. "A rose for the prettiest girl in England."

ETHEL. "Oh, Geoff, do you think so?"

GEOFFREY. "Of course. The prettiest and the best." [Takes her hand.]

ETHEL. "You do really love me, Geoff, don't you?"

GEOFFREY. "Do you doubt it?" [Kisses her.]

ETHEL. "No; you're much too good to me, you know."

GEOFFREY. "Nonsense, darling."

ETHEL. "It's the truth. You're a gentleman and rich and have fine friends, while mother and I are common as common."

GEOFFREY *(firmly)*. "You're *not*."

ETHEL. "Oh yes, we are. Of course I've been to school and been taught things. But what's education? It can't alter how we're made, can it? And she and I are the same underneath."

GEOFFREY. "Ethel, you're not to say such things or to think them."

ETHEL. "But they're true, Geoff."

GEOFFREY. "They're *not*. [Kisses her.] Say they're not."

ETHEL *(shakes her head)*. "No."

GEOFFREY. "Say they're *not*. [Kisses her.] *Not!*"

ETHEL. "Very well. They're not."

GEOFFREY. "That's right. [Kiss.] There's a reward."

The last thing to leave Hankin's hand, "The Constant Lover," is all as good as this—a beautifully sustained trifle, very amiable, rather cynical, and very human. Fortunately, being in one act, it has only one curtain. Hankin's final curtains are always good, but he often fails at his intermediate curtains because of his lack of emotional momentum. For it is the fact that criticism may test a dramatist most surely at the moment when he is ringing down his intermediate curtain; it has merely to ask itself the questions: Do I want this play to go on? Is the veil that is coming between me and this uncompleted world almost intolerable? It should be, except at the last, when its very inevitability should of course be satisfying. By however little the dramatist may have left the beaten path of every-

day experience, here, nevertheless, is a moment that must have been so contrived as to "make great demands on one's curiosity." With Hankin, it must be said, one is not so anxious as one should be for the play to go on. Of course, one wants his plays to go on; they would be unreadable otherwise or unable to hold their place in their theater, which emphatically is not the case. But one is a little—what shall we say?—subdued in one's eagerness. Partly this is because the plays, by their nature, hold no great surprise; they will work out; we know they will work out; we know the prodigal will return to the wilderness, the Cassilis engagement end in only one way. Essentially the pleasure of recognition we have in his work is of two kinds—the pleasure of meeting people we know, the pleasure of seeing the episode in which Hankin has involved them come to its logical end. This end will not surprise us; there is no great crisis being at each curtain cleverly deferred. It is a patient, amiable enjoyment that a Hankin play offers. But it might well have a greater, a more steadily growing momentum. This comes in only with true feeling, and the measure of its absence in Hankin is the measure of the difference of his drama from the greatest.

Nevertheless, there are two acts quite perfectly ended: the first act of the "De Mullins," with its skilfully contrived passage between the sisters, and the first act of "The Cassilis Engagement"—"Marry her! Nonsense, my dear Margaret." These are evidence once more of the good things Hankin could do, for which his work will always be valued. He could be quite heartless, as when he is emphasizing some one's "fatuity" or in the uncharitable episode of the maid Anson in the charitable comedy; and then again he could make real a Mrs. Cassilis or an Ethel or a Mrs. Jackson, which no merely clever man could do. At any moment, too, he may demand our pleasure by the gently reminiscent skill with which he reminds us that if we breakfast in our room the crumbs get into our bed, or that it is the custom after a really terrible experience to thank our hostess for such a pleasant evening. It is a quality that is near at least to the humor that is universal. By an accident of commercial orgazination Hankin's work has been kept from the general theater; but it will find its place there, and it will keep its place because it will continue to give this pleasure.

P. P. Howe.

THE BERGSON METHOD CONFIRMED

BY J. W. T. MASON

"But a philosophy of this kind will not be made in a day. . . . It will only be built up by the collective and progressive effort of many thinkers, of many observers also, completing, correcting, and improving one another. So the present essay . . . simply desires to define the method, and to permit a glimpse on some essential points, of the possibility of its application."—Bergson's *Creative Evolution*, p. xiv.

For the progressive elaboration of any philosophy the prime essential is the establishment of a workable method. If Bergson is right in pronouncing the exploration of Reality to be impossible except by the efforts of many investigators, co-ordinate and complementary results cannot be expected unless there exists a method available for general use.

But no philosophic method can be accepted as proven on the indorsement of those who, knowing the method and its initial consequences as the work of one man, claim the ability to duplicate his performance or to augment his avowals. For what is to prevent the assumption that these voluntary guarantors do no more than echo the master's voice? How evade the possible inference that the disciples are hypnotized by the prophet and their further evidence of his claims is but a kind of unconscious, temperamental collusion?

Any method of philosophy resting on the affirmations of a single individual may arouse suspicion that its product is no more than a congeries of guesses, each guess heaped upon others, and all clinging in outward order solely because the speculations have emanated from one source. A method, before it can be regarded as dependable, must be shown to be at the disposal of unallied operators. It differs from the haphazard only when results, obtained not in concert, reveal themselves as harmonious. Whether or not pragmatism is a sufficient illuminant of verity in all things, it seems to be the only possible test of method, for the efficiency

of a method can be demonstrated only if it works—if similar conclusions reward isolated inquirers.

J. M'Kellar Stewart maintains that the Bergson method is incapable of being followed, or even of being stated as a method, because no rules can be laid down for analyzing intuition.* And perhaps this is the most representative objection to Bergsonism. It does not necessarily follow, however, that because implements for examining intuition itself are not at present available the intuitional method is incapable of use.

A. D. Lindsay suggests that the mode of verifying historical inquiry may be extended to the Bergson method, which, by this rule, can be known to be true if it enables us to understand and have insight into the facts of science.† But the test seems inadequate, because the vital concerns of life do not find audiences in that impersonal mood which historians of the past expect to encounter. When the present is involved, understanding and insight depend primarily on emphasis and temperament, the same facts leading to different understandings and different insights, as party government testifies. The sole interest of philosophy, so far as men at large are concerned, is with the life which now is being lived. The objective is to determine which of the many understandings and insights based on the same facts are true: and the only present test of the method would seem to be the facility with which it can be operated independently to give like and complementary results.

Suppose an inquirer into Reality, having no knowledge of Bergson, were to establish claims similar to those that have issued from the Collège de France; suppose the new philosophy of life as creative evolution, of Duration as one with Creation, of the limitations of scientific and conceptual knowledge, of the difference between instinct and intellect, of a world broken to intellectuality, but in its reality interpenetrating, be found not only in the writings of Bergson, but also in a volume compiled in complete ignorance of Bergson's investigations—what then?

Would not the inference be justified that Bergsonism is more than an intricately complex series of guesses? And if, furthermore, each of the two explorers of Reality while following the pathway marked by intuition, had moved in

* *Critical Exposition of Bergson's Philosophy*, pp. 292–93.

† *The Philosophy of Bergson*, pp. 239–41.

different directions, one working through Life and the other through Death, would not that confirm the existence of a consistent method which may be used, as Bergson says, by many thinkers and observers, "completing, correcting, and improving one another?"

Let any philosophic student be asked to specify the source of these sentences:

"Life itself is eternal. There is in that life a principle which is creative."

"The ever-repeated creation is genesis, a constant Becoming."

"Insulation and stability are only relative; nothing is permanently held aloof from the general circulation."

"Our host we have to reckon with is not Logic, but Life."

"Life creative, genetic, transcending causation."

"Life seeks difficulty and . . . involves at every stage of increasing complexity greater difficulty and more frequent and varied risk."

"But for the upholding and sure efficiency of vital destination, life would be at a loss at every critical turn."

"We may not regard the human species as evolved from any other."

"In the first development of human intelligence, the rational is differentiated from the instinctive, involving a peculiar weakness and also a peculiar strength."

"Man in his psychical progress largely surrenders the instinct common to all other animals, thus limiting his knowledge, . . . limiting his action also within the scope of design and invention."

"Science . . . tends to wholly ignore the principle of creative life."

"Generally the terms of science are unvital. . . . Science is confined to a formal conception of existence, and is concerned with quantity . . . rather than with quality."

"Form hides the formative; and form, persistent and held in apparent suspense, veils transformation."

"Transformation is essentially genetic, creative."

"The new integration is not explicable through what precedes it; it would be truer to say that it is the explication of all its antecedents."

"Life, in these outer courts of its temple, seems to deny its essential attributes."

"The sign of life within the veil of the temple seems reversed in the outer courts, becoming the contradictory sign. The flexible, the flowing, the spontaneous becomes there the fixed, the arbitrary, the inflexible."

"Man comes into a world . . . of interrupted currents and of apparent stabilities . . . and this broken world he still further breaks; his mind is a prism, and what to his vision is already partial becomes more discreet in his analysis and most articulate in his speech."

"Matter is not acted upon by other matter, as indicated in the statement of physical laws, or a spirit by other spirits; the action . . . is *in* each, but *of* all. There is no dominion of quantity."

"If we could see the entire synthesis in all its correspondences, the attunement would be manifest, and we would not think of one part as acting upon another, but of all as a living symphony."

"The ultimate mysticism will be . . . one with native intuition, but including a perspective commensurate with the visible universe."

The unhesitating assumption of the philosopher answering the query of the origin of this theory of life would be wrong: the sentences were published twelve years before Bergson wrote *Creative Evolution* and twelve months before the appearance of *Matter and Memory.* They are extracts from a volume quite unknown in philosophic cloisters, yet a volume necessitating close scrutiny there, for by its remarkable similarity to the Bergsonian vision it seems to confirm the correctness of the intuitional method.

Who, cognizant of the philosophical upheaval shouldered in the Collège de France, has heard of *A Study of Death,** by Henry Mills Alden, dean of the American editorial world, for forty-three years editor of *Harper's Magazine,* and the monthly penman of the "Editor's Study" in that publication? And yet the little octavo volume of 327 pages is filled with substantiating evidence that Bergsonism must be more than a guess, as it is shown to be more than the isolated intuitions of an individual Frenchman.

Most important fact in Bergson's and Alden's unity of vision is that the entry of each into inner Reality has been through different channels owing to their dissimilarity of equipment. Bergson is a trained philosopher, a deeply learned psychologist, mentally possessing all the necessary apparatus to test life with the most approved professional instruments. Alden is an editor with a theological training, possessing an extraordinary insight into the meaning of words. Primarily he has explored those realities which are lived, that he might sit in judgment on the intuitive art of the novelist, the poet, the essayist. Bergson plunges into the living stream as an impersonal professional investigator; Alden moves with the current not impelled by the driving force of psychological professionalism, but urged forward, rather, by the impetus of deep religious feeling.

Bergson, familiar with all the devices of psycho-physics, intimately acquainted with the successes and failures of psychology, thoroughly at home among the intricacies of those "indestructible ruins," as Mr. Balfour calls them, of past philosophic systems, is able to apply tests to his own views

*Published by Harper's in 1895, reprinted in 1903. The quotations given above are from pp. 221, 68, 79, 168, 167, 111, 157, 117, 147, 198, 73, 74, 88, 68, 93, 127, 175, 125, 145, 193, 54.

of Reality with amazing rigor. Alden, differently equipped, has made no such onslaught on antagonistic philosophic schools. He does not directly destroy, as does Bergson. He simply describes his own discernments in the vital flux.

A bond of unity, however, is the poetic power each possesses, for the spirit of a prose which seems to speak as the voice of vision dominates *A Study of Death,* as it does *Creative Evolution.* There is another link also. We know on the authority of the late William James* that it was Bergson's revolt against mathematical dogmatism which led him to raise his new standard; while Alden so disliked formalism that he sacrificed full honors at his university by eliminating higher mathematics from his course.†

Alden turned from a conceptual observation of Reality because of the natural trend of his thought. Bergson revolted because, having a full comprehension of conceptual systems, he found them unable to satisfy his longings. This difference reveals itself in their writings. Alden's volume was not published for the same purpose as Bergson's. *A Study of Death* is not a text-book. It rests on the shelves of liberal theologians, perhaps, or is in possession of one who has sought within its covers consolation for the passing of a beloved. It makes no attempt to formulate foundations of a system, nor to outline a method. More than anything else, it shows one man's way of reading life. Not his way of disproving the views of others, but simply a revelation of his own vision.

Hence while Alden undoubtedly anticipated many of the leading principles of Bergsonism, the proofs, the polemics, the *whys* have been indicated by Bergson alone.‡ William James has called attention to the similarity of thought in Bergson's and Charles S. Peirce's writings.§ But James was unable to see the meaning of Peirce until he had read Bergson. Similarly Bergson is necessary for a full understanding of Alden. So to assert that Alden antedated Berg-

* *A Pluralistic Universe,* p. 227.

† *The House of Harper,* p. 217.

‡ For instance, while Alden's intuition reveals a world of inner continuity, broken to the human mind, Alden does not go further, and offer the explanation, as does Bergson, that this is possible because there are degrees of spatiality and because matter and intellect have progressively adjusted themselves to each other, as the inversion of the same original movement of supra-consciousness.

§ *A Pluralistic Universe,* appendix C.

son is in no way to seek to detract from the honors of the latter. It is not a question of honor or priority of insight at all. The essential point is that two independent thinkers, setting forth to examine the living life, have had the self-same revolutionary vision. Alden's explorations of the vital flux are much more thorough than are the results set forth in the brief papers of Peirce, and his statements are much nearer the very words of Bergson than are the terms created by Peirce's difficult style. It will be through a comparison of Alden and Bergson, much more than by co-ordinating Bergson's and Peirce's texts, that proof will become apparent of the possibility of independent workers using the intuitive method without conflict of results.

Whoso seeks for Bergson's deep psychological analysis in the pages of Alden will not find it. Whoso searches for similarity of vital results gathered from the living current will make the discovery on almost every page of *A Study of Death*. A brief examination of some of the approximations in vision shows how close is the essential thought. Witness even the resemblance of simile in the two descriptions of the organic's appearance amid the inorganic:

Alden	Bergson
"Whatever of descent there may seem to have been from the ethereal estate of nebulous flame to that of the mute insensate crust of the earth, we cannot but regard the progression of cell-life as an ascension, as if from the cinders of extinguished fires some new flame had arisen, more nearly imaging the flame of the Spirit."*	"We catch a glimpse of a simple process, an action which is making itself across an action of the same kind which is unmaking itself, like the fiery path torn by the last rocket of a fireworks display through the black cinders of the spent rockets that are falling dead."†

The Bergsonian insistence upon change, as distinct from the appearance of stability, is the key-note of Alden's inquiry into death. Change itself, says Alden, is unspecialized death, and belongs to any life (p. 55). Death is of "the action and reaction proper to life itself whereby it forever springs freshly from its source" (p. 13). By the vital action and reaction Alden does not mean two distinct movements. The one is in the other and they cannot be separated (p. 86).

"No predication we make concerning the action and reaction as seen in the visible world—a world of suspense, where beginning and end are regarded as separate—is applicable to the invisible genesis, where death

* *A Study of Death*, p. 115. † *Creative Evolution*, p. 251.

and birth (if these terms could there be used) are inseparable." (Pp. 141–2.)

Death is " the vast inbreathing of the Spirit of God for His ever-repeated fiat of Creation " (p. 21). The secret is genetic (p. 24).

" We need to carry this idea of Death as associated with Creation and Transformation, into our study of visible existence; otherwise the claims of philosophy as well as of faith are likely to be sacrificed to those of a science which, in its persistent specialization, tends to wholly ignore the principle of creative life." (P. 73.)

His study of death as associated with transformation and change leads Alden directly into the domain of the living, which reveals itself to him as creative evolution (p. v).* In his own words, frequently repeated, life is genetic, creative, a becoming; not a conglomerate of individuals, but " transcending any individual embodiment " (p. 17), and he confirms Bergson's vision of Nature as a moving continuity:

" To all manifest existence we apply the term Nature (*natura*), which means *forever being born*." (P. 17.)

The qualitative, immeasurable nature of Real Time appears the same to Alden as to Bergson. Alden, however, does not use the Bergson words, nor is his analysis so detailed. Real Time and Duration, which Bergson has made so essentially his own terms, Alden names simply Eternity, while Bergson's clock time is called by Alden, without qualification, time or duration. The inner meaning is the same, but in reading Alden the differences in verbal dress should be borne in mind. When Alden criticizes time it is always a broken, measurable duration he belittles, for, as he explains, this is time's etymological meaning:

" Time, etymologically, means something cut off, a section, a season (*tempestas*). . . . All these terms signifying confinement, definition, arrest, suspense, are expressions of finitude, of a world passed, as it were, from its genitive to its accusative case—to the field of objective reality, appearing in this view as measurable matter and motion, as broken in time and space into related parts and sections." (Pp. 79–80.)

What Bergson calls Duration and what Alden, with the same intuition calls Eternity is not thus measurable, though

" even the theologian thinks of eternity as duration, as quantitative rather than qualitative." (P. 74.)

* Alden used the word " transformation " instead of " evolution." Bergson explains that by evolution he himself means " an unceasing transformation " (*Creative Evolution*, pp. 230–1).

Quantity (" the measure and proportion of elements and their relations in time and space mathematically expressed "), rather than quality, is a scientific apprehension, and the terms of science " give us no impression of a living world " (p. 74).

" How, for example, can one who insists upon everlasting uniformity, and, upon invariable laws, express truly the spiritual apprehension of Life as a transforming power?" (P. 75.)

Creativeness shows:

" A purposiveness spontaneous in its working, not according to plan as the result of choice (in our human sense of the term) but showing a plan not limited by alternative, but itself the ground of alternation." (P. 81.)

Could there be in a single sentence a better summary of that vital spontaneity which supplants mechanism and finalism in Bergson's intuition?

The transforming process, the vital evolution, is to Alden, as to Bergson, a continuous becoming:

" The Spirit of Life *becomes* the Universe, which is always and everywhere a fitness * as well as a becoming." (P. 136.)

And again:

" Reproduction, even by fission in the lowest organisms, is the becoming another." (P. 159.)

Note how, with Bergson's precise meaning, Alden uses *becoming* as the subject. The phraseology recalls Bergson's similar emphasis:

" If language were molded on reality, we should not say 'The child becomes the man,' but 'There is becoming from the child to the man.'" †

So wholly is Alden's intuition dominated by the complete continuity of becoming that he rejects a future life as an entrance into " another world." If it be " another world," he argues, it must be " a new becoming," which would be " an inconceivable diversity." Instead, therefore, of " another world " he calls it " the world to come," allying it in relationship of continuity with the present life, which, he explains, " has part in the eternal as truly as any life ever can have " (pp. 320-22). No pantheistic doctrine

* In the immediate context, Alden is discussing Life outside the human range, outside intellectuality, and by " fitness " he means " spontaneous co-ordination " (p. 135)—the Bergsonian " sympathy."

† *Creative Evolution*, p. 313.

enters into Alden's intuition here. The entire emphasis is on the oneness of creativeness with eternity (Bergson's Real Time). Alden accuses pantheism of " abrogating the mystery of creation " (p. 83).

Science, says Alden, disregards the idea of becoming and deals with matter as structural formation or functional activity, so that to science " the creative life, thus veiled, must forever remain a mystery " (p. 113).

In his refusal to accept scientific evolutionism Alden uses words that Bergson might have written:

" Herbert Spencer . . . generally . . . ignores not only creation, but Life itself, and is confined to sequences so stated as to imply the evolution of every new form of existence from its antecedent. In reality, the term evolution is properly applicable only to the processes of expenditure, ignoring the original tension. It is as if we were to consider a watch wholly with reference to its function as a time-keeper—an office which it performs through the relaxation of the tension of its spring—giving no adequate consideration to the tension itself, because our attention is fixed upon the action of the escapement as more immediately associated with the use or function of the machine." (P. 110.)

The theory of adjustment to environment as a mechanical regulator is rejected for the Bergsonian sympathetic insight:

" The hunger which shaped the mouth informed it with a selective wisdom whereby it found its response in a world it had always known, being outwardly stimulated and helped by a world which had always known it." (P. 40.)

Alden sees as plainly as does Bergson that the doctrine of the survival of the fittest lays " undue stress upon the struggle for existence " (p. 111), for " we do not find that either safety or ease is an ultimate objective aim in Nature " (p. 112). " Man was not first an animal and afterward man " (p. 117), Alden, in company with Bergson, maintains, and for the reason that:

" Humanity is in its specialization inseparable from the specialization of Will and Reason. We here touch the pivotal point of a new world." (P. 119.)

The emphasis of this new world falls on the difference between the infallible instinct of animality and the fallible intelligence of humanity—fallible, but involving thereby choice (p. 127). Primitive man was at a disadvantage among the animals, says Alden, lacking " that infallible knowledge which belonged to their instinct " (p. 118), so that

"a rational intelligence, such as distinguishes the man of to-day, transferred to that period, would have regarded the human species as ignominiously defective, and at a fatal disadvantage; . . . every conspicuous difference . . . would have seemed to emphasize his inferiority. To such an intelligence, the law of the survival of the fittest would have seemed to put the human weakling *hors de combat*. Thus impossible is it logically to anticipate the creative transformations of life!" (P. 118.)

In relationship to what Bergson calls supra-consciousness, or spirit, and Alden names God, the progress of life is not an evolution, says Alden, but an involution:

"The universe is not an unfolding of God, but a folding of Him away from Himself, until the manifold hiding is completed in the human consciousness, which is the ultimate fold of all. . . . With the growing complexity there is an increased uncertainty and indirection, until we reach the hesitancy and vacillation of rational volition." (Pp. 83–4.)

The meaning is the same as Bergson's differentiation between instinct and intelligence. Man, says Alden,

"surrendered instinct for errant and fallible reason, and safe simplicity for the innumerable perils of a haughty venture. But it was his destiny, and the very essence of it was its psychical character." (P. 121.)

There is no blindness like that of human consciousness, Alden declares,

"wherein knowledge becomes wholly relative, objective, partial, and limited to the visible course of things—to the closed circuits of physical and mental phenomena." (Pp. 126–27.)

In this human consciousness,

"nothing begins save by interruption or termination. Definition is by boundaries, by the lines of cleavage in the brokenness of things in time [Alden means clock time, not Duration] and space. . . . Whatever elements there may be in the universe . . . that are not thus discurrent, cannot enter into the discourse of our reason." (Pp. 125–26.)

"These illusions of the broken world to the broken mind are inevitable, are vital" (p. 162), says Alden, but, continuing still with Bergson, he warns that reason cannot explain life:

"All reasoning proceeds through analogy, but we must be on our guard against the fallacy involved in the process. The truth in physics or chemistry can become a biological truth only by such transformation as is involved in the inorganic world becoming the organic." (P. 326.)

Rationalism, says Alden,

"becomes entangled in the meshes of its own web, vainly attempting the solution of problems which are of its own making, since they arise only

within the network of relation, association, and causation, whereby, as by the links of an endless chain, it is imprisoned." (P. 127.)

Human intellect, seen by Alden as a "revulsion from animal instinct," involves a sense of conflict with nature (p. 131) and compels the illusion of a broken world (pp. 161–2). Yet,

"the strangest feature of this illusion is that the confinement is known as liberation; and such it truly is—the planetary liberty of arbitrary selection, of choice." (P. 127.)

Just as in his vision of the broken world Alden walks the same road as Bergson, so do the two keep company in maintaining the vital unity. Alden sees that

"the harmony of the world, including humanity, consists through a relation which is complementary and not causal." (P. 196.)

And again:

"There is . . . no separation. The web of existence may have interstices; in time [Alden means time, etymologically, as broken] and space there are intervals between things. . . . In reality, all visible existence is to invisible Being as the stream to its fountain, so consubstantial therewith that it should be thought of as one with rather than as related thereto, than related even as to effect and cause." (Pp. 67–68.)

Even the Bergson vital impetus finds what appears to be a counterpart in Alden's intuition of Reality. He calls it "vital destination," though he does not mean to imply any limitation or boundary or any conscious aim, for he expressly disavows that form of teleology:

"But for the upholding and sure efficiency of vital destination, life would be at a loss at every critical turn." (P. 157.)

Read *élan* for *destination,* and the sentence is wholly Bergsonian, for Bergson, too, uses the vital impetus to explain how life progresses at critical turning-points as when shell armor was discarded for fleetness.*

One catches also a vague glimpse in Alden's book of the Bergson development of the idea of absolute motion. Alden finds in the first dreams "movement which was not locomotion" (p. 42); and of the action and reaction of life he explains, "We may think of these as internal motions" (p. 187). And again:

"To account for the communication of energy through cosmic space, the physicist postulates as a medium the invisible ether, the vortical

* *Creative Evolution,* pp. 130–31.

motions of which have displaced what were formerly known as ultimate atoms. It is but a step from the ethereal vibration to the pulsation of the Eternal Life. We say pulsation, still clinging to an image, to the visible skirts of our expression of what is, in itself, ineffable." (Pp. 15–16.)

Similarly does Bergson travel from ethereal vortices to that ineffable pulsation which he calls real motion.*

Alden, as well as Bergson, emphasizes the fact that the inorganic world regarded as a whole is like an individual life. In a sentence graphically picturing the inorganic as one huge vital embodiment he says:

"The distinction . . . seems to be rather between the molecular and the molar than between the organic and inorganic synthesis." (P. 107.)

But the side of the inorganic presented to the living is the dying side, as Alden sees it, and he uses repeatedly the same terms as Bergson to express this idea, calling the movement of life an ascent and the movement of matter a descent. The descent is applicable not only to matter, but also to life itself, says Alden. When the structure becomes all-important, then life falls, for creativeness, renewal, will not be denied (p. 177). Bergson develops the same thought in his consideration of the two antagonistic movements of life, one carrying vitality forward to a new form, the other concentrated on the existing form.†

Alden makes this conflict between form and becoming the *motif* of his consideration of history:

"Systems, like generations, pass away, not because of their imperfections, but rather because they have reached such perfectness as their scope has permitted; not to give place to the better, but to the new. In this passing, that which seemed stable and inflexible becomes the flowing." (P. 176.)

There can be no science of history (p. 167), Alden insists, meaning there can be no vision of the road creativeness will take, based on what the past reveals. As history marks the flowing spontaneity of life, coupled with *débâcles* traceable to form supplanting the formative, so with religion. When religion becomes automatic, instead of remaining plastic, it is lifeless, and rite and dogma, passing into integral completeness, reveal themselves as unvital (p. 165).

* *Matter and Memory*, pp. 260, 265–66.
† *Creative Evolution*, pp. 128–29.

The ancient Hebrews possessed the true religious instinct because:

"For the Hebrew there was no logical plan of any life. . . . To him, God was not the immutable." (P. 251.)

In his survey of history and religion Alden seems to point the way to a consistent extension of Bergsonism, and gives the answer to recent criticisms that the Bergson philosophy leads away from religion. Apart from his study of death and religion, the most important of Alden's contributions to Bergsonism probably is his analysis of primitive man. The first humanity, to Alden's vision, was in more sympathetic, intuitive harmony with nature than is modern man:

"The primitive man has not that facile handling of things which takes away their wonder, nor that ease of thought and speech which provides for him a fund of loose words and notions which he can toss to and fro, daringly and at random. . . . To him Nature lives in every fiber of her being, nothing is motionless or insensate; it is a flowing world." (P. 33.)

"The savage races of to-day are degenerate, and their inveterate simplicity . . . veils the native sense." (P. 32.) Not in them, but in the true undegenerate primitives:

"The native impression, on the visible side, regarded the universe as a living reality—the diversification of the divine life—and on the invisible or vanishing side felt the elastic tension and expansion of that life as a vaster reality." (P. 46.)

Primitive man's intuitional insight was due to the fact that in him there had not yet been developed those "facile mental processes which loosen the bond of the eternal familiarity" (p. 34). That is, rationality had not developed to the point of overwhelming intuition. And, furthermore:

"When appropriation was limited to living uses, the possession of things was not tenacious enough to imprison the soul in an artificial environment; and thus inward meanings were conserved in their newness." (P. 34.)

When the "habit of abstraction" commenced,

"outward ends began to obscure inward meanings; the primary became secondary; the eternal familiarity yielded more and more to the temporal. Man was fully awake, realizing his peculiar destiny as a progressive, conscious being. His philosophy, passing out of native impressionism, became

through notional [Alden means conceptual] abstraction, the ground of the exact sciences." (P. 43.)

But "sympathy is man's native feeling" (p. 51), and when inward meanings had not yet been submerged by rationalizing processes, the first humanity

"found the way to unseen springs of power, ancestral and divine—a direct and sure way, familiar then, but afterward forgotten or obscured. The spells of sorcery and necromancy were the perversion of this living ritual by which man once courted and won the Invisible." (P. 40.)

For,

"totemism, fetichism, witchcraft, and sorcery are perfunctory relics of what was once a living correspondence." (P. 34.)

Though the primitive intuition has become more and more vague with the progress of rationality, yet man never has lost the fringe completely:

"In the background of all human thinking, however crude, has been this intuition: we know only that which, knowing, we do not know that we know." (Pp. 319–20.)

To enlarge the primitive intuition so that it is commensurate with the universe is the manner by which we shall come to know Reality (p. 54), insists Alden. He calls this the "mystical view," not implying a philosophy of mysticism, but meaning a philosophy which "transcends the visible in its intuition of creative life" (p. 256).

"Though the imagination engaged in this mystical apprehension borrows its symbols or analogues from observation and experience, yet these symbols are spiritually regarded by looking at life on its living side and abstracted as far as possible from outward embodiment." (P. 14.)

Not only is Alden thus allied with Bergson as an expounder of the intuitional method, but also does he emphasize the Bergsonian principle of apprehending inner reality through a study of outer manifestations:

"We especially affect physiological analogues because, being derived from our experience, we may the more readily have the inward regard of them; and by passing from one physiological analogue to another and from all these to those furnished by the processes of nature outside of our bodies, we come to an apprehension of the action and reaction proper to life itself, as an idea independent of all its physical representations." (P. 14.)

Philosophy has to study the manifest as well as the hidden, for

"the true philosopher apprehends a reality beneath as well as in the form, the shaping power and wisdom transcending as well as immanent in the visible shapes of the world, and thus in every fresh scientific discovery he finds a new intimation of spiritual truth." (P. 75.)

And so, to the end, do Alden and Bergson march as pioneers, each independently of the other, blazing the same trail in the same direction of creative evolution. Here and there one cuts deeper than the other, but never does any destructive inconsistency appear in their dual efforts, the one being in complementary relation to the other. There has been no collusion, no comparison of results, no co-partnership of any kind in their investigations. Each has worked from beginning to end in the vital flux without knowing anything at all of the presence of the other. The conclusion, therefore, becomes inevitable that at least this one fact of the intuitional method is proven: *it works.*

J. W. T. Mason.

WHAT IS LIFE ON MARS LIKE?

BY EDMUND FERRIER

THAT most Olympian of astronomers, Le Verrier, at a sitting of the French Academy of Sciences, once cast at his critics this scornful phrase: "Sit down, gentlemen. I will express myself in terms that can be understood even by botanists." And not once, but many times, has the modest science of plants and flowers with as much ease and self-confidence been relegated to the furthermost extreme from the giddy speculations as to the origin of worlds that astronomy deals in. But the discussion which is proceeding on the subject of the canals of Mars is calculated to humble the pride of the learned gentlemen who suppose themselves to have made a final conquest of the heavens. The appearance of Mars during the nights of December, 1911, when it burned so brightly in the sky, distinguishing itself clearly among the stars by its yellow color, and the eloquence with which the American astronomer, Professor Lowell, defends his theory as to the canals, have made the question of what is going on on the surface of that planet a subject of important controversy.

The history of the observations is a singular one. In 1877 the Italian astronomer, Schiaparelli, announced that he had discovered on the surface of the planet a network of dark, straight lines which bound together across the continents a number of seas and which could only be immense canals constructed by intelligent beings. Almost at the same time the astronomers Burton and Dreyer, without knowing anything of Schiaparelli's observations, reported a similar discovery. Such a coincidence left scarcely any doubt as to the reality of the facts. Schiaparelli pursued his observations with vigor; a number of astronomers — Christie, Proctor, Lowell, Douglas, Pickering, Flammarion, and others—set themselves to examine Mars continuously. Sec-

tional maps of the surface of the planet were made. The number of canals discovered increased to four hundred and twenty. They were supposed to be seen filling in summer and emptying in winter. Some of them doubled, so as to form two canals parallel to each other. New canals formed; others disappeared temporarily or definitely. These changes of appearance seemed to be connected, at least in part, with the course of the seasons. It was supposed that a mysterious activity ceaselessly modified the surface of the planet and adapted it to the needs of living beings whose intelligence, if we were to judge by their works, must far surpass our own. The old hypothesis of a series of inhabited worlds took a new lease of life.

Professor Lowell has given this view in its latest form. The planet Mars, like the earth, has its two poles covered with ice-caps. It has also continents and seas. The continents are covered with a vegetation which develops during the summer, continually changing their aspect, and sleeps, like our own, during the winter. The canals, according to this theory, have been constructed by giant engineers, with the help of marvelous machines, whose shape we cannot suspect, the water being distributed equably through the cultivable land as on a microscopic scale is done in Egypt. But the water captured by the Martians is drawn from inexhaustible fields of winter snow and polar ice. Led by the canals from the poles toward the equator, it creates throughout its course a rich vegetation. Along its passage leafy forests and flowery prairies spring up; and it is not the canals themselves, but this luxurious vegetation, which appears in the telescope. Where the canals cross oases are formed; these oases, which perhaps include enormous cities, persist when the canals themselves have temporarily disappeared. All the centers of vegetation are bound together in the summertime by canals. No less than 172 of them have been counted. The regions thus fertilized by the water vary in area from 35 to 200 square miles. In the spring they are clad with the brilliant green color of the young shoots of our own plants (W. H. Pickering); the green gradually fades and takes a blue shade toward the summer solstice (Lowell); it passes finally, at the end of the summer, to a gray monotone (W. H. Pickering). Is not this exactly the image of the changes which our earth must present to the observers, if there are any, who live on the planet

Mars? Here the proud astronomer and the humble botanist work together to enchant our imagination.

Unfortunately, however, there are reasons for doubting the substantiality of this brilliant edifice of the scientific imagination. It is easy to calculate the minimum extent that a canal must present in order to be visible to measure its length and thus to have the necessary elements for estimating its surface. Bringing together the results thus obtained, we find that the total surface of the canals represented on the maps of Mars would be larger than that of the planet itself. This is a result sufficiently startling to give us pause; it suggests that the figures designed under the name of canals refer in reality to discontinuous objects which appear to us mixed together only by reason of the inadequate power of our telescopes. In fact, the use of powerful instruments makes all geometrical regularity of the canals disappear. Using the equatorial of twenty-four centimeters and the telescope of Om. 216 of the Flammarion Observatory at Juvisy, M. Antoniadi, Director of the Mars section of the British Astronomical Association, saw the supposed canals spread, scallop, and pink along their borders and break up into all sorts of segments; while two Italian astronomers, Cerulli and Sola, declare that Professor Lowell's canals are, as the English astronomer, E. W. Maunder, had written in 1894, nothing but series of lakes with no regularity in their arrangement. As M. Charles André had put it, they are " instrumental canals " created not by supernatural engineers, but by our telescopes, our imperfect eyesight, and also our imagination.

Most scientific men deny that they allow any interference of imagination in their scientific work. How, then, could so many practised astronomers have allowed themselves to be deceived by appearances? Some curious experiences have here thrown into relief a singular side of our psychology. We bear continuity and disorder only with difficulty. When numerous and similar objects present themselves to our eyes we involuntarily seek to connect them by some regular arrangement. Let your eyes wander over the patterns or the flowers of your wall-paper; the same designs, according to your disposition at the moment, will appear to you grouped in horizontal or vertical or oblique lines which will appear to run parallel or to cross in diverse fashions. Some parts, at least, of the canals of Mars have been created by such

a mental operation as this. Maunder and Evans made an experimental proof of the fact. They set some children to draw irregular figures, roughly recalling the spots that one can see on Mars; and some of the young draughtsmen, who knew nothing of the purpose of the experiment, reproduced with astonishing fidelity the most characteristic parts of the geometrical designs of Schiaparelli. Is it not, by the way, this tendency of our mind to arrange everything that the impressionists count upon to complete the hints thrown out in their imperfect paintings?

Does all this mean that there are no inhabitants in the planet Mars? No. Mars is certainly inhabited. The collapse of the fairy world constructed by bold imaginations on the base of the canals of Schiaparelli disposes only of the wonderful engineers of whom Mr. H. G. Wells has given us, in his *War of the Worlds,* such a fantastic and captivating description.

The planet Mars has, in fact, passed through the same phases of evolution as the earth and is still a good deal like it. It is enveloped in an atmosphere similar to ours, but a little less dense and richer in oxygen. Clouds float in this atmosphere, hiding from us details of the surface of the planet. Ice and snow accumulate during winter at the two poles and melt irregularly in the summer, marking by their persistence at certain points regions of high altitude and great mountain masses which rise, as on our earth, at the southern pole. The quantity of ice melted during the summer seems to indicate an average temperature like our own. As with us, clouds formed over the seas break in rains which give birth to fresh-water lakes and to rivers by which the water that evaporation has robbed it of returns to the sea. The density of the planet, which is very little lower than our earth, indicates an almost identical chemical constitution. The conditions which determine the appearance of life on the earth are therefore found on Mars, where they have necessarily produced the same effects.

Living beings of very simple structure, which appeared first and from which all the others are descended, have presented the same characteristics, habits, and aptitudes as on our earth. But the evolution of life on the earth did not take place by accident; the world is regulated by eternal laws which contain in themselves its future, as they have dominated its past. Living beings do not escape from these laws.

Their varied forms are not the effects of accidents; we know that they could not be other than they are, that all that was possible has been realized; we know how the vegetables and animals have been built up; we know the ineluctable causes which have determined the formation of the grand types among which they are divided. These causes have operated on Mars as on the earth. There are algæ and mushrooms, as with us; grasses and trees, flowers, colored and scented, like ours and of like forms. Coral reefs border the continents, whose shores are peopled with worms, starfish, and shellfish; reptiles prowl over the continents; birds pursue butterflies through the air; and mammals people forests and fields. But all these creatures differ from ours in details which may be, to a certain extent, defined.

Mars is more distant than we are from the sun—150 million miles on the average, instead of 100 millions. It is, therefore, a little colder; the more so as its central heat is less, because the diameter of the planet is only 4,500 miles instead of 8,500. Martian days have almost the same duration as ours; but the axis of the planet being more inclined on the plane of the orbit by about four degrees, the polar regions where the sun remains more than one day on or below the horizon are more extended, as is also the torrid zone. The inequality of days and nights at the same latitude is greater on Mars than on the earth; at the latitude of forty-five degrees our shortest day is 8 hours 43 minutes, and the longest 15 hours 38 minutes; these are on Mars, respectively, 7 hours 56 minutes and 17 hours 58 minutes long. The duration of the year is almost double — $668^1/_3$ days instead of $365^1/_4$. The orbit of the planet is an elongated ellipse instead of being almost a circle like ours. There is, therefore, more difference between the seasons both in respect of duration and of temperature; and the northern hemisphere, favored by a long summer, is warmer than the southern hemisphere.

On the planet Mars, therefore, there are extreme variations of climate and temperature. Protected by the slowness of the variations of temperature of water, marine animals, fish especially, differ, doubtless, very little from ours; but it is quite otherwise with aerial animals. Those with constant internal temperature have been infinitely more favored on the earth. They must have appeared sooner and have more quickly crushed the great reptiles, which have

long been extinct. On the contrary, the plumage of birds and the skin of mammals, which protect these animals against the extreme variations of temperature, must have developed in a luxurious manner, both attaining a splendid variety, changing and being modified profoundly every year with the seasons.

The variations of winter and summer temperature have made even more complete than among ourselves the hibernal disappearance of insects with all its consequences: the sudden metamorphoses of larvæ, the substitution of intelligence for instinct. But the long duration of spring and summer—above all, in the northern hemisphere—has permitted larvæ to attain a more considerable size. The insects of Mars are, therefore, larger and more beautiful than ours. These delicate animals, however, had one means of escaping the rigor of winter—that which ants, bees, wasps have employed, of building habitations where they can live in elaborate societies and accumulate provisions. The long duration of the seasons must have singularly facilitated this work. Mars is, therefore, doubtless more than Hymettus ever was, a land of honey. Probably this world of social insects would provide immense surprises to an earthly entomologist if such an event as that which Mr. Wells has narrated could really occur.

The force of gravitation on Mars is distinctly less intense than on the earth. It has played on our planet a very great part in the evolution of living forms. It has created the dorsal hump in the shell of molluscs, which troubles them so much that they have had to twist it into a screw in order to attenuate it as much as possible; it has also weighed the reptiles down between their limbs and made necessary a powerful muscularity, in order to prevent the different parts of the body from bending one upon the other. Probably, therefore, the moths of Mars are less flat and more agile, the shellfish less twisted, the mammals infinitely more lithe and graceful than ours. A greater number of them have, like our bats, had to dispute with the birds the domain of the air and to prey upon a whole world of magnificent insects. The atmosphere of Mars is the real theater of the struggle for life. Its richness in oxygen permitting a much greater activity of organic combustion, all living beings must be, despite the smaller power of the solar rays, singularly restless; the more so as sunset leads necessarily to atmos-

pheric calm, and consequently to a complete repose. The nights of Mars are, in fact, profoundly dark. Two little stars, Phobos and Deimos, turn around it more quickly than it turns on itself, and pass rapidly across the sky without giving any light. No moonlight, no tides, no lunar month, a complete suppression of that weekly rhythm which on the earth seems to effect so many biological phenomena, and especially the phenomena of reproduction.

It seems impossible that in such a bustling world intelligence has not progressed as among us. If we recall that the terrestrial animals, whose brains are more frequently moved by the repeated excitations caused by the friction or shocks their bodies experience from the surface of the globe, are those in which intelligence has the greatest chance of developing, it is likely that on Mars, as on the earth, the highest organic forms must be beings like our human species. It is improbable that they have acquired wings, for by that they would have had to lose their hands, which are essential organs of control, without which no certain knowledge could have been furnished to them by the other organs of sense.

All this is, perhaps, only a dream, but one cannot reproach biology for trying to complete the evidence of astronomy through reasoning based, like its own, on the constancy of natural laws.

EDMUND FERRIER.

EUROPE AND THE WAR

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

It is entirely fitting that London, and no other capital, should be the scene of the Balkan Peace Conference. Of all the Great Powers England is the one most clearly and honorably associated with the cause of Balkan freedom. No one, indeed, can be said to have quite taken the measure of Great Britain's influence and position in the world who does not realize that in southeastern Europe, as in Poland, as also in Italy, she has long been regarded as in a special sense the protector and liberator of the smaller nationalities. It was Gladstone who first put forward the formula of "the Balkans for the Balkan people"; who first proclaimed the hopelessness of Turkish regeneration from within; who first insisted that the Turks could only "carry away their abuses by carrying off themselves"; and who by the inspiration of his eloquence was mainly instrumental in freeing Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro from the Ottoman yoke. The event has marvelously vindicated his faith that a policy "inspired by the love of freedom" is for Great Britain and for the world at large the only right policy, and in the end the only winning policy; the confederation of autonomous Christian States for which he labored is now all but a reality; he has been abundantly justified in his prediction that the southward march of Austria and Russia would be checked when despotism met "the barrier raised by the breasts of free men"; and nobody doubts that, had his policy been adopted in its entirety, forty years of crushing and shameful misery would have been spared to Macedonia and Armenia. Little wonder that the country whose conscience he so magnificently voiced has been revered by the Balkan peoples as the chief agent of their emancipation.

Yet it would be futile to pretend that the Gladstonian policy has always been the policy of Great Britain. Beacons-

field's ideas ran notoriously on quite opposite lines. In his eyes the decisive element in the problem of the Near East was the necessity of preserving Turkey as a make-weight against Russia and of saving Constantinople from the grip of the great northern Power. Between these two poles British policy has oscillated during the past four decades. Whenever a fresh massacre or a fresh rebellion has stirred up again the question of the Near East, Great Britain, in the rôle of a sympathetic and disinterested friend, anxious to buttress Turkish rule on the only safe foundation—the contentment and prosperity of the ruled, neither desiring the disruption of the Ottoman Empire nor exacting a price for postponing it, has pressed for reforms with more sense, pertinacity, and loyalty than any other Power. But in doing so she has always made it perfectly clear that she did not contemplate and would not be driven into single-handed action. She accepted the Concert of Europe not as the best, but as the only practicable instrument for bettering the conditions of Turkish government, and she clung to it, and was by far its most active and sincere member, because the alternatives were either complete passivity or armed and unsupported intervention with its inevitable sequel of a European war. I do not know what other course was open to her. British statesmen of all parties, after Gladstone's death, came to a general acceptance of the proposition that the liberation of Armenia and Macedonia was not to be sought by the isolated force of British arms. But that did not prevent them from urging incessantly upon the Yildiz Kiosk the need of reforms. There were times when Great Britain seemed bent on placing the interests of the Christian subjects of the Turk above the interests of the entire British Empire. She appeared to forget that the Sultan was not merely the temporal ruler of the Ottoman Empire, but the spiritual head of the world of Islam; that his influence as Commander of the Faithful, as Khalif, as the guardian of Mecca and Medina, immeasurably transcended his influence as Sultan; that there are in the British Empire more than eighty million Muhammadans; that the security of the British *raj* in India—to take but one example—depends as much as anything else on the loyalty of the Muhammadan subjects; and that the impassioned abuse showered upon the Sultan by British statesmen and writers, who developed the absurd habit of holding him personally responsible for the misgovernment of his

realm, and who made it almost a form of moral turpitude to say a good word for the Turk, alienated the sympathy of his co-religionists throughout the world. It must also be borne in mind that Constantinople, beyond any other capital in the world, is the meeting-place of diplomatic threads innumerable, and that indifference to the problems that focus on and radiate from Stamboul is and must be, on Great Britain's part, an impossibility. So long as Great Britain holds Egypt, is concerned in Asia Minor, dominates the Persian Gulf, and remains in India, and so long as the break-up of the Ottoman Empire threatens to upset the balance of power in the Ægean, the Adriatic, and the Mediterranean, so long is it beyond the power of Downing Street to wash its hands of the Near East.

It was, therefore, in the face of an obvious self-interest that Great Britain took the lead in protesting against the abominations of Turkish misrule and in pressing for its reform. She paid for her insistence in a loss of authority and prestige and of commercial and political influence. The Sultan was estranged and turned to Germany; and British power in Constantinople, where it had once been dominant, sank to almost nothing. Yet neither the British people nor successive British Governments ever abandoned the cause of Balkan freedom. Nearly everything that was done to improve the state of Macedonia through the Concert of Europe was done on the prompting of Great Britain and in spite of the continuous opposition of the other Powers. Her fidelity and persistence seemed to meet with their just reward when the Young Turks arose and a Constitution was wrested from the Sultan, and for a brief moment it looked as though an era of liberty and reconciliation had actually dawned. That British opinion, both popular and official, entirely mistook the character and aims of the Young Turk movement would, I suppose, to-day be disputed by no one. With the utmost friendliness and good-will it soon became impossible not to perceive that the Young Turks were simply the old Sultan in policy and action whatever they might be in speech. Six months ago nothing in the Near-Eastern situation was clear, except that the Turk was as unregenerate as ever, that Macedonia was once more weltering in a chaos of racial and religious frenzy, and that an explosion of some sort was being rapidly precipitated. But I doubt whether there were a dozen people in Great Britain who foresaw the form the

upheaval would assume or who dreamed for a moment that the Balkan States would lay aside their inveterate feuds, form a league of vengeance, and hurl themselves upon the common oppressor of them all. Nowhere has admiration for their valor or sympathy with their cause been keener than throughout the British Isles. The Prime Minister took the earliest possible opportunity of stating the attitude of the Government, of deprecating the discussion of isolated questions that could only be satisfactorily disposed of as part of a general settlement, of insisting on the necessity of a European Conference to wind up the war, of assuring the Balkan Allies that they would not be robbed of the legitimate fruits of their victories, and of announcing Great Britain's desire to co-operate with every effort to prevent the struggle in the Peninsula from broadening out into a European conflict. Sir Edward Grey gave practical and opportune shape to these aims by proposing, and inducing the Powers to accept, a Conference of Ambassadors for the purpose of expediting an exchange of opinions and keeping the interested parties in close touch with one another. His whole handling of the crisis, indeed, has shown a marked improvement on the rather maladroit diplomacy of Downing Street during the anxious weeks that followed Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina four years ago. It has been firm, persuasive, and intelligent, and the British people have responded to it. Few events of our time have more fired them than the spectacle of the Balkan peoples risking their all on a single throw, taking their destinies out of the hands of a supine and fearful Europe, and boldly acting on the energizing truth of the Wordsworthian moral:

> "That in ourselves our safety must be sought;
> That by our own right hands it must be wrought,
> That we must stand unpropped, or be laid low."

Such a development had never entered into the serious calculations of Europe. Yet now that it has come there is a feeling of thankfulness from Rome to St. Petersburg. Even among those Powers that see in the triumph of the Balkan League the death or indefinite postponement of some cherished ambitions, there is a sentiment of relief that the long tale of Turkish misgovernment should at last be nearing its end. No statesman would to-day dream of proposing that Macedonia should be thrust back under Ottoman rule.

"Peace with honor" was what Beaconsfield claimed to have brought with him from the Berlin Congress. But we can all see now that it was not a real peace and that the "honor" accompanying it was rooted in dishonor. The same error is not likely to be repeated again. The "bag and baggage" policy is one that in its essence all the Powers subscribe to to-day. Every one agrees that there can be no hope of contentment in the Balkans so long as the Turks are allowed to lord it over Christian communities; and whatever terms of peace the Balkan Allies are able to arrange with the Turks, so far as Thrace and Macedonia are concerned, the Powers as a whole stand ready to ratify. That marks an enormous advance toward a final solution of the Near-Eastern problem. The position has been reached where Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro are free to settle among themselves the disposition of the territories they have conquered. To that statement there are some exceptions to be made, and with these I shall deal later on. But, broadly speaking, it represents the facts of one of the speediest and most bewildering transformations ever witnessed in history. That Turkish authority must be circumscribed to the corner round Constantinople is something that no one affects to dispute. There is not a single Power that harbors the intention of challenging or reversing that outstanding result of the war, or that dreams of attempting to prop up the *status quo ante*. It has gone irrevocably to pieces and every Foreign Office in Europe is accommodating itself with such speed as it can compass to that central fact. Yet a bare two years ago we were all discussing the Turco-Roumanian Convention as a turning-point in Balkan history. It was understood that the statesmen of Bucharest had agreed, in the event of a conflict between Bulgaria and Turkey, to mobilize their full military strength along the Bulgarian frontier. We were speculating on all that so complete a departure from the cautious and independent policy of Roumania might signify. We were clear that it was a move engineered by the Wilhelmstrasse and the Ballplatz; that it practically eliminated Bulgaria from the list of Turkish anxieties; that it was a warning to Greece and an immense accession of strength to the Triple Alliance. That was in October, 1910. To-day all that the serious diplomats of Europe are concerning themselves with is the compensation Roumania is to receive for her neutrality during the war;

and even that is a question that Bucharest and Sofia will settle between themselves. Nothing could show more clearly the lightning-like revolution that has overtaken all south-eastern politics. From a great part of one of its historic playgrounds or battle-fields—it is difficult to say in which light it should be regarded—European diplomacy has been virtually excluded, or has been reduced to the rôle of countersigning the arrangements arrived at by the petty States whom heretofore it has treated merely as pawns in the rivalries of the Great Powers. The rectification of the Roumanian-Bulgarian frontier; the destiny of the Sanjah of Novi-Bazar; the fate of Salonica; the precise form in which the Balkan Allies are to distribute among themselves the spoils of war—these are matters that have practically been taken out of the hands of Europe and will be dealt with and settled by the victorious combatants on the spot.

One may, therefore, take it for granted that within certain limitations a greater Bulgaria, a greater Servia, a greater Montenegro, and a greater Greece will shortly figure on the map of Europe. If they were to form a Confederation, united by political, military, and, above all, by economic bonds, their strength would be invulnerable and it would only be a question of time before Constantinople became their capital. But that is too much to hope for. Unity for purposes of attack upon a common enemy is far easier to achieve than unity for purposes of administration and defense when that enemy has been disposed of. Already there are signs of disintegration within the Balkan League. The best observers do not expect it to survive for another year. There are those who prophesy that it will soon be replaced by a Turco-Roumanian-Bulgarian Alliance. There are those, too, who foresee the resurgence of the old antagonisms that have been damped down by the war and the ultimate and by no means peaceful rise of Bulgaria to a position of ascendency throughout the entire Peninsula. It is useless, however, to dwell on the multitudinous contingencies that may arise when the present confusion has been straightened out. What is enough, and more than enough, for the day is that the Near-Eastern question has been dramatically reopened and that problems of indubitable peril to the peace of Europe, and of an extraordinary complexity in themselves, have to be faced. One problem, and by far the most anxious of them all, the world is to be spared; there is not going to

be any conflict, or rather any immediate conflict, for the possession of Constantinople. When it looked for a while as though nothing could stop the victorious rush of the Bulgarians and as though the Turks were to be driven not merely out of Macedonia, but out of Europe altogether, a shiver passed through the Powers lest to all their other distractions there should be added the supreme burden of determining the fate of Stamboul. That danger has passed. The Turks will remain in the home of the eastern Cæsars until such time as the Bulgarians are in a position to take it from them. To secure possession of the city of Constantine has, of course, been the dream of Russia for two centuries and more. It is not to the interest of Europe as a whole, or of any country in Europe, that that dream should be realized. Twenty years ago a distinguished English publicist wrote: "The geographical conditions of Constantinople are so extraordinary; they offer such boundless opportunities to a first-class military and naval power; they lie so curiously ready to promote the ambition of Russia, that the advance of the Tsar to the capital of the Sultan would produce a change in Europe greater than any witnessed in the nineteenth century. The absolute monarch of a hundred millions, with an army of two and a half millions, possessing sole command of the Black Sea, Bosphorus, Marmora, and Hellespont, together with the incomparable naval basis which is afforded by this chain of four inland seas, would unquestionably be supreme master of the whole of Eastern Europe, which would then extend under one scepter from the Arctic Ocean to the Greek Archipelago." Much has changed since these words were written, but the prodigious upheaval in the politics of all Europe that would follow on a Russian occupation of Constantinople, involving free access to the Mediterranean, remains as it was. Russia undoubtedly is entitled to an outlet on the warm waters, and the prohibition on the passage of war-ships through the Bosphorus ought to be, and probably will be, removed. But the objections to allowing any one of the Great Powers, but Russia in particular, to hold Constantinople are still as overwhelmingly strong as ever; and it is with a sense of the most heartfelt relief that Europe contemplates the continued retention of the city by the Turks.

Even, however, with that crucial issue out of the way or in abeyance there remain other questions stirred up by the war

in the Balkans that are fully capable of dividing the Powers; and it is well worth noting, as an illustration of the importance of sea-power, that all these questions have to do with the control of ports and coast-lines. It is only when the territorial readjustments that must be provided for on the terms of peace affect the Ægean and the Adriatic that the Powers find themselves vitally concerned. The partition of the inland parts of the Ottoman Empire in Europe is, as I have said, a matter which they are prepared to leave to the Balkan Allies to settle virtually as they please. Austria-Hungary has long been accused of a desire, and even of definite plans, to get down to Salonica. Yet Austria-Hungary has watched the developments of the past two months with admirable restraint, disavows all ideas of seeking territorial compensation, and is willing to see Novi-Bazar, which she voluntarily evacuated only four years ago, become a Servian or a joint Servian and Montenegrin possession. Of all the Great Powers she is the one most directly and intimately affected by the results of the struggle. She borders on the Balkans, for one thing, and for another, the majority of her peoples are Slavs, and bound, therefore, to be reacted upon by the successes of their racial kinsmen in the South. Every accession to Slav power and influence to that extent prejudices the position of the German and Magyar elements in Austria and in Hungary and makes it more probable that the whole realm of the Hapsburgs will gradually lose its Teutonic complexion and assume a preponderantly Slav hue. I do not myself believe that the statesmen of Vienna ever seriously meditated the desperate venture of expanding toward Salonica. But they would be more than human if they viewed the prospect of a formidable Slav confederation in their immediate neighborhood with emotions wholly free from chagrin. Yet they have displayed not the slightest disposition to begrudge the Balkan Allies their victories or to challenge or reverse accomplished facts; and the moderation of their attitude is the best guarantee that the area of conflict will not be allowed to spread. All that they ask of the future owners and rulers of Salonica, whether Greece or Servia or Bulgaria, is that Austro-Hungarian trade shall not be discriminated against either in transit to and from the Ægean or at the local customs. So long as that condition is fulfilled they are apparently indifferent as to whose flag actually floats over the city, or whether it becomes a free

municipality under international protection. One may, therefore, assert with some confidence that the problem of Salonica is unlikely to cause any serious trouble—less trouble, indeed, than the ultimate disposition of several of the neighboring islands captured by the Greeks. Austria-Hungary, again, is on terms of close friendship with Roumania and is naturally inclined to espouse her interests. But here, too, she has virtually announced that whatever compensation for Roumanian neutrality can be agreed upon between Bucharest and Sofia will be acceptable to Sofia. Austria-Hungary, in short, realizing that the enlarged Balkan States will continue to be her neighbors and that she stands to profit by the prosperity that the future holds in store for them, has shown an extremely reasonable and reconciling spirit in adapting herself to changes which she can hardly have welcomed.

There is, however, one quarter in which her diplomacy is decidedly more stiff-necked. The Servians contend that their victories and sacrifices will have gone for very little unless they are allowed a port on the Adriatic under their own control. At present their exports must either pass through Austria-Hungary or stand the delays and expense of the journey to Salonica or through the Black Sea. Practically their only market is their wealthy and powerful neighbor to the north, and whenever Vienna has been dissatisfied with their political conduct, she has been able to put an intolerable pressure upon the smaller kingdom by closing the frontier customs-houses to Servian goods and produce. Servia is thus in a state of constant economic subjection to Austria-Hungary, and all her efforts to escape from this thraldom and to build up an uninterrupted trade with Western Europe have been practically, though not absolutely, futile. Give her, however, a port on the Adriatic with railway communications, and she becomes a free State and in a position to regulate her own commercial future. Without that indispensable equipment, she must remain as she is now, the economic slave of Austria-Hungary. Moreover, she is not asking for anything she has not fairly won by the sword. Her troops are at this moment in possession of Durazzo on the Adriatic coast. What she demands is that they should remain there and that some fifty kilometers of the littoral of the north should come into Servian hands together with a spacious hinterland. To this demand both

Austria-Hungary and Italy return an absolute *non possumus*. Durazzo, they point out, is not situated in a no-man's land. It lies, on the contrary, near the heart of Albania and opposite Brindisi; and what Servia asks is, in effect, that she shall be permitted to partition Albania and to establish a naval base on the Austro-Hungarian flank and directly menacing the shores of Italy. Between Rome and Vienna there has long been a hidden but none the less strenuous rivalry for predominance in Albania. Neither will allow the other to take possession of it; both are united against the entrance of any third party, and especially when the third party is a Slav State and well within the orbit of Russian influence. Each fears or professes to fear—for it seems a far-fetched apprehension—that a Servian portion of the Adriatic would be at the disposal of Russia and that the whole balance of naval power in Europe would thus be upset. They are on stronger, or at any rate more plausible, ground when they insist that a Servian occupation of the central regions of Albania directly contravenes the principle of "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples." Vienna has not abstained from hindering the Servians in breaking away from Turkish misgovernment merely to see them fasten their rule upon the Albanians. If Servia is to be free and independent, why not Albania also? What claim can the Servians put forward to be rid of the Turkish yoke that cannot also be preferred by the Albanians? The Albanians, remember, are neither of Slav nor Ottoman stock. They are the most primitive and the wildest people in Europe, keenly intelligent, with a rigid if peculiar code of honor, immemorially divided by bloody antagonisms of clan and creed, never yet conquered, without roads, railways, letters, or any effective government, fiercely resentful of external control, with a pride in never paying taxes, a people that have never been taken and have never taken themselves in hand, but at the same time a people that have shown by the thousands of able and trusted administrators they have contributed to Turkish officialdom that they have it in them to form a self-governing State. For the Servians to attempt to impose themselves on such a people means racial anarchy and prolonged warfare. The true solution is Albania for the Albanians.

Such, in part, is the response both of Vienna and Rome to the Servian contention. It may be, as the Servians aver, a

response dictated by a shrewd belief that the experiment of an autonomous Albania would be bound to collapse and that opportunities might thus present themselves for either Austria-Hungary or Italy or for both Powers together to seize on the very territories they now insist on keeping out of Servian hands. But whatever the motives behind the attitude of the two Powers, it is, I believe, final and will not be modified. Austria-Hungary, in fact, is prepared, if necessary, to assert her interests in the matter by force of arms. She does not expect to keep the whole of Albania intact. She raises no objections to an extension of the Montenegrin boundaries in the North, or to Greece being rewarded with considerable parts of Greek-speaking Epirus in the South. But she will not tolerate the partition of Albania proper or the appearance of Servia on the Adriatic. The statesmen of Vienna disclaim with vehemence any intention of keeping Servia in a state of economic thraldom. They point out that the enlarged Servia will, for one thing, be much nearer to Salonica than it is at present; that the Allies may form a customs union which would furnish Servia with the additional markets she desires; that no protest would be raised if she were to build a railroad to connect with the Montenegrin port of Antivari on the Adriatic; that means could be found of meeting Servian needs either by a fiscal convention between Vienna and Belgrade or by direct railway communication between the Servian capital and the Dalmatian coast. In short they insist that a port on the Adriatic is not necessary to Servia's economic emancipation. The Servians, however, still profess to regard it as vital, and a strong body of popular opinion in Russia has been aroused in support of their claims. The Russian Government, however, though humanly ready to pay off some old scores with Austria-Hungary and though conscious that its title to the guardianship of the smaller Slav States will be well-nigh gone forever if it fails again, as it failed in 1909, to uphold Servia against "Teuton oppression," has so far taken no extreme step. Both Powers, nevertheless, have mobilized; Germany has frankly stated her intention of standing by her ally, if she is attacked; and the situation, while not yet acute, is still strained and at the mercy of a chance incident. If the Slav sentiment among the Russian masses were to be inflamed, the worst would have to be feared and prepared for—the Balkans being perhaps the only quarter of the world

where Russian popular opinion really influences Russian policy.

But on the whole the chances favor peace. The common sentiment of Europe recoils in horror from the idea of a war waged over such a trumpery pretext as Servia's outlet to the sea, even though the pretext be draped with much knowing rhetoric about the irrepressible and inevitable conflict between the Teuton and the Slav. Germany, for her part, has striven ably and sincerely for a compromise and, to the satisfaction of all sensible people in both countries, has found herself working hand in hand with Great Britain. France has been equally active in searching for a formula of reconciliation. Nobody, it may truly be said, wants war—least of all the Balkan Allies, who could hardly hope to retain a tithe of what they have so lately won. Everybody, moreover, realizes that if war were to come it could not be isolated or restrained until every leading Power in Europe had bled itself white. France would be forced to go to the support of Russia, and Germany to that of Austria; and Great Britain would find herself frantically debating her proper course of action. That is a prospect so abhorrent to the average man that one cannot think it will come to pass or that diplomacy, which so far has met the crisis with flexibility, good sense, and an unusual power of adaptation, will fail ignobly at the last fence.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

"THE SONS OF THE EAGLE"

BY STEPHEN BONSAL

THE Dalmation and Albanian coast—indeed, the whole eastern shore of the Adriatic—is a wonderful place for the philosophic student of history, by a close scrutiny of the ruins of the past, to seek to divine the course of the future. On the lonely beach at Spalato crumbles the imperial palace of Diocletian, at once the most picturesque and useful ruin in the world. For the imperial hall that still survives from the spacious days has been converted into crowded tenements that house two or three thousand families, apparently always on the verge of starvation. Here in this place which the great emperor, an Albanian himself, the Albanians say, sought to make the center of the empire which was to be only confined by the limits of the Roman world, the only dignified survivors to-day are a peculiar class of beggars who put on shocking frock coats before going to meet the incoming steamers with their burden of purse-proud tourists. The ruined capital of this dead world still enjoys a situation of incomparable beauty. Before it sits Italy, emerging Venus-like out of the sea, and behind it stands the open gate of the East, giving access to those to-day chaotic countries which once formed the Greek world. Seated upon this coign of vantage the Roman Emperor had surveyed new channels of commerce and designed new marts of trade just as we are marking out and planning to-day a new South America and a new road to the Far East. In booming Spalato Diocletian was presiding over an ancient Panama.

After his little span of life and the short day of the Roman Emperor's power was ended, the Adriatic almost suddenly lost its splendor and the aspect of things once so promising turned adversely. There were many contributing causes;

the greatest was, perhaps, not the antagonism between the Crescent and the Cross, but the schism between the Church of the East and the Church of the West, which raised a barrier against commerce and communication, against the spread of civilization and the arts, higher even and harder to surmount than were the purple mountains beyond the sandy shore. Even to-day in this awakening era, with all its quickening impulses, this coast lies there stark and still like a beautiful corpse wrapped in the tattered shroud of its past glories. To-day Avlona, Durazzo, the little forgotten havens that go back to the golden days, are silting up. There is no commerce to speak of and uncommonly few ships enter the deserted and unlighted harbors. The back country is without roads and its inhabitants lead a miserable starvation existence. They have not the slightest idea of law and order or that Roman peace which they once enjoyed.

To-day San Giovanni di Medua, where the proposed railway from the Danube should reach the sea, that railway which the Austrians have naturally so much at heart, is but a swampy and somewhat pestilential bay. The entrance to the Bagona River is growing narrower and shallower every day, and only the lightest-draught vessels can reach Scutari Lake. Indeed, but for Trieste, for Fiume, and Venice, the Adriatic would be a dead sea. Man gone back to a primitive state, almost relapsed into barbarism, is the greatest of obstacles between the Adriatic and Macedonia and the rich markets beyond. In these districts which were once the center of civilization commerce has retrograded to the barter stage, and the channels of communication and the methods of exchange are of such a primitive kind that the Baggarah Arabs whom Stanley found at work in the heart of Africa when he first reached there would have spurned them.

It cannot be denied that a great majority of the envoys assembled at the Congress of Berlin viewed the Balkan situation seated Jove-like upon the Olympian clouds. Naturally, they indulged in many vagaries, and in taking away from the Bulgarians and the Macedonian Slavs the lands which they had helped to conquer and giving to the Montenegrins the lands which they had failed to secure by force of arms, they with careful carelessness stored the combustibles which are in conflagration to-day. The Albanians, natural-

ly enough, resisted these encroachments upon the territory that they had defended for two thousand years, at least, and they were the very first to reverse the decree of that august assembly. After thousands of lives had been wasted, Europe receded from the position it had taken in ignorance, and to-day Gusinje and the other coveted and disputed districts which were retroceded to Albania, nominally to Turkey, are wet with the blood of the stubborn mountain men. It is not only outside of Constantinople that the history of 1878 is repeating itself in this year of grace. By the lake of Scutari to-day the Montenegrins are trying to take by conquest, up to the present with uncommon little success, the lands which all Europe in solemn conclave assembled gave them as a free gift thirty-four years ago. In other words, the Conference in London, beset by many pitfalls of recent construction, will also have to avoid those traps by which the plenipotentiaries at Berlin in the last generation were ensnared.

The Albanians helped to overthrow the Slav Empire at Kossovo, serving under the green banners of the Prophet, and at Lepanto they sought death in the sea rather than strike their flags to the fighting galleys of John of Austria. They contributed many brave soldiers to the Greeks in their wars against the Turks, and it was Marco Bozzaris, whom Edward Everett, afterward our great Secretary of State, visited in his hero-worshiping student days, who actually achieved, so far as it was the work of one man, Hellenic independence. And the Albanians took part in the struggle for Italian unity in the person of Francisco Crispi and a score of others only a little less prominent. In a word, I think it is quite possible that a race or a clan who gave Achilles to Homer, Alexander to the world and to Plutarch, may still have the makings of a nation, although they may never have been able to contrive an alphabet without outside help, as is the taunt of their unfriendly neighbors, the Slavs.

The Italian contingent of Albanians, of whom the late Premier Crispi was the most prominent member, is deserving, I think, of more than academic or antiquarian interest. It is destined to exert a great political influence in more ways than one upon the future of their kinsmen who remained at home. The Albanians of Central Italy are conservatively estimated to number more than 200,000 souls, and though some of these families have been established in Italy

for over four hundred years they still speak of the eagle's nest across the Adriatic in the track of the rising sun as home. Undoubtedly it is these Albanian colonies abroad, men who yielded to economic rather than to political conditions, who have founded flourishing colonies in Egypt, in Austria, in Rumania, and, last of all to-day, in America, who have revealed to their kinsmen at home the methods of modern resistance, the insufficiency of mere stalwart fighting, and who are now furnishing them with the sinews of war. It was these overseas Albanians who first originated the idea of an autonomous Albania under the suzerainty of the Sultan at Stamboul, a plan now discarded, or, at least, unpopular in their councils because of the embittered sanguinary battles they have been compelled to carry on for the last four years almost without interruption with the Young Turks in defense of their ancient rights and privileges.

It was in the days of Abdul Hamid that the Albanians enjoyed high esteem in Constantinople. Hardly were the camp-fires out or the typhus graves at San Stefano filled when the Sultan emerging from his great defeat with unbroken spirit summoned the fighting begs of the high Albanian hills to him, and while the diplomatists of Europe assembled in Berlin were making and unmaking maps as though they were of no more importance than dinner-cards, the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, formed that Cangra, or Albanian League, which is largely shaping the destinies of this part of the world to-day and is certainly a power that the Conference of London will have to reckon with. The conferees should bear in mind how easily the pompous arrangements of the Berlin Congress, which had behind it a more united Europe than exists to-day, were reversed by these rude mountain men. One of the most fantastic arrangements of the congress was to refuse Montenegro something she did want and had perhaps a historic claim to for fear of displeasing Austria and of giving her as a consolation prize something she did not want, an Albanian district which the Sons of the Eagle were soon to show that they were quite capable of defending. The wily Sultan acquiesced apparently in the decision of the congress, but he covered the mountain begs with decorations, and, loading them down with rich gifts, sent them back to their hill folks more sternly resolved than ever to oppose the advance of the Slavs, and especially the encroachments of Servia and Montenegro. While

Europe was still deliberating in Berlin three hundred representatives of the Albanian clans and flags met at Prisrend. They sat in the chief mosque and resolved that " we men of Albania will on no account allow any of our territory to be ceded to Greece, to Montenegro, to Servia, or to any other country, and we give fair warning that all land taken from us must be restored." Europe did not heed the warning, but two years later it learned the lesson, and the lands that had been taken from the Albanians and given to the Montenegrins were restored. After the great treaty was signed between the powers, the Sultan only acting under the pressure of shotted guns and the fleets of war-ships threatening his capital, sent that unfortunate diplomat, Mehemet Ali Pasha, on a more or less secret mission to explain the ins and outs of the complicated situation to the Albanian begs. He assembled them all again in the great mosque at Prisrend to tell them what had happened in Berlin, to assure them that by a confidential arrangement with the Sultan the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina would only last two years. But the begs were suspicious, and to begin with they killed the envoy's telegrapher, fearful that he might summon regiments over those " wires of the devil " that had been surreptitiously introduced into the country. They spat upon Mehemet Ali and called him a traitor, and even cast him into prison, but he was released after four days and some of the begs rallied to him, understanding, as they did, the difficulties of the double rôle that the Sultan was playing in the face of Europe and in the face of Albania.

An open struggle now ensued with tragic results. Intervention in Albania was then and is now a dangerous thing. Within ten days Mehemet Ali was defeated and burned alive in the fort of Djakobitza, where he had taken refuge. In the end Albania was pacified, both Europe and Turkey accepting the terms which the mountain men dictated; and the country remained comparatively quiet until 1884, when the troubles broke out again which have lasted to this day. During all these years it is estimated, I believe conservatively, that not twenty per cent. of the Albanian males have died what we would call natural deaths. With the possibility of separation from the Turkish Empire becoming more and more apparent, of course pretenders to the Albanian throne have sprung up in large numbers. There is a certain Don Aladro, a Spanish ex-diplomatist, and the

Castriotis from Naples, and last but perhaps most prominent of all a Prince Ghika of Rumania, a descendant, like all the others, of Scanderbeg on the distaff side. Prince Ghika has strengthened his propaganda by marrying an American lady of great charm and by promising a democratic constitutional monarchy.

The league which the former Sultan founded has been represented of recent years in the Parliament of the Young Turks, and its spokesmen are rather non-committal on the question of pretenders. Thirteen newspapers are now published by it, and Ali Bey Frechari, the son of the man who presided over the meeting at Prisrend, to-day directs the activities of the league. Prince Ghika signs his proclamations to the world in the name of the National Assembly of Albania and of the national committee for the Albanian renaissance. But there is little reason to doubt that in the end the league will produce a new man to lead, one who is fighting the present battle, probably one of the Mirdite chiefs who live in the picturesque valleys to the south and east of Scutari. This clan is composed of the only indigeneous Catholics on the Peninsula, and they have many friends and powerful protectors both in Rome and in Vienna.

It is not without interest to recall to-day, if but to show how unevenly the world moves on its way, that Gibbon wrote of Albania as "a country within sight of Italy which is less known than the interior of America." The Albanians now dwell in five Turkish vilayets. The boundaries of their lands are, of course, unsettled and certainly they are frequently contested by rival claimants, but from the plains of the Vardar to the Adriatic and from Thessaly to Montenegro the Albanian is lord of the country and master of all he surveys either by right of might or of prior occupancy, or by both. By blood and language, by creed, by manners and customs, the Albanian separates himself from all other inhabitants of the Peninsula and stands alone on his native hills which he loves so well. On the south he joins with the Greeks, and toward the north and east with the Slavs, but nowhere does he mix with his numerically stronger neighbors and nowhere is he assimilated. Indeed, with the characteristic pride of the highlander, the "sons of the eagle," or *skypetars,* as the Albanians call themselves, despise their neighbors one and all, and whether as Grand Vizier in Stamboul or as a simple

starving shepherd in the Pindus Mountain, your Albanian remains an aristocrat, a free man, a noble. The humble Bulgar of the Macedonian valleys may plow for the Turk and pocket his pay with many salaams, but the Albanian remains king of the barren mountain heights, hunter and shepherd, soldier of fortune, and sometimes brigand; but lowly, steady work he abhors, and when, as sometimes happens, he is driven to it by stern necessity, he goes to a distant land, to Rumania, to Italy, and even to America, and, changing his name, works incognito.

In Albania the legend runs that when the Turkish Horde appeared in this part of the world and sought to subdue the rulers of the hills, the great Pasha said, "I will be your Chief Sword [leader]." Then he read the Sheriat, a book of Turkish law, and said: "You must cease your grief. This will comfort you. Take off your black *ghurdi* and put on the Turkish *ghiube*." But the Sons of the Eagle answered, "We be mountain men and we are ruled by the law of the mountain, and our short black jacket we wear in mourning for our Scanderbeg, who, though he is dead, ever leads us in the fight."

So to-day the law of the Albanian lands is neither Christian nor Koranic, but there is a code of the mountains as unalterable as were the laws of the Medes and Persians, which, at least until quite recently, was unwritten. This code Dukagin, so called from the princes of a family who long ruled districts of Albania and which has been generally accepted by the leading men of other clans and flags, is transmitted by tradition in certain families which have arrogated to themselves the rights and privileges of custodians of the law, and who are as well the possessors of certain variants of the Homeric songs, the only true versions they claim. The questions treated in this mountain code are certainly not novel and are somewhat monotonous to the dweller in cities. Provision is made against the stealing of animals and trespassing on land. However, these matters invariably lead to, if they do not end in, murder, and the dockets of the mountain court are rarely crowded. The rifle has generally done its work before the pleadings are made before the court of Elders, but the law of the blood feud or vendetta which is also set forth in this code is as interesting as it is wonderfully intricate.

When it is remembered that sixty per cent. of the Al-

banians are killed in feuds and personal warfare and that in some districts these terrible figures run up to eighty per cent., it may be readily understood how absorbingly interesting these laws of the vendetta are to the Albanian boy when in his twelfth year he has his head shaved and becomes a possible target for any one at feud with his family or with his cousins ten times removed. The law of the mountain, according to the code Dukagin, says blood that has once flowed cannot be lost or forgotten. It must be wiped out with more blood, but two serious wounds are the equivalent of one dead man, and under these circumstances the feud can be set aside. He who has fired on an enemy without hitting him is not only discredited, but "has taken his enemy's honor," as is the expression of the country, and he must and does expect to be killed at the first opportunity. But where no blood has been spilled vengeance may be satisfied by the payment of an indemnity to the offended party; otherwise there begins an interminable vendetta which compels all males of the families involved, except priests, to be ever on their guard.

When each family has scored an equal number of murders, it is permissible for the Elders to intervene and order a general *bessa,* or pacification. Sometimes, but not always, one of the families refuses to desist, and it is then not infrequently condemned to see the family home set on fire and all its members driven into exile by due process of mountain law. When this is decided by the council of Elders the duty of applying the torch devolves upon the *bayraktar,* or standard-bearer, of the clan. As the family that is condemned to see its household goods go up in flame is frequently inclined to fight, no one not belonging to the tribe, however much he may want to, is permitted to take part in the row, for, as the code in an unusually humane spirit sets forth, should this interloper be killed a vendetta between the tribes would ensue and hundreds of men might be uselessly slain.

Women are everywhere not only respected by the terms of the code, but in actual Albanian practice. If a man kills a woman it is not only a shameful act, but he and his family owe two lives to her family. Curiously enough, the only marked disobedience to the ancient code in popular practice to-day is in the matter of the murder of a married woman. The code says that the husband must take up the vendetta and that in case he should prove recreant to his duty

he owes blood to the family of his wife, whose members must immediately seek to encompass his death. However, in practice there are Albanian districts where the custom is quite different. In these places the husband of the deceased woman immediately informs a male member of his wife's family of what has happened and then withdraws entirely from the affair. They notify him and receive his congratulations, however, when the mountain law has been satisfied. In case the woman's death has been accidental, a more or less amicable arrangement, although it smacks somewhat of commercialism, also can be made with the husband by paying an indemnity, the minimum figure of which is three purses, or sixty dollars. A valuable and highly appreciated wife, however, has been known to cost a careless marksman as much as three thousand dollars.

Should a man be forsaken by his wife for another, the mountain code places him in rather a difficult position. The code and the council of Elders give him the right to kill both the woman and the man, but if he does so he places himself in unpleasant feud relations with two clans. This will be opening a sad account, and the husband often hesitates. Under these circumstances, a somewhat effete custom is creeping in. He informs the family of his wife of what has happened, and if they are convinced of the truthfulness of his statements they approve his vengeance and send him one, two, and even three cartridges, according to the grade of the injury which they find he has received. These cartridges he uses at his best discretion, but no more. Even if he succeeds in killing those who have wronged him, no blood is owing and no cry for vengeance is heard. According to the custom, he has acted as a mere agent and has simply used a ball cartridge which he did not buy and which did not belong to him. In some districts this subtle distinction is being extended to other fields and to cover other cases. Sometimes, though rarely, in these stern hills, where life is indeed a struggle from the suffocating cradle to the shallow grave, a man has not the courage to seek revenge for an injury received, and he places the matter in the hands of a more reckless neighbor, giving him a sum of money and a few cartridges. If the deal is successful and the man designated is murdered, the assassin does not consider himself a murderer nor is he so regarded. He is simply a man who was hired to do a certain piece of work. As in

other lands, arrangements can be made with the law and even with the representatives of Heaven; so it is, too, with the rules laid down in the mountain code. Every crime can be commuted by money payments except one, and that is a breach of the laws of hospitality. You may kill a man's brother or his mother or his wife and he can be bought off and the matter arranged without loss of prestige to any one concerned, but if the stranger who has broken bread with you or who has last been seen within your gates should be killed you must pursue his murderer and his murderer's family until at least four lives have been taken. There is no escape from this; the only alternative is to forsake your clan, go abroad, and become an outcast.

Of course Turkey, by her want of military efficiency, has forfeited her right to survive, and the European Concert wipes its imperial and royal hands of her. If the Balkan Allies but maintain a working agreement, Turkey can and may well be carved down to the bone or up to the Chataldja lines; and the famous mass in St. Sophia which was interrupted by Muhammed the Conqueror may be resumed, as the Balkan legend has always held it would be, although the language in which that mass was said and in which it should be resumed is a disputed question that may yet bring the Balkan alliance into still further confusion. The Porte, at least, has no illusions as to the European Concert in its present phase, and, consequently, turns to its conquerors of yesterday, to the victors of Lüle-Burgas, rather to its patrons of the last twenty years, and asks to be admitted into the Balkan League.

The questions that come before the London Conference should not be difficult of solution if there exists a modicum of good-will and a spirit of concession on all sides. Turkey in Europe must pay the piper, and there is no geographical reason, at least, why Bulgaria should not be satisfied as well as Montenegro. Perhaps even the land hunger of the Greeks could be appeased. The clash will come, if unhappily it should come, on what Mr. Asquith calls the isolated questions; and while there are others in the background equally disturbing, it is Servia's demand for a window on the Adriatic that has practically mobilized a million men in the armed camps of Russia and Austria. For the victorious Servians have crossed some of the low-lying Albanian lands, cutting off Austria's march to the Ægean,

and at Durazzo they have planted the flag of Stefan Dushan, whose extensive empire, of nearly six hundred years ago, they seek to restore. Servia's probable disappointment in this direction is serious enough in itself, but the indirect consequences are still more alarming. For once their interests are safeguarded; the statesmen of the Dual Monarchy are very free in offering Servia compensation in other directions. For instance, there is that window on the Ægean which Austria generously concedes at the expense of Greater Bulgaria. And even that most niggardly form of consolation offered Servia, the conversion of Salonica into a free port through which she could seek markets in the outside world and not be, as she now is, subject to the political caprice and economic supremacy of Austria, is not without its obvious advantages.

The vision of the restored empire of Stefan Dushan appeals to the poetry of the Servian soul, of course; but what is really wanted is a fair and open market for those lean, prolific Servian pigs that can never be fattened on the banks of the Sava. All Servia's wealth lies in her pigsties, and, unhappily, the only way her pork can be converted into money, to-day at least, is in the Austro-Hungarian cattle markets. It is an unpleasant situation in which these high-spirited people find themselves. Naturally, the Servians want a seaport and an open door to Chicago. How many times it has happened in the very recent past, just when Servia was about to cash in fifty million pigs, the Austrian inspectors came along and, discovering hog cholera, placed an embargo upon the exportation of the great national asset. Of course you can never persuade the Servians that cholera really existed, or that Austria acted from any but the most sordid political motives. Certain it is that Belgrade is an unpleasant place to dwell in while these pig wars are being waged, and thousands of ghostly hogs of greyhound build, innocent victims of man's inhumanity to man, scavenge through the streets and even force their way into the restaurants and cafés.

It is plain that the unexpected demands of Greece are quite likely to prove as formidable obstacles in the path of peace as are those more apparent stumbling-blocks which have resulted from the clash between Austria and Servia as to the future disposition of those districts of Turkey where the Albanian predominates.

It is to-day quite apparent that the Greeks are not only asking very much more for themselves than it was expected they would ask, but that they seem to be offering encouragement and even support to the Turks to refuse to accept the terms which their late allies are tendering. The fuller details will doubtless be unfolded in one way or another at the London Conference, but even to-day it would seem apparent that the government in Athens is urging Turkey to refuse the autonomy of Macedonia because that would only be helpful to Slavonic interests. If this is true and is borne out by the formal deliberations at the conference, the split could hardly be wider or deeper or more pregnant with unpleasant possibilities. It cannot well be denied that the Greeks are acting very selfishly in the matter. Their claim that the great majority of Macedonians are really Greeks and should go with the Greeks of the kingdom having been generally denied and not being true, they seem to prefer that the unfortunate inhabitants of the disputed vilayets, whether Greeks or Slavs, should still remain in one form or another under the Turkish yoke.

The second demand from Athens is still more disconcerting. Turkey is asked—in fact, with the hauteur characteristic of a nation that possesses one or two war-ships that can leave the harbor in fair weather—is even ordered to transfer all the places at present occupied by Bulgarians, from Kavala to Monastir, to Greece. In other words, to cede all those districts of Macedonia which have a tinge of Greek culture and a fringe of Hellenic population, and which, consequently, in the eyes of the statesmen of Athens, are wholly Greek. And the third demand, which is that the Epirus Pass to Greece, with a frontier from recently bombarded Avlona to the Vistritza River, trenches on a territory partly, at least, Albanian, and at present fully and most troublesomely occupied by the conflicting claims of Austria and Servia and by the demands for the independence or at least the autonomy of the Albanians.

An encouraging and almost reassuring feature of the news is the equanimity with which, on the whole, the great powers view the apparently desperate efforts of some of the lesser and more irresponsible nations to provoke a general conflict or to make it appear they want to, which would answer their purpose, probably, quite as well—indeed, better.

STEPHEN BONSAL.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

MARK TWAIN. By ALBERT BIGELOW PAINE. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912.

IT seems uncritical to speak of a biography in three excessively heavy volumes, of two hundred and ninety-six chapters, one thousand six hundred and eighty-five pages, and twenty-four appendices as a perfect biography. The first exclamation is, "Could even Shakespeare hold our interest so long?" and the answer from him who has begun to read it is, "Mark Twain can." Perhaps if this book were biography pure and simple it would be disproportionate, but it is not only the life of Mark Twain, vivid, varied, valiant as that was; it is an epic of the soil, the history of a century, the growth of a nation, and the characterization of most of the great men of thought and action of that time.

Mark Twain's life opened in a tiny Missouri village—a country still disorganized and unassembled, reaching out after the beginnings of civilization. It was all promise and negligible future, and doubtless for those who coped with its imperfect beginning it was all struggle and no comfort. It is typical of Mark Twain, of his beautiful sincerity of nature, and total lack of affectation and artificiality that he labeled the picture of his second home, a one-storied shanty, with an oblong door in the center and a window either side: "No, it is too stylish; it was not my birthplace."

His beginnings were as humble as Lincoln's, and doubtless much of his deep philosophy of life came from his early, untrammeled intercourse with the realities of men and things. There seems no doubt that he inherited his wit from his mother, Jane Lampton, of Kentucky. Certainly he inherited her delicately aquiline features, keen eyes, and refinement of face.

That his peculiar genius was born in him is illustrated by his very first experience at school. He was entered in the school of a Miss Horr, who received twenty-five cents a week per pupil, for which munificent sum she opened a daily school with prayer, read a chapter in the Bible, gave explanations of the rules of conduct, had a hand-to-hand struggle with the A B C class, and then expounded the three R's. The little Sam was interested in the rules of conduct, chiefly calculating how much he need trim to sail close to the danger-line and still avoid disaster. He made two miscalculations the first day, and was sent out to select a switch for his own correction. It was a hard choice, though he had the forests of Missouri to choose from. A shaving had blown across the road from a cooper-shop, and this furnished him inspiration. He picked it up and

solemnly carried it in and laid it on the teacher's desk. It was a truly Mark-Twainian feat at five years old. At this same age he was indifferent to the values and the safeguards of prayer, but preferred sitting up in bed and telling the astonishing adventures of his day. Some one, expostulating with the mother, said: "You don't believe anything the child says, I hope." "Oh yes," she replied; "I know his average. I discount him ninety per cent. The rest is pure gold." And again, "Sammy is a well of truth, but you can't bring it all up in one bucket."

Like all great geniuses, he was born with the distinguishing qualities well marked. His marriage seems to have been one of the rare and perfect ones of earth. The biographer says of Mrs. Clemens: she was "conservative, dainty, cultured, spiritual. He adored her as little less than a saint, and she became indeed his saving grace. She had all the personal refinement which he lacked, and she undertook the work of polishing and purifying her life-companion." These last words are not wholly felicitous, for a soul so aflame for the true righteousness which is justice, mercy, and sincerity, could need no purifying, however much it needed polish. To the last there was the touch of the wit's braggadocio about Mark Twain's lack of polish, and among his keenest arrows was his utter disregard of artificial conventions. His generosity never faltered; his truth to obligation was unfailing, and he was never lured to rate the world's approval at a higher than its actual value. We cannot say this of many men.

The whole volume is a spread-out temptation to quote, for it is a veritable mine of anecdote and adventure. Here is one bit that illustrates the beautiful relation of husband and wife.

On finishing the *Equator*, it was handed to Mrs. Clemens for editorial revision. On the margin are the following notes:

Page 597. "I hate to say it, but it seems to me that you go too minutely into particulars in describing the feats of the aboriginals. I felt it in the boomerang-throwing."

And Clemens, just below, has written:

"Boomerang has been furnished with a special train—that is, I've turned it into 'Appendix.' Will that answer?"

And critic and author continue alternately:

Page 1002. "I don't like the 'shady-principled cat that has a family in every port.'"

"Then I'll modify him just a little."

Page 1020—ninth line from the top. "I think some other word would be better than 'stench.' You have used that pretty often."

"But can't I get it in anywhere? You've knocked it out every time. Out it goes again. And yet 'stench' is a noble, good word."

Page 1038. "I hate to have your father pictured as lashing a slave boy."

"It's out, and my father is whitewashed."

Page 1050—second line from the bottom. "Change breech clout. It's a word that you love and I abominate. I would take that and 'offal' out of the language."

"You are steadily weakening the English tongue, Livy."

Page 1095. "Perhaps you don't care, but whoever told you that the Prince's green stones were rubies told an untruth. They were superb emeralds. Those strings of pearls and emeralds were famous all over Bombay."

"All right; I'll make them emeralds, but it loses force. Green rubies is a fresh thing. And, besides, it was one of the Prince's own staff liars that told me."

Volume III. is full of the fruits of old age: sorrow, losses, and loneliness, with fame, honors, and friendships. It is of the spirit, too, of this great man that he never quite reconciled himself to a world so deeply at odds with the human heart. "A man," he said, "who is a pessimist before forty-eight knows too much; and a man who after forty-eight isn't a pessimist knows too little."

He had, this great genius, the pessimism of Shakespeare, which from the sonnets to "Timon of Athens" never once juggled with the vanity of the world, but to the last speaks his "contempt of nature." To the last Mark Twain was never dazzled; he had a quaint and whimsical way of speaking of "the damned human race," and he congratulated and envied the happy dead. As time passes, doubtless Mark Twain will come more and more to his own, and will stand not only as one of our most original and vital geniuses, but as one of our truly great Americans. His mind was unfettered by traditions, and he was, beyond all other American writers of his time, unless one except Walt Whitman, the vigorous natural growth of young American soil. The English, who are keen critics, are not so wrong in their enthusiastic acceptance of him.

South America. By James Bryce. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

Mr. Bryce visited South America in 1910, about a century after her Spanish-American peoples began the process of getting rid of Spanish rule, or misrule. He traveled through all the countries that compose the southern continent except Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Paraguay, and the Guianas. The observations made and the impressions received during four months of travel, under favorable circumstances, in seven different republics, would justify six volumes rather than one.

The course of our author's journey took him first to Panama, which he includes in South America, and the Canal Zone. He pays due honor to the work of building the canal, "the greatest liberty man has ever taken with nature," and to the efficiency and skill of Colonel Goethals and his guardian angel, Colonel Gorgas.

Sailing from Panama to Callao (Guayaquil was under quarantine), the traveler encountered the great Antarctic, or Humboldt, current, a worthy rival of the Gulf Stream, which chills the ocean and the land, and causes fogs and clouds that obscure the sun and cut off the view of the coast. Chapters II., III., and IV. are given to "The Coast of Peru," "Cuzco and the Land of the Incas," and "Lake Titicaca and the Central Andes." While Peru is not in the same class with the southern and eastern republics, Chili, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, it is quite as interesting, not only because it was the scene of Pizarro's conquest and the headquarters of Spanish dominion, but for its scenery, its

cities, its government, and its people; but where it is impossible to dwell upon each of these countries, a selection must be made, and the lot falls on "La Paz and the Bolivian Desert," certainly one of the most interesting chapters. Bolivia has no good reason for not being a part of Peru. In Spanish times the viceroyalty of Peru included not only Bolivia, but what is now Argentina as well. It takes its name from Bolivar, the "Liberator," himself a Venezuelan. With an area greater than that of Germany and Austria-Hungary, it has a population no larger than Denmark's. The white population of 200,000 constitute the real political Bolivia. This ruling class is not entirely of pure white blood, but most of them have a mixture of Indian blood. Most of the population live on a plateau, much of it eight to ten thousand feet above sea-level. On this "wind-swept roof of the world" it is always cold; the mean temperature is fifty degrees; to be comfortable a European must be in the sunshine; there are no fires, no fireplaces, and practically no fuel. At night the water freezes in the sleeping-car. The natives do not mind it. They seem satisfied with their lot and with the pleasures afforded by their fairs and festivals, their alcohol and the coca leaf. To the chewing of this leaf all the Indians are addicted, and it enables them to endure days of fatigue without food. It seems entirely innocuous, though the terrible cocaine is its concentrated essence. These native Indians, forming nine-tenths of the population, are entitled to vote, but do not do so. They care nothing for government. "He neither loves nor hates, but fears, the white man; and the white man neither loves nor hates, but despises, him." "Neither of them ever refers to the Conquest. The white man does not honor the memory of Pizarro; to the Indian the story is too dim and distant to affect his mind."

There are six cities in Bolivia, and of these La Paz, with a population of 50,000, is the virtual, though not the official, capital of the republic. La Paz is interesting not so much because of what it is as because of where it is. There is nothing for the stranger to do but wander through the market and buy vicuña rugs. Yet it is a "fascinating spot." It is at the bottom of a pit, yet it is the loftiest capital in the world. The traveler as he approaches looks in vain for the city. He leaves the train at the station, still wondering where it is, walks a few yards, and then "suddenly pulls up with a start on the edge of a yawning abyss," and at the bottom of this abyss is the city. His first view is literally a bird's-eye view. "It is a picturesque place, with a character so peculiar that it makes for itself a niche in the memory and stays there, as being unlike any other place." A ride of seven miles from the city takes one to a land of rubber, alligators, and jaguars. One of the city's fascinations is "the magnificent snowy mass of Illimani, towering into the blue sky, with glaciers which seem to hang over the city, though they are forty miles away, its three pinnacles of snow turning to a vivid rose under the departing sun." Indeed, as might be expected of an ex-president of the Alpine Club, Mr. Bryce again and again records in vivid language the glories of the majestic peaks of the Andes, to which he turned so often his admiring and, we suspect, longing eyes. Bolivia needs, above all, railways, and many are being built; and ere long—if it is not already the case—there will be a through line from Arica, on the Pacific coast, *via* La Paz, to Buenos Ayres, by which one may make the trip in four days.

The next six chapters are devoted to "Chile," "The Straits of Magellan," "Argentina," "Uruguay," and "Brazil," and to a trip across the Andes from Chile, by way of the railway through the Uspallata Pass, to Mendoza in Argentina, and the return by the same route. Of these we have no space to speak, not even of the "Christ of the Andes," in one way the most remarkable statue in the world.

The remaining chapters are entitled "The Rise of New Nations," "The Relations of Races in South America," "The Two Americas and the Relation of South America to Europe," "The Conditions of Political Life in Spanish-American Republics," and "Some Reflections and Forecasts."

In these days when the provision of food for the world, space for the growing populations to live in, results of the mixture of races, the effects on commerce of the Panama Canal, and the validity and value of the Monroe Doctrine, are questions which more and more demand attention, this book is valuable, not only because of its timeliness, but peculiarly because of the competence and position of its author.

London Lavender. By E. V. Lucas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

Mr. E. V. Lucas is so prolific as to inspire distrust. He is among the few authors who has gained such mastery of his craft that he can have three new books at a time on the market. Of the three issued this holiday season, *London Lavender* is the most charming. In this volume Mr. Lucas follows the vein of *Over Bemerton's* and *Listener's Lure*. It is a volume of thirty-eight essays, with a thread of story and the same characters reappearing. Mr. Lucas has a real genius for touching off a character in a few words, and then making it live and speak a consistent part. Adolphus Heathcote, a young man about town, is an entirely delightful bit of portraiture, done with humor and accuracy. Sir Gaston Ingleside, with his touch of Mr. Lucas's own genial yet reticent humor, is as delightful, and Naomi is an ideal feminine character, drawn as a man sees her.

It is Adolphus who comes to the writer for advice as to marrying the young lady to whom he has been engaged several years.

"Look here, Mr. Falconer," said Dollie; "you know the world and you're married. What do you advise me to do? Do you think I am really a marrying man?"

"Not impetuously," I replied.

In the end the counselor advises Dollie either to "cultivate the bump of philoprogenitiveness, which is a counsel of perfection, or else to follow the example of an illustrious statesman and cultivate an attitude of expectant hesitancy."

It would be misleading to speak of Mr. Lucas's book as profound or informing. But for those who like to look at life and humanity through the mind of a gentle and humorous observer, few modern volumes contain as fine a glass as Mr. Lucas's. His books are not unlike English counterparts of the writings of our own humorist, Edward S. Martin. The book contains one or two good short stories contained within the long one, as in the chapters entitled: "In which I become the very opposite of a thief, yet feel all a thief's guilt," and "In which a company of intel-

ligent and, for the most part, conceited men meet more than their match." There are several chapters on the "Races," an entrancing one on "Bathing at Rimini," and an interesting one in which four novelists discuss their craft. Although strange names are given these writers, it is quite easy to detect Galsworthy as one of the big guns, who is an urbane reformer, with a warm heart, passionate sense of justice, universal pity, and fastidious taste. Wells is surely the gentleman who is "an uncompromising analyst of the body and mind in revolt and the friend of freedom"; while the writer who does "provincial epics with a Dutch brush, but with the expansive view and detached tolerance of an arbiter throned on a star," can be no other than Arnold Bennett. We were less certain when we tacked Locke's name to "the sentimental humorist and humorous sentimentalist of middle-class London."

Who reads this book and smiles will keep it for future cheer on the humorist's permanent shelf.

Introduction to the Poets. By W. F. Rawnsley. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1912.

A naïve and odd little book is this *Introduction to the Poets,* and a very slight introduction indeed. The author admits that the essays are hardly more than a digest of what has already been published elsewhere. But to say "hardly more" is not enough. The essays are no more at all than the merest commonplace of biographical and critical data.

The tritest summaries satisfy the author; as when he remarks, for example: "Shelley was no reprobate; he had the moral sense strongly developed and a most acute sense of right and wrong, . . . but he was a sworn enemy to convention." As a definition of poetry he quotes with enthusiasm, "Poetry is the expression of the most beautiful thoughts in the most beautiful language." The papers herein contained are supposed to have been contributed to a little society for the study of poetry. The introduction speaks of a paper on Swinburne's "Atalanta," which sounds as if it might have been interesting, but alas, it is not included in the volume.

The world may be roughly divided into those who read poetry and those who do not. To those who do, the little volume before us would hardly be even a primer, and to those who do not it would certainly lack the vitality and originality to inspire interest.

The Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems of William Shakespeare, with Memoir, Introduction, and Notes by Richard Grant White. Revised, supplemented, and annotated by William P. Trent, Benjamin W. Wells, and John B. Henneman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1912.

If it were only for the sake of the vivacious and interesting introductions to the plays by that scholar and gentleman, Richard Grant White, the present edition of Shakespeare would be welcome. But it has, moreover, an abundance of external and internal excellences. The volumes are just of handy size, light in weight, and bound in limp leather. The living editors have undertaken to annotate the original editor so as to

bring his scholarship up to the present day and to take advantage of all the research done by Sydney Lee, Ward, Furness, and others.

They retain the order of plays chosen by Grant White himself, thus beginning toward the end of Shakespeare's career with "The Tempest," following the folio of 1623. The modern editors have chosen to interrupt the running text of Grant White's essays by insertions in parentheses of their corrections. It would have been pleasanter for the reader had these interruptions been massed as notes at the end of the essays, as it is a strain upon attention as it now stands to know just when one is reading White and when a long revision of White. Apart from this slight typographical error, the edition is all that the general reader could desire in form and scholarship.

THE OPEN SECRET. By JAMES THOMPSON BIXBY. Boston: The American Unitarian Association, 1912.

It is the thesis of this volume in ten chapters that the highest task and noblest privilege of man is to beautify and develop the human character; to become a co-laborer with the Holy Spirit in the blossoming and ripening of the soul. Few would take exception to the statement, and the question about which men are at odds is where and how to begin. Do we begin with men as we do with children by ameliorating the environment, by smoothing the surfaces of life so that the soul shall make swift progress, or are we to follow the advice which the very titles of the chapters suggest: "Vitality and Mechanism," "Atom and Spirit," "The Deep Things," "Purpose in Nature," "Law and Providence"? To be sure, if we had a world of perfected souls, politics and law-making, social justice and morals might take care of themselves. Are we, then, to direct our forces straight at the soul, or are we to deal with the more evident things, hoping ultimately to touch the soul?

"The eternal force inherent in every tiniest electron of the whirling molecules," writes Dr. Bixby, "is one that is ever repairing the organic decay, transmuting ooze and excrement into fragrant rose and luscious orange and dimpling babe." "The salvation and glory of man is to ally himself with this external Reality that ever works for righteousness, illumination, and widening love and harmony. It is by this august alliance with the Soul of our souls that the loyal individual's strength and influence are multiplied tenfold." The faith that the Philistine despises is the only one that will inculcate trust in the invisible forces of the moral and spiritual realm.

It is really a plea that, in the modern tendency toward materialism, the life-force which underlies all be not forgotten, which Dr. Bixby urges with eloquence and fervor.

THE ELDEST SON. By JOHN GALSWORTHY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

If *The Eldest Son* is not as grave and penetrating a play as the *Pigeon,* it is at least more actable. It is a conventional plot treated with the new conscience. An autocratic English baronet is about to force a marriage between an under-gamekeeper and the village girl whom he

has wronged, when an embarrassing parallel becomes known in his own family; the heir, having seduced his mother's maid, insists upon marrying her to right the wrong. All the arguments used to constrain the underkeeper are upset when applied to a different station in life; the clergyman, the thinking sister, the father, are confronted by a new aspect to the morality which is fixed enough when applied to the lower classes.

The drama is constructed with Mr. Galsworthy's usual mastery—a mastery undoubtedly introduced by Ibsen and learned by many of the younger members of the craft. There is not an unnecessary word in the play. The characters stand out with amazing definiteness. Mr. Galsworthy's patricians are as fine and as true as ever, and the old gamekeeper, who relieves the situation and partly annuls the tragedy, stands out as clear-cut and true to fact as if an entire volume had been devoted to him.

The play is, of course, a problem play not without its moral, but so handled that morality and problem play into the hands of art without in any wise tarnishing it.

Dancing and Dancers of To-day. By Caroline and Charles H. Caffin. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1912.

There can be little doubt but that dancing is having a renaissance just now. Perhaps it is the one of the seven arts that may be said to have reached in the present day a culmination of development higher than ever before in its history. We cannot make this assertion of sculpture, with Phidias and the great Greek tradition in mind; nor yet of painting while we think of the Italian renaissance; nor even of music when we listen to Bach fugues and Beethoven symphonies; nor of architecture when we stand in the cathedrals of Chartres and Burgos; nor of drama when we see "Hamlet" and "Macbeth"; nor of poetry, with its many blossoming periods in different countries and languages. But of dancing, when we call to mind the supreme artists who have delighted us in the last half-decade, we feel fairly secure in asserting that never before has the art reached so high a point. The surprising matter is that it has not already produced a more voluminous literature of criticism and explanation.

The volume before us treats of the dance from the historic aspect of its development, the evolution of the ballet, and the extension of society dancing. It then treats separately the great artists that have demonstrated its power in recent years: Isidora Duncan, Maud Allan, Ruth St. Denis, Adeline Genée, Mordkin, Pavlowa, Loupoukowa, Sacchetto, and Wiesenthal. Of these artists, the first, Ruth St. Denis, Genée, Mordkin, Pavlowa, and Wiesenthal receive perhaps most generous treatment. Of the infinitely buoyant and youthful charm of Maud Allan not quite enough is said, and it is a mistake to say that she danced only in New York, for she appeared in Philadelphia during the winter of 1908.

Isidora Duncan and Maud Allan are, indeed, the great exponents of poetry in the dance. Their performances were an embodiment of lyric song itself. Ruth St. Denis in her dance of the Five Senses and her Incense Dance introduced religious symbolism and ecstasy into the dance. The Russians added drama, Sacchetto philosophy, and Wiesenthal's dancing, so our authors would seem to intimate, is an intimate interpretation of life and growth itself. Against the rhythmic beat of melody she

dances, showing those yearnings of the soul which bespeak its development; the apprehension of life, the soaring of the soul, the relation of the human being to its earthly home, and its striving to connect this with something more enduring, more lasting.

This volume is written with real historic knowledge, appreciation, and enthusiasm. It is a valuable introduction to the new art which is now developing under our eyes, and which must have the intelligent sympathy of the general public to reach its best expression. The forty-seven beautiful photographs of modern dancers are an aid to understanding and appreciating this lovely art, which speaks in all countries the same language, which is finding its most talented exponents in those advancing nations, the Russian and the American.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

NO. DCLXXXVII

FEBRUARY, 1913

RATIONAL TARIFF REVISION

BY AMOS K. FISKE

In treating the tariff question the common tendency is to work upon the lines of a theory and give too little attention to practical considerations in its application. It is apt to be treated, on the one hand, as if all nations were at the same stage of industrial development, about equal in productive capacity, at peace with one another and likely to remain so, interdependent and devoted to common interests in the world's advancement. On the other hand, it is treated as if each nation was to pursue a destiny of its own, with interests diverse from and independent of those of other nations, with nothing mutual in their relations. Too little consideration is given to differences of circumstances and conditions and what may be regarded as the opportunism of nations at an imperfect stage of the world's progress.

If we could imagine an ideal state of the nations, each fairly developed in its capacity for production from the resources with which it is endowed by nature, with substantially equal facilities established for their industry and trade, and with no reason on the part of any to fear anything from dependence upon others for the supply of their wants—in such case absolute freedom of trade, with the least possible obstruction or restriction, would be the best policy for all. Then each could be devoted to the production

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for which its natural resources, its climate, and the character and circumstances of its people were best adapted. It could thereby produce the highest value of which it was capable, of those things that were in demand in the world's markets, and by exchanging the surplus above its own needs for the products which other lands could produce to better advantage and which would minister to those needs at the least cost, it would reach the greatest prosperity attainable for itself. But the nations are not so situated.

When the thirteen American colonies of Great Britain formed their union of States and established an independent nation, what is called free trade was practically unknown and tariff systems, as a means of regulating the development of trade, were equally unknown. International trade was a haphazard affair, conducted according to no theory and upon no recognized system, and the relation of nations was generally that of hostility rather than amity. When Alexander Hamilton proposed the adoption of a tariff of duties upon such foreign goods as the people of this country had to import or go without, his dominant idea was to stimulate and hasten the establishment of industries for the home production of such goods, so far as practicable, with a view to supporting the nation's independence and making it self-sufficing, or as little as possible dependent upon the good will of others or the maintenance of peace between them. This was an intelligible policy.

The States were formed out of a fragment of the continent along the Atlantic coast, with indefinite and unknown possibilities of expansion in national area, with inexhaustible resources and opportunities, but a feeble population of hardly more than half that of the present State of New York. There was little development of industries outside of the household, beyond those of the farm, the forest, and the streams and seacoast. The situation of the young nation was one of relative weakness and dependence upon others, which might at any time become unfriendly or be engaged in warfare with one another to the interruption of commerce on the seas. A policy of protection was regarded as a policy of defense as well as of material development and progress. In either aspect it could be justified.

There is no doubt that the policy early adopted and long continued in a rather spasmodic fashion served its intended purpose in a large measure. It was costly and had to be

paid for out of the resources and the industries natural to the country in the nation's infancy; but the result was doubtless worth more than the cost. Beyond question it contributed powerfully to the planting and diversification of industries, the increase of population, and the growth of the nation's power. The crude industries of the country in the early part of the last century created surplus capital slowly and there was no chance of speedy accumulation. There was scant experience or training, as well as lack of means, for establishing manufacturing industries and practically no skilled labor of the right kind. The policy of closing or restricting the market for foreign goods had of itself no power to create capital or industrial enterprise or skill in the use of machinery. It could only stimulate their application by the pressure of need and the incentive of gain. By giving a high price to imported goods it would attract capital and divert labor to making similar goods at home, so far as the means were at hand; but by far the most important effect was to induce the transfer of capital and of skilled labor from other lands to our own. We imported capital and labor instead of their products, and thereby built up industries, increased population, and strengthened the nation.

This may be called an artificial process instead of a natural growth, but in the same sense all human institutions are artificial. It produced results in half a century which would probably not have been attained in twice the time without the artificial stimulus, though they might have been sounder when attained. Abuses have attended the stimulated development, but no human progress requiring emulation and striving has been free from abuses. The protective policy had about served its purpose before the middle of the last century. The " infant industries " had been fostered and nourished into vigorous growth and had become well diversified—as industries then were, for some of those of to-day had hardly been born. They had been fed with the substance of the land and in return for their nourishing had stimulated the production of that substance by making a larger " home market " for it. The benefit to natural and acquired industries was mutual.

When the tariff received its " downward revision " in 1846, the work of the protective policy was supposed to have been substantially completed. The tariff based upon the

Walker report is usually called a "revenue tariff." The Government had become dependent mainly upon duties on imports for its financial support and this simplified tariff was devised primarily to raise the needed revenue, but it left much "incidental protection" to American industries, whether it was still needed or not. Under that tariff manufacturing industries advanced as never before, partly as the result of increased immigration. It produced more than the needed revenue, and there was a further reduction in 1857 with hardly a protest. The infant industries were grown up. There was capital and skilled labor in the country which had no occasion to fear foreign competition, with the advantage of still unlimited resources on their side.

Then came the culmination of the long conflict against slavery on the soil dedicated to freedom, the attack upon the union of States, and the long and costly struggle for its preservation. This started a new era for the nation's tariff policy and set in action the forces which created the later abuses of the protective system. A number of States were withdrawn from the support of the Government and a large number of men in the others were taken from productive industries and the conduct of the business of distributing and exchanging products. The cost of government was enormously increased and much of the expenditure was not only destructive of values but exceedingly wasteful. The nation was rapidly taking upon itself the burden of debt, and the financial devices resorted to were far from economical. There had to be national taxation such as had never been dreamed of before. It took every available form. Industry and trade had to bear their share by contributing to internal revenue, and duties on imports were largely increased to balance these exactions upon domestic operations, as well as to swell the public income necessary to meet the exigencies of war.

Incidentally the measure of protection from the tariff was increased to stimulate the industries which were hampered by the withdrawal of labor to recruit the army and by rising prices. The opportunity was seized by those interested in manufactures to increase the rate of their profits, while the needs of the Government for the support of military operations enlarged the market for many products. The tendency to draw labor and capital from abroad was intensified, and the work of destruction, together with a depreciating cur-

rency and rising prices, caused a semblance of unwonted prosperity very uneven in distribution in the northern part of the Union. At the same time the expansion of population over unoccupied land of rich possibilities did not cease and the need of larger facilities for transportation was keenly felt. The exigencies of the time called for an easier and quicker means of communication between the East and the States of the Pacific coast across the mountain barrier. In this the Government had a large interest, on account of the struggle then going on, and extended its credit and granted property in land to aid private capital in railroad enterprise upon which no adequate return could be expected for many years, thus adding to the burden of debt.

It was during this period of stress and struggle that the foundation was laid for a new era of "protection for American industries" and the development of the "home market" by the imposition of duties upon imported goods, which should be a more effective bar against foreign competition. Protected interests had grown powerful with the Government and influential in politics. The dominant party of the time had its birth in the contest against the extension and the growing power of slavery and gained its strength in the struggle for the preservation of the Union. It was not primarily a party of tariff protection, though it had been made up largely from the disintegrated elements of the old Whig party and was the natural heir to its sentiment and its policy when the question of reforming the war tariff came up, as it inevitably did when the expenses induced by the conflict were cut down and the need of revenue was diminished, notwithstanding the heavy debt charges and the expenditure for pensions.

The protected interests had grown rich and powerful, and were ready to support the party which would take care of them, fearing to lose the advantages they had gained and the profits they were enjoying at the expense of the people. The manufacturers were banded together to prevent any reduction of duties which would be damaging to them, and there were distinct organizations for resistance to anything which would impair protection to American industry or open loopholes in the tariff barrier for foreign competition to enter the home market. While internal revenue taxes were reduced or removed, customs duties were maintained, resulting in increased protection. The

sentiment engendered by the struggle for the defense of the Union and kept up during the process of reconstructing and strengthening it by new constitutional guarantees was slow to subside, and the party attachments of the period were difficult to relax. But the question of revising the tariff gradually asserted itself and became an issue between parties again about ten years after the close of the war.

The Democratic party declared its old position in favor of a revenue tariff and against the policy of protection in 1876, and it is needless to recall the electoral contest which debarred it by so narrow a margin from the opportunity of making a practical test of the sentiment of the country on the question of revision. But the Republican party was spurred up to making serious inquiry into the subject by a mixed commission, created by Congress but not composed of members of the Senate and House of Representatives. After a fairly thorough investigation, it rendered a report subsequent to the national elections of 1880, adhering to the principle and policy of protection, but recommending substantial reductions in duties. The Republican party was then in control of Congress and the Executive Administration, and the measures proposed were defeated. It is hardly necessary to recall in any detail the course of events since that time as they are related to tariff revision.

How far it has been the determining factor in national elections it is hard to calculate, as it has been invariably mingled with other issues. The election of a Democratic President in 1884 was largely due to a demand for administrative reforms and to dissatisfaction with the Republican party for other reasons than its position on the tariff. The unequivocal manner in which President Cleveland came out for tariff revision in accordance with the declared policy of his party near the end of his term is generally regarded as having contributed to his defeat for a re-election. There is less doubt about the Republican revision, with increased protection, under the administration which followed having contributed to his return four years later. The issue was, however, confused with that of the currency, the public mind was distracted by a financial panic and its consequences, and the revision of the tariff by the Wilson-Gorman bill of 1894, which the President denounced but allowed to become law without his approval, was little short of a fiasco.

The reaction which brought the Republicans back into

control in 1897 was not due to the tariff, but to the currency issue. Nevertheless, the party was prompt in taking advantage of the situation, and President McKinley, author of the revision of 1890, called the extraordinary session of Congress at which the Dingley tariff was enacted with its high protective features. Then came the Spanish War and the distractions of a "colonial policy," and the tariff hardly figured in the election in 1900 or even in 1904. The formation of large combinations of capital known as "trusts," and alleged abuses of corporate power in maintaining excessive prices and excessive or discriminating charges for transportation, superseded it in the public interest. Strengthening the law for the regulation of interstate commerce and that against restraint of trade, known as the "Anti-Trust Act," and the prosecution of offenses under these statutes absorbed attention and relegated tariff revision to a secondary place. It nevertheless had sufficient prominence in the public mind to induce the party of protection to promise a revision of the Dingley tariff in its platform of 1908. How much that contributed to its success at the election of that year no one can tell, but there is little doubt that disappointment with what had to pass as a fulfilment of the promise had much to do with a decided reaction against the party responsible for it.

Notwithstanding all the confusion wrought by agitation over other "progressive" issues, ranging from moderate to extreme radical proposals, and the unwonted and undemocratic devotion to the personal claims of candidates, the question of tariff revision became an influential factor in the last election. The question was more nearly ripe for a rational decision than at any time in fifty years. All parties were ready to acknowledge the abuses that have grown up under the tariff during that period and the need of a remedy. With nearly the same unanimity they were agreed that the methods by which rates of duty had been adjusted at the suggestion or the dictation of interests which derive benefit from them must be abandoned. The main difference related to the theory that was to prevail in the process of revision and the ultimate purpose to be attained. Few are now in favor of a sudden and radical overhauling, the quick destruction of one system to build another upon its ruins, for all recognize the fact that the industries and the business of the country have become so interlaced with the structure

that it cannot be shattered without disastrous results, however much better that might be which would replace it. Industries and business must go on without serious disturbance if the people are to prosper or even live in comfort, and such a disturbance would produce a profound reaction and force a movement backward. The system cannot be wrecked like an old building that a better may be erected in its place.

The problem is one of to-day and not of a generation ago or a generation to come, and its solution must have due regard to existing conditions. The contest is along the line of the old division between a fundamental policy of a tariff for revenue only and a tariff with protection of American industries against foreign competition as a primary object. One would aim at making trade with other nations free from restriction by taxation levied upon it for the very purpose of restriction. The other would deliberately restrict it by taxation for the purpose of stimulating and building up domestic trade. The ultimate object of one is the production of an increasing surplus of such commodities as can be produced in this country to the best advantage to be exchanged for those which can be produced and purchased to better advantage in other countries, cost of transportation duly considered in each case. The other maintains that it will be of permanent benefit to the nation and its people to produce and distribute at home as large a variety of products for meeting their own wants as the resources and conditions of the country will permit. This is no longer advocated as a means of making the nation self-sufficing and independent of others, but it is claimed for it that it makes the profit of capital and the wages of labor higher and so contributes to the general prosperity.

Therein lies the chief fallacy of the protective theory, and this assumption abandons the ground upon which it was originally founded. The country is no longer in its infancy. Its vast area of land is fairly taken up and the natural sources of its wealth have been opened and their development is well under way. Its population is approximating a hundred million. It has accumulated capital to a vast amount, though it continues to attract it, as it attracts labor, from other countries by its natural advantages. Its industries have been established and diversified at great cost and have in them the forces of growth. The growth of some is now visibly hampered by lack of freedom in trade.

What, then, is the real source of the higher profit for capital and the higher wages for labor, or the "higher standard of living," so far as these exist, in this country compared with other countries which are its rivals in the world of trade? Here we must make a distinction which is too often lost sight of. We must remember that what we are working for in this life is not money, but what money will buy. Money is only a means of reckoning and of effecting the exchange of other things. The profit from the use of capital is to be measured to the owner, not by the number of dollars it will bring him per year, but by the amount of the substance of wealth which it will put at his command, whether of houses and lands or of articles of necessity or comfort and convenience or of luxury. The compensation for labor is measured to the workman not by the number of dollars per week, per month, or per year that come to him, but by the share in the fruits of his labor and of other men's capital that his wages enable him to get. Where the price, or the cost to the buyer, of those things whereby men live is as high in proportion as the profit or the wages which furnish the means of obtaining them, there is no advantage in the "high standard." It is abundance and a fair distribution that tell for comfort and prosperity.

Why should wages and profits, measured not strictly in dollars, but in the substance of material wealth, be higher in this country than in Europe, Asia, and Africa or the islands of the sea? It is determined by two factors in the production of wealth, taking wealth in its broad sense of those things which contribute to the weal of the people and of the nation. The first factor is the natural resources, advantages, and opportunities of the country, the extent of its land, the fertility of its soil, the riches of its forests, its mineral deposits and its waters, the quality and variety of its climate, and the means and facilities provided by nature for transportation by lake and stream or through valleys and over plains. Has the United States no natural advantage in these respects for producing wealth and distributing it with a liberal hand?

The other great factor in the production of wealth is men. Given the resources and materials, the advantages and opportunities, and what will be made of them depends upon the character of the population, the intelligence, the enterprise, the energy, the industry—in short, the efficiency for

production and saving of the people of the country. Are those of the United States inferior in these respects to those of other nations? If so, much of the advantage it may have in natural resources and opportunities will be sacrificed by lack of qualities in the people to benefit by them. In the rivalry of nations for the creation of wealth that which has the advantage of natural resources and opportunities will prosper most, the human factors being equal. That which excels in the human factor will be most prosperous if there is equality in the other factor. One that has the advantage in both will forge ahead, and one that is lacking in both will lag behind. Where does the United States stand in this rivalry? So far as a nation, with the working together of the two prime factors of production, produces more wealth per head in a given time than another nation, wages and profits will be higher, measured in what they will bring to the worker and the employer, regardless of the counters by means of which they are reckoned and recorded. If either worker or employer is getting less than his share, or is not better off than those of other countries, there is something wrong in the distribution. The "standard of living" should be higher, whatever the rate of wages or of profits in figures.

What is the significance of all this in relation to our tariff? It means that while industries were being built up and diversified by planting and fostering new ones, while capital was accumulating and labor was being trained to new occupations, and while both capital and labor were attracted from other countries by obstructing the ingress of their products, wages and profits derived from the application of native labor and capital to abundant natural resources and opportunities paid in part the wages and profits that made the new industries to thrive. They were not paid by the foreigner whose products got into the country in spite of the tariff barrier. The consumers paid the duties in the added price for the imported products, and they paid the extra price for the products of the domestic industries which the manufacturers were able to charge. The people of the country paid for all the benefit that may have resulted in the development of the industries. They were able to do it and perhaps it was worth the cost.

Assuming that the result originally aimed at by the policy of protection for American industries has been attained,

and the stimulus and extra incentive are no longer needed, what then? What will be the result of discarding it? If it is to be discarded, what shall the process be? It is hardly worth while here to recount the excesses and abuses which have grown up under the protective system. They have been made sufficiently familiar, though some may have been exaggerated. The barrier has guarded capital against foreign competition and enabled it to make combinations for the control of the home market in various lines, to advance prices and increase profits, to exercise power in politics and legislation. It has not guarded labor against competition, for that has come in free. Labor has attempted by organization to effect combinations for increasing or maintaining wages, but it cannot maintain them long above the competitive standard of the country because the protected industries not only attract foreign labor when wages are high, but they attract labor from unprotected occupations whenever the compensation offered is above that of those occupations, or even equal to it, if the employment offered is in other respects more attractive.

Protection has not made the standard of wages in this country, but it has made it possible to pay "American wages" in a variety of industries which could not have obtained the needed labor without it, at least not until after there had been a much slower development. Thereby it has stimulated and hastened development and attracted both foreign capital and foreign labor by keeping out their products or greatly restricting their admission. Now that the results have been substantially attained, capital and labor share in the employment, but capital alone gets the benefit of any excess of protection above what is necessary to maintain the industries.

Capitalists have the financing and management in their hands. They do the buying and selling and the directing. They pay for labor and they pay what they have to pay in order to obtain it under the prevailing standard of wages, and no more. The workmen cannot raise that standard by any organization of their forces without inviting more competition in their employment from abroad and from other occupations at home to bring it down again to its normal level. There is an easy way of directing an extra profit from unnecessary protection into the coffers of corporations and the dividends of shareholders. There is

no way of getting any part of it into the " pay envelope of the wage-earner."

Taking conditions as they are to-day, as the result of the protective policy as it has prevailed for more than half a century, what do we mean by " necessary protection " and " excessive protection "? There are some highly developed protected industries which have every advantage over those of other countries and need no protection. All their advantages for years have gone to capital in dividends upon stock largely " watered " and to enriching with value in new property the diluted capitalization, drawing that value from consumers in higher prices. The iron and steel industry is a conspicuous example. The benefit goes to labor only so far as it may be voluntarily accorded by " welfare " devices as a means of keeping labor contented with what it gets. Other industries would need no protection if the system did not have the effect of making their cost of production abnormally high. These industries have to buy materials and supplies from one another, and they must charge high prices because they must pay high prices. There is no advantage in trading on such an artificial level any more than in doing work on a high scaffolding which may as well or better be done on the level of the ground.

If the system could be adjusted on a basis to afford only the protection that is needed now to maintain industries that have been built up by protection, there are few that would suffer and there are many that would benefit. Their workmen would lose nothing, their proprietors would receive the legitimate return upon capital, and users and consumers of their products would benefit greatly. The production and trade of the country would expand much more steadily and safely, and the fruits of the general activity would be far more equitably distributed. There are few manufacturing industries which, freed from the hampering effects of duties which are supposed to protect others and the uncertainties of high and fluctuating prices, would not grow in a more healthy, vigorous, and flourishing manner. That is almost certainly the case with most textile industries which are well established. The United States produces more than two-thirds of the world's supply of raw cotton, and without protection it would be at no disadvantage in providing itself with buildings and machinery. The " home market " is always protected by the cost of transportation of material

to and of products from other countries. Under normal conditions, there is no reason why this country should need protection against the competition of foreign cotton goods in its own markets or why it should not compete successfully in supplying such goods to other countries.

With untaxed raw materials and machinery it could surely hold its own in manufactures from wool, wood, metals, and probably in those from hemp, flax, and similar fibers. It would probably have taken long for such industries as those of linen and lace-making and of silk manufacturing to develop in this country without the stimulus of protection, because labor and capital would have been busily employed in others that were easier to build up. Perhaps these and some others could not be maintained now without protection. Where such is the case and capital is invested in any considerable measure and labor is employed on a considerable scale in the industries, it would not be fair to take away the support upon which they had been induced to rely. There are many industries that have been built up much more rapidly than they otherwise would have been by tariff protection, and some of them cannot yet be sustained without it. Some may need it for a long time to come. There may be things the domestic production of which is so important to the country, while the advantage in their production is so much greater elsewhere, that permanent protection for them would be justified. If so it can be granted, but it will necessarily be at the expense of other industries and the benefit will be special.

Let us come now to what should and can be done in a sensible and practical way in the revision of the tariff. There will be a wide difference of opinion between those who still cherish the belief that there is advantage to the people of the country in maintaining industries on a basis of artificial cost and high prices, by shielding their products from competition with foreign products of the same kind in the home market, and those who believe this policy to be a disadvantage. With the former, so far as they have no personal interest to serve, it will be difficult to undo the teaching of two or three generations. So far as they have such interest and are honestly convinced that what benefits them is a general benefit, they cannot be persuaded. For the people as a whole it would be a substantial advantage to adjust the tariff upon a basis which would yield the needed

revenue at the least cost for collection, with the least interference with the natural course of industry and trade in the country, and with the smallest restriction upon commerce with other nations.

With the artificial and complex system that we have on our hands this cannot be done suddenly, hastily, or carelessly without disastrous results to many. It must be done with due regard for some principle accepted as sound in theory, but it must be done with intelligent and studious care and by a gradual process, or there will be disturbance and trouble which will cause confusion and set back the cause of revision instead of advancing it. There must be a disregard of old party divisions so far as honest convictions on the subject do not conform to them. It is difficult to obtain a non-partisan treatment of so vital a question of public policy, but if this task is to be achieved safely, successfully, and within a reasonable period, either those who favor a well-defined policy must align themselves with a party pledged to carry it out and must adhere to it until the work is accomplished, or those in favor of such a policy must unite regardless of party lines which may divide them with reference to other issues. That either course will be consistently and continuously pursued by a sufficient number to get the work done speedily, effectively, and harmoniously is too much to expect. But the effort should be made in that direction, that by more or less of compromise and with more or less halting steps progress may be made which will grow easier as one difficulty after another is overcome and the beneficial results of the steps taken are demonstrated. The problem is a living one and must be solved. The issue confronts the nation and is vital to its prosperity and progress in a long future. It cannot be suppressed or evaded long at a time. It will not be settled and stay settled until it is settled in accordance with principles which experience proves to be sound.

Amos K. Fiske.

PSYCHOLOGY AND THE NAVY

BY HUGO MÜNSTERBERG

THE world is full of the glory of the development of modern battle-ships, full of admiration for the tremendous material values which they represent and for the technical triumphs which are achieved by the perfection of their guns and machinery. The world of newspaper readers is hypnotized by the stupendous possibilities which the Dreadnoughts of our day have created, and its imagination is excited by the improvements and inventions, by the torpedoes and submarines, and the turrets which make the naval battle of the future the most gigantic technical problem of the age. But in the midst of this unquestioning enthusiasm for the material development and the physical progress of the battle-ship we ought not to forget that it is, after all, the man, man's thought and man's emotion and man's will which is of decisive importance. It is a popular prejudice to expect success only from the marvels of steel and powder and electricity. The great lesson of history demonstrates that throughout four thousand years the victory has been with the ships of those who were fit to win. It is not true that fate has been with the heavy guns; it has always been with the great minds. The knowledge of the ships and armament becomes a living power only if it is embedded in the understanding of strategics and grand tactics, and they would be empty if the psyche of man were not acknowledged as their center. With this background of feelings the men of the navy have turned to psychology to inquire whether the study of the mind may be made serviceable to the navy in peace or in war.

The psychologist of a few years ago would have felt embarrassed if men of that great world in which guns are pointed and battles fought had come as intruders into his quiet laboratory-rooms, where he was carrying on his patient

researches into the traits and the mechanism of the human mind. His science had grown up far from the turmoil of the world of clashing interests in the repose and quietude of pure academic life. Psychologists studied consciousness, its laws, and its surprising developments with all the means of exact modern methods, but never with a thought of dragging the results into the market-places and of making practical use of that which was sought for knowledge's sake only. But the last few years have brought a radical change. The treasures of knowledge which were heaped up in the storehouses of the modern psychologist have at last been coined and made serviceable to the demands of the day. The psychologists began to aid the efforts of the school-teachers who had too long forgotten that the human mind of the pupil is the only important element in the school; they began to help the physicians who had too long neglected the fundamental rôle which the mind plays in the health and disease of the patient; they began to aid the lawyer and the judge who had too long dealt with crime without analyzing the criminal's mind; they even began to aid the merchant and the captain of industry whose customers and whose laborers are minds which may be studied with profit from the point of view of psychological science. They have served the social reformer and the vocational counselor, even the artist and the minister; in short, they have in recent years developed an applied psychology which stands to the theoretical work of our laboratories as the science of the engineer stands to physics or chemistry. It is a psychotechnical science which cannot acknowledge barriers where the human mind is working in the interplay of social energies. Commanding a ship or fulfilling the orders of the commander, shaping the plans of a battle or pointing the gun, directing a submarine or aiming a torpedo, sending the wireless message or even feeding the engines in the hold of the ship while the cannons are thundering, is an activity of the mind, and it is not only the right, but the duty, of the psychologist to consider conscientiously whether his science may not be applied in this realm of human efficiency too.

The problems which might most naturally suggest themselves at the very threshold are those which are common to the seafaring world independent of whether the ship is to fight or peacefully to carry passengers and freight from shore to shore, the problems of navigation. We ought not

to overlook the fact that certain elements of exact psychology indeed entered the naval service quite a number of years ago. I refer to the study of color-blindness. No one has a right to become a seaman who is unable to discriminate the color signals of the passing ships, but these facts of color-blindness which are to-day such a matter of course in the naval world had to be slowly examined by psychological studies, and the tests by which these abnormities of the human eye are traced are still being steadily elaborated in the workshops of the psychologists. Even in this apparently well-known little field the psychologist goes on discovering new phenomena. Many types of color-weakness and color-deficiency can be traced to-day which a few years ago would still have escaped the notice of the experimenter; and the more intimately the naval service remains in contact with the progress of these sense studies, by introducing the newest subtle methods of testing, the greater the chance of eliminating mistakes which might spell disaster.

I am inclined to believe that variations and deficiencies of hearing, well known to the psychologist, may be of a certain significance too in the problems of navigation. Only in recent years has a careful psychological study been devoted to the mental conditions of the localization of sound. The experiments which aimed at determining the directions of sound which can be discriminated were carried on in the hope of clearing up the theory of space perception. The psychologist, studying space perception, asks how far the cooperation of the two ears is necessary in order to determine exactly the direction and what angles of deviation can be discerned and what directions of sound may be confused with one another. No one of these laboratory studies was undertaken with practical purposes in view, and yet it seems probable that the officer who is to determine the direction of the fog-horn's sound would profit from an acquaintance with such psychological investigations, and that psychological tests might eliminate many a man from the list of those who are considered competent to judge the sounds in a fog. The new duty of listening to the submarine bells involves other acoustical functions which may also make psychological inquiries advisable. But the mental analysis would trace strong individual differences with regard to many other features which might mean good or evil for the profession of the navigator.

The officer on the bridge is in a very different position, according to whether his mental imagery is of the visual or of the motor-acoustical type. The one may carry in consciousness a vivid picture of the map of the shore, with its lighthouses and signals, while the other may possess his knowledge in the form of words and figures. Both may know the same data, and each kind of knowledge has its particular advantages for certain purposes, but the two men take an entirely different attitude toward the channel through which they have to pass, and the difference may be momentous. Still more important are the psychological differences in the ability of men to observe distant objects and to remember correctly a series of events to which the attention has been turned. The absurd contradictions in the reports of witnesses before the court provoked the psychological study of the ability for giving testimony. Thousands of experiments have been devoted to the question under the exact conditions of the laboratory experiment. We know now how misleading the reports of the most sincere witnesses may be, how illusions may slip in, in spite of the most serious intentions, how the subjective feeling of certainty may deceive them point for point, and, above all, how great the individual differences are in the faithfulness of mental reports. The sea-serpent stories of all regions have indicated how the sea is the most favorable background for the illusions of mental perception. We know from recent studies that, for instance, a quick succession of similar impressions produces a mutual inhibition through which some are eliminated from the range of our attention. The psychologist has found many such subtle traits of our attention which interfere with our observations, and if we think how much depends upon the observation of the naval officer on the commercial ship, as well as on the man-of-war, we can foresee that the time must come when the studies of the psychologist will not be ignored in the navy. Moreover, we find by experimental inquiry that the power of observation is dependent upon individual features, and that, accordingly, a man may be excellent in one kind of observation and entirely unreliable in another kind, in spite of his personal feeling that he is exerting an equal effort. These individual differences must be tested in order to find which man is particularly fit for a certain kind of observation and whose judgment is unreliable. Similar psychological tests would

be advisable for the spotter on the mast and for the men in many another position.

To illustrate these possibilities of psychological tests which may be applied in the interest of navigation, I may characterize at least one a little more in detail. The officer on the bridge may know exactly what he has to do under normal conditions and may be perfectly able to figure out carefully the right decision in case of an unusual, unexpected, complex situation, if he has plenty of time to judge on the relative value of the various factors involved. But the ultimate proof of the man comes when the unexpected happens and no time is left for the slow decision. A quick decision must be made or destruction of ship or life will follow. A vessel may suddenly loom up in the mist, or a rock or a wreck, and collision is inevitable unless the right actions are quickly chosen, and this means unless rapidly and yet correctly the comparative importance and insistence of the conditions are grasped. Only the man who can live up to this demand of an emergency is the born leader of a ship as far as mere navigation is concerned.

Experience for which mankind has dearly paid has shown that there are two types of men who utterly fail. One type becomes paralyzed under the pressure of the sudden responsibility. The feeling that a decision must be quickly reached inhibits in him every impulse to action, his mind comes to a standstill, before he reaches any decision at all the chances are gone, and the disaster can no longer be averted. The other type instantly opens the channels of motor discharge, but the flood of impulses rushes into any chance course and a haphazard result, a foolish decision, or an unconsidered hasty action is the outcome. The right man is of the third type, which, under the pressure of danger, without loss of time instinctively grasps the whole complex situation, is not carried away by any chance impression, does not overlook what is significant in the unexpected event, sees the important things great and the insignificant small. Coolly he chooses in immediate response the attitude which he would take if he had time for careful deliberation. Are we to wait until an emergency arises to find out whether the right type of personality is in command? May not the penalty of this postponement be measureless loss of valuable lives?

A leading ship company raised this neglected question

recently with great earnestness and invited me as psychologist to consider whether our laboratory could not devise a scheme by which this ability to judge rapidly and yet correctly could be tested and measured. I tried many schemes, at first very complicated ones, but slowly I settled on an extremely simple device which brings out with surprising clearness the mental differences and the variations of those three types of behavior. The device looks like a little game. I use twenty-four cards, each of which contains four rows of twelve capital letters. They are all A's, E's, O's, and U's. Some of the cards contain twenty-one of one of the four letters and nine of each of the three others; some contain eighteen of the one and ten of each of the others; and some fifteen of the one and eleven of each of the three others. The letters are in entirely irrgular order and every card at the first glance looks almost bewildering. The task of the man to be tested is to stare at one card and to decide as quickly as possible which of the four letters is the most frequent one. It is evident that this is much more difficult if the most frequent letter occurs only fifteen times than when it occurs twenty-one times, but even in the latter case it is not easy to do it without any help by counting, for which, of course, no time is allowed. The full experiment consists in making this decision as quickly as possible for every one of the twenty-four cards, and the objective test is made by the demand that the subject of the experiment arrange the cards with the greatest possible speed in four piles: in the first those in which the A is predominant, in the second the E, in the third the O, and in the fourth the U. Then we measure the time from the signal to begin to the moment of laying down the last card, and afterward we count the number of times a card has been put in the wrong pile. Every mistake in the twenty-one letter cards counts four, in the eighteen letter cards three, in the fifteen letter cards one. If we sum up the mistakes and multiply by the number of seconds used, a product less than four hundred characterizes a man perfectly reliable in quick judgment of a complex situation, four hundred to a thousand normal, one thousand to two thousand fair, two thousand to three thousand doubtful, three thousand to five thousand poor, and over five thousand useless. Through a test which takes only a few minutes we thus arrive at a sorting of men according to their quickness or

sluggishness, deliberateness or inability to make a prompt decision. It is surprising how often men tested with this simple device confess that the result expresses exactly the experience which they have passed through when life called them to a sudden decision in an unexpected complex situation. Nevertheless, I am far from saying that the ideal of a test for this particular demand has been reached in this proposition. Still more suitable schemes may be invented in the future, but at least we no longer have any right to ignore the problem and to disregard the possibilities which experimental psychology offers, and to wait until the events of life carry on the experiments with disastrous results. For our purpose I have discussed this particular case only as an illustration of the method by which the experimental psychologist, with his miniature repetitions of life tasks, may seek the right man for the right place even on the bridge of the ship or in the crow's-nest or in the engine-room.

The officer in the navy, however, does not think primarily of those psychological features which are as important for the ocean greyhounds of the commercial fleet as for his ironclad floating fortresses. His interest naturally turns to those traits of the mind which are more directly connected with the success or failure in warfare. Hence let us consider that wide region of higher mental activities, the interplay of emotion and volition, judgment and imagination, intellect and instinct. But then we shall do best in our survey to discriminate between the minds of the officers and those of the crew. What are the mental characteristics of the many to whom the few have to give their orders? One psychological fact ought to stand in the foreground and ought never to be forgotten. The many are not simply a large number of single minds; they are not only many, but they are at the same time one. They are held together—more, they are forged together into one compact mental mass in which no single mind which entered has remained unchanged in its structure or in its energies. Let us by no means believe that this is only a metaphor or a picturesque expression which is to symbolize the fact that those hundreds of men have certain ideas or desires or emotions or feelings or prejudices or hopes or fears in common, and that the superior may simply rely on those common factors and, accordingly, ignore the individual differences among the men. Their unity is not a simple uniformity; their minds are

interrelated and not simply added to one another. Yet we must keep just as far from any reminiscences of popular mystical ideas, as if by a kind of telepathy one mind reaches out to another and fuses with it in a spiritual communion. Seen from a psychological standpoint, the personality is completely confined to the impressions, memories, imaginations, emotions, and volitions which originate in its own compass, and no mind can intrude into this mental individuality. Whatever comes to the individual mind from without must come through the senses in the form of impressions and sense perceptions. But when these impressions are perceptions not of the dead things around us, but of living beings animated by interests like ours and engaged in action with us, the impression influences the whole setting of the mind in one characteristic direction. The psychologist characterizes this as an increase of suggestibility. The particular man becomes more suggestible to all propositions which his senses receive from his companions. This psychophysical increase of suggestibility transforms the individuals now into a crowd, now into a rushing mob, now into an enthusiastic army, and whoever deals with such a group of men in which every one knows himself as a part of the cooperating whole must be fully aware of the advantages and of the dangers which are created by this reinforcement of suggestibility.

Suggestibility in the view of the modern psychologist means the readiness to accept suggestions, and suggestions are never anything but propositions for actions. In ordinary talk we speak of suggestions of ideas, but in a stricter sense this is misleading. Not the idea itself becomes the object of the suggestion, but either the proposition to act according to a certain idea or the proposition to believe in the reality of a certain idea. If we suggest the idea of a flower garden to a hypnotized man within the walls of his room, we do not simply awaken the imaginative idea before his mind. We might awake such an imaginative picture of a garden in any normal mind by speaking about it without hypnotism and without suggestion. What characterizes the abnormal state of the hypnotized man is that he is ready to accept the proposition that such a garden really surrounds him, and, accordingly, he begins to pick the roses from his chairs and tables. He accepts those ideas as real, and this is indeed ultimately nothing but an attitude, and

his action an action of submission and of acknowledgment. All suggestions in this way refer to the inner or outer doings of men.

Now ordinarily, if we propose an action to our neighbor, the idea of the purpose may interest him, and if no objections arise in his mind and no impulses of his oppose, the idea of the action transforms itself into a real activity. But it may just as well happen that our proposition awakens in his mind the idea that the consequences of the action would be disagreeable, or that it would be useless or foolish or perhaps even criminal, or that he would be unable to carry it out, or that a risk would be connected with it, or that it would be against the rules, and any one of these associated ideas might overcome the impulse to carry out the proposition. He refuses to do what we invited him to undertake because the opposing idea proves to be the stronger. But the idea of an action may be proposed to us with such vividness and warmth, with such a striking tone of authority, or with such insistent persuasiveness, that all those resisting associations are suppressed and inhibited. The inner opposition is overwhelmed, the proposed action is carried out, and in the case that a proposition has such a power to inhibit the opposing ideas we call it suggestion. Yet this effect may result and does result still oftener from an inner state of the man. He may have come into a readiness to yield to propositions which he would otherwise resist, to perform acts which would normally appear to him silly or dangerous. This inner change is the increase of suggestibility. Emotional excitement, over-fatigue, certain drugs, produce this change. If the change reaches its maximum degree we call it hypnosis, as the hypnotic state is indeed nothing but highly increased suggestibility. But with normal men there is no more effective cause for the increase of suggestibility than the forming of a mass in which every one sees and knows that all the others share his fate, have the same to perform and to enjoy and to suffer. The children in a class, the laborers in a factory, the voters in a mass-meeting, the spectators on the bleachers at a game, the crowd assembled at a fire or an accident, form various types of such organized units held together by increased suggestibility, through which every single member is liable to act in a way which would be unnatural to him if he were alone. He may do acts or say things or risk

dangers which he would fear if he stood by himself. He has not really become more courageous, but his increased suggestibility makes him imitative and ready to do what the others seem willing to do and to ignore the warning voice of his reason or his cowardice. He also becomes a little more foolish than he would be in isolation, he may shout words or indulge in actions which would appear to him silly or inconsiderate if he were alone; but the crowd consciousness has control of him; he has become insensitive to the opposing voice of wisdom. He laughs where he would never laugh alone; he runs away where his normal instincts would teach him to hold on; he gets discouraged or excited where the cold facts would not warrant either. The mass can hold his mind down to a level far below its true nature and can lift it up to a height which it could never reach unsupported.

Among all lasting conditions of human life, no one seems more predisposed to create this increased suggestibility of a mass than the life on a war-ship. Every man on board feels how his fate is bound up with that of all the others. He knows that they all are detached for months and years from the life of the millions; they feel the same pulse of the engines; they are lifted by the same waves; they know that the same danger would threaten all of them. The individual has given up a part of his possibilities. If the hour of a battle were to come, every man knows that for him no individual rushing forward is possible, as for the soldiers on the battle-field. He cannot escape the ship which carries them all and with which they all will sink if it goes to the bottom. A closer union of a multitude of strangers cannot be imagined; the suggestibility must, therefore, be tremendously increased, and that means that the powers of the man are reinforced for good or for evil, that his individual resistance to the imitative impulses is decreased, and that he has become to a certain degree a passive instrument for the will of the leader. No superior can fail to make the fullest use of this power and to be aware of the lurking dangers. He must know that this increased suggestibility could be the condition for a panic among men no single one of whom would be frightened. But at the same time he can rely on it that this suggestibility will insure an enthusiastic and heroic fight if the right impulse and the right start are given, and that every single man may then be carried far

beyond the range of his individual spontaneity. As to the technical side of this control of the mass, one rule may be immediately deduced from these psychological principles.

If crowd consciousness is really only increased suggestibility, and suggestibility is only readiness to act according to a proposition, it will be of utmost importance to give the signal for any turn of mind by an impulse to real action. Do not try to awaken any ideas or conceptions or judgments, but release an action in the right direction by forcing any one man to carry it out, or, better still, by making the movement yourself, and you have won your case. One forward movement bears the whole mass forward, one backward movement ruins all. Even if you only go through the motions of an action to give an illusory suggestion of it which would not convince the individual, it will carry away the excited mass.

This suggestibility of the social group which composes the crew stands in an especially significant relation to the mental function which, after all, is the backbone of military service—obedience. Where the spirit of discipline is lacking, the military cause is lost. There never has been a victorious navy without obedience. To a certain degree the necessity of a dogged submission to the order has in the most modern ship become still more necessary than ever before, because the individual man is more isolated in his duties than in former times. He does not know what is going on in the battle; he does not see the others; he cannot understand the situation; he cannot lose a moment of time to find out what is going on; he simply has to obey his orders as long as life flickers in his soul. He cannot even be trained for this obedience in the hour of battle, because all training and all exercises and all manœuvers necessarily eliminate the mental factor which is ultimately the most important in the hour of the real fight, the emotion of fear. Whether the man will carry out the movements which the manœuver has taught when the cannons not only are thundering, but the balls really are splintering the ship, depends upon the one decisive question of whether an obedient submission to the order of the superior has become an instinct for his mind.

And here begins that complex relation to the suggestibility of the crew, inasmuch as the spirit of obedience itself is reinforced by the unified social consciousness of the mass,

while, on the other hand, the obedient carrying out of the order disturbs the social consciousness. I say the spirit of obedience is in itself fostered by the increased suggestibility with its imitativeness. To be obedient is the common function of all the men. They feel themselves as parts of that one unified organic fighting-machine which can fulfil its purpose only if strict discipline controls it, and the willingness to submit therefore becomes infectious. Hence the order of the commander is the highest duty for every one, and that contagious, imitative enthusiasm for the common cause against the enemy in every individual takes the form of an unquestioning spirit of subordination. The officer can, therefore, expect a much greater spirit of obedience from a member of that socialized group than from any single individual. But, on the other hand, the order goes from the commander to the man directly, and he has to fulfil his share without reference to what the other members of the crew have to do. To demand obedience to the order which is given to him individually may mean to force on him resistance to the suggestions of the social consciousness. Indeed, it is no real obedience unless it is strong enough to break up the unified will of the crowd. In this sense their education toward obedience demands a relentless suppression of the general suggestibility. The men must be trained by real discipline to have control of themselves in spite of all suggestions of their mates and to inhibit in their minds all merely imitative and yielding impulses. The psychologist knows no other way of training such a power of self-control but by a persistent strengthening and disciplining of the attention and the will.

We all know how much this self-discipline is weakened by the corrupting indulgence with which our modern age coddles the youth. We know how a pseudo-education which is controlled by fads and fancies fosters those go-as-you-please methods which yield to the whims and likings of the petted boys and girls, and how this pampered youth learns an abundance of scattered bits of knowledge, but fails to learn what alone makes life worth living, the power of attention and will which enforces the dutiful action against all temptations. The result is the superficiality of our public life with the lack of resistance to sensational and hysterical influences. Our whole modern world instinctively longs again for thoroughness and discipline and the teaching of

obedience. But the army and navy at least never lessen the firm grip of authority, and every officer ought to understand the mental conditions under which discipline can be developed. One psychological consideration must stand in the foreground. Discipline is the product of habit, and habit cannot become deep-rooted where any exceptions are admitted. Habits result from the physiological law that the uninterrupted repetition of actions transforms the nervous path into a path of less and less resistance. The submission to the order given and the faithful performance of the duty, in spite of all counter-stimulations, must be secured by such habituation of the brain paths. We cannot expect that the man will be always ready to play the hero and to force his energies to a maximum and to make great sacrifices in order to be obedient. The routine effect of a strong discipline can be reached only if this submission has become so habitual that it works as a matter of course without any need of excessive effort. The service must have made the man an exact machine which works automatically whenever the order reaches his consciousness.

Yet the true meaning of military discipline would be entirely missed if automatic obedience were considered as the only important demand, and if another postulate were neglected which stands in every respect co-ordinate, the demand for a spirit of initiative. Without this spirit the fighter would become a slave, and no nation can rely on its moral slaves. Initiative does not stand in a psychological contradiction to obedience. On the contrary, even the training in obedience demands a background of initiative, as the overcoming of the resistance will be successful only if every single act of submission is supported by a feeling of confidence and reliance in the leader, and this reliance, however much it may result from the imitative crowd consciousness, remains ultimately an act of personality and initiative.

But the spontaneity which the service has to develop in every man must go far beyond this mere internal free option for a leader. The commander controls a well-disciplined crew only if he can know that every man is ready to give orders to himself in the spirit of the whole when orders from above are lacking. Every man in the crew must be able and must be conscious of his ability to step into a position of responsibility. His intelligence and power of decision, accordingly, demand as much stimulation as his habit

of submission. It is this which ennobles the modern navy and gives to it values far beyond those of a mere mechanical fighting-machine. The idea is wide-spread that different views are possible on this question, that some navies do not believe in the initiative of the individuals because they are afraid that it will interfere with obedience and that the automatic machine-like functioning of the crew ought to be the ideal. For instance, it is a wide-spread belief among the officers of the American navy that this contrast of view characterizes the difference between the American and the German navy, the Americans believing in the spirit of initiative, the Germans in the spirit of obedience. Would it not be misleading to awaken the impression that an American naval officer undervalues the importance of obedience? After a serious study of this problem with reference to the German navy, I feel convinced that it is equally misleading to fancy that the leading men of the German navy believe less in the absolute value of the spirit of initiative in the navy than the Americans. I should rather say that the development of the last twenty years, as it is reflected in the German navy literature and in the spirit of the German navy officers, finds its real center in the persistent effort to create a strong sense of initiative and of individual responsibility and personal freedom in every man who is to fight on board of the cruiser. Initiative and obedience ought to belong together in the psychology of the naval man the world over.

We have spoken so far only of the psychology which the officer ought to know in order to understand his subordinates, but we have not spoken of the psychology of the officer himself. What are the significant features of his mind? To a certain degree, to be sure, he is not only in the same boat; he is also of the same mold of mind as the crew. He too is a part of that compact unity with its social consciousness and its increased suggestibility, sharing the common enthusiasm and sharing the common fears; and, above all, he too must combine the spirit of obedience with the spirit of initiative, however much the obedience is shaded into an intelligent carrying out of instructions as against the mechanical fulfilment of orders, and the initiative is heightened to a sense of responsibility toward every man on board and toward the nation. But in so far as the officer stands detached from the crew the mental character-

istics which are necessary for him are to a high degree dependent upon those psychological conditions of the crew. If the men are a suggestible mass, it is he who needs the power of suggestion. He must train in himself and develop to highest efficiency that unwavering firmness which overwhelms an easily impressed crowd and forces on it the will of the leader. If the officer shows signs of hesitation and of weak willingness to yield, lack of determination, or erratic fluctuation, his influence is paralyzed. Only the man of suggestive power can stop a panic by one short word or one vivid movement and by a gesture can transform fear into daring courage. Such suggestive power must draw its strength from auto-suggestion. An officer who allows himself to grow tired by the monotony of the service or by the exhausting work on board, or who becomes nervous or fussy or irritated, or who instinctively shrinks from the responsibility and always waits for the counsel of others, slowly loses the auto-suggestive hold on himself which is even more important than any knowledge. Whatever he can do to strengthen his nervous system, to enrich his intellect, to widen his horizon, to keep his instincts vigorous and his imagination vivid, his inspirations high, and his will decisions quick, all ought to contribute to that reliance on himself which strengthens the power of his auto-suggestive thought. Only then is he a true commander and leader. The difficulties which he has to overcome are multifold, as the conditions and the strain of the service work strongly toward automatization of his mental life, and this involves a weakening of that power of command with its independent self-reliance and its need for inexhaustible auto-suggestion. He has to overcome the resistance by sport and training, by social comraderie with his equals, by joy in the service as such, by intellectual interest in his duties, and by passionate love for his task; but, above all, by a systematic training of his will power.

This emphasis on the emotional traits of the leader does not contradict the demand which seems paramount in a war college, the training of abilities. However much an officer may have learned concerning ships and guns and ammunition, and even concerning the history of warfare, the knowledge alone does not prepare him for the great work which he is called to perform for the good of the nation in peace and in war. The development of abilities such as

have to be shown in the movements of the fleet or in the battle is dependent upon mental activities for which no mere knowledge can be substituted. They stand much nearer to art than to knowledge. We find this contrast in every field of human interests. The youngest pupil in a school has to gather some information and has to learn facts accessible to knowledge, and, on the other hand, has to win and exercise abilities. His power to read or to write or to calculate demands actual performance and can never be gained by mere theoretical demonstration. This doubleness remains the same through all stages of schooling up to the highest technical and professional preparations for life-work. The surgeon must learn his knowledge of medicine and exercise his ability to perform the operation. Yet these abilities which have to be acquired are acts of our minds and nervous systems. It is not necessary to train them on exactly those objects for which they are finally to be used. The only essential requirement is that really the same mental and physiological functions be involved which are needed in the decisive hour. To go through a real battle would be an impossible preparation. To go through a manœuver is, of course, only an approach, as every sham battle leaves out the real hatred of the enemy and therefore changes the final mental situation. But even such manœuvers with actual ships go far beyond what the routine training can bring to the individual officer. Hence he is obliged to reduce the mental situation still more and to substitute a naval-war game and the mastery of theoretical naval-war problems of actual warfare for the genuine fight. But if these miniature battles and these schematized wars of the college-room are well arranged, they can become a substitute in which the most essential mental functions of warfare are actually exercised.

The psychologist cannot too earnestly advise that emphasis be laid on such practical exercises. The training in all our technical activities from writing with a pen to mastering a musical instrument or a scientific apparatus demonstrates in ever new forms that the mere ability to go through the component acts of a complex action is not sufficient to guarantee success in the complex action itself. We must always consider the synthesizing of the part actions as a task in itself, which needs independent training. An officer may have learned to do this and to do that and to

respond to one condition in this and to another condition in that way, but he can never feel himself prepared for the right decision and right performance in the unified complex situation of the battle if he has not thoroughly trained himself in responding to the whole complexity of the situation. In every complex activity the whole is endlessly more than the mere sum of the parts, and that is the necessary result of the structure of our psychophysical system. The various layers of psychophysical units, one higher than another, have to take charge of the organization of our motor responses. In the first few weeks the man who is learning telegraphy only tries to give the signals for the single letters as quickly as possible, and the curve of his speed shows a steady ascent until he knows how to produce the single letters with the greatest possible speed. Then he reaches a period of standstill, until he is fully trained in this elementary ability, but afterward he enters into the second stage of training and learns to telegraph not letters, but whole words, and his speed in telegraphy quickly rises. In this second period he learns to synthesize the motor impulses for the single letters into complex movement innervations for whole words. This new ability is acquired after several months and then begins again a time of standstill. Finally he reaches the period of acquiring the highest ability, not accessible to every one—namely, the synthesizing of the word impulses into still more complex activities in which one motor stroke gives the impulse for the telegraphing of a whole phrase composed of several words. In this way the officer must learn to synthesize the thousand partial activities which he has learned as factors of the naval service. He needs exercise in that whole very complex setting from which the special actions then spring with automatic necessity.

While in this way ability must be developed in addition to mere knowledge, it is not fair to underestimate the knowledge. There are some who claim that such ability is instinct and that instinctive activities are essentially dependent upon inborn powers. The right commander sees by an intuition what he must do in the decisive moment. He has not even time to consider deliberately what possibilities are open, but with instinctive certainty he chooses the right one. This is perfectly true and yet entirely false. What we call our instinct in such cases is not an inborn disposition like that

for satisfying hunger or thirst; it is nothing but an ability to respond to the complex stimulus without a conscious awareness of the special steps which lead to the end. But in order to gain such an instinctive ability the connections must have been formed by persistent exercises into which perfectly conscious intentions and careful knowledge and learning have entered. The piano virtuoso plays without being conscious of the particular movements which at first had to be slowly learned. We all write and we all speak instinctively without choosing the special words or the special writing movements, but we had to learn them by slow study. Everything which we acquire through assiduous learning to-day has a chance of being transformed to-morrow into instinctive behavior which serves the ends without our being conscious of the steps which lead to them. It is a kind of mental abbreviation, a short cut which can never be reached without industry and patience. The officer who devotes faithful years of study, perhaps to the history of naval warfare, and earnestly thinks himself into the situation of every decisive battle, forms connections in his mind between the ideas of certain situations and the ideas of certain necessary responses and reactions which slowly become part of his instinctive behavior and actions.

We have said that every pupil in a school and every student in a profession has to learn knowledge and has to acquire abilities. But the aim of education could never be reached by those two ways alone. A third factor is necessary to complete the meaning of the school. Interests must be stimulated. Knowledge and abilities would be dead and useless unless a living interest stood behind them. Even the smallest child must have at least the interest of curiosity or of sympathy, and on a higher level we stimulate the logical and ethical and esthetic interests in order to prepare the youth for a valuable life-work. The interest which leads the scholar is not that which stimulates the artist, and the interest which guides the physician is not that which moves the lawyer, and the interest which inspires the minister is not that which controls the statesman. But there is no calling, high or humble, in which an emotional interest does not give force and meaning to the knowledge and abilities of the man. The knowledge and the ability of the naval officer, the one resulting from the intellectual functions of his mind, the other from the volitional powers of his mind,

would indeed be deprived of their real efficiency and value unless a strong, deep stream of interest flowed from the emotions of his mind.

These interests may be of many kinds. But it holds true of every vocation that many motives are intertwined in the mind. The surgeon is anxious to receive his fees in order to earn his livelihood, and this mercenary motive is combined with the social one of his ambition to have a respected name in the community for his professional work, and both motives are combined with the intellectual one of a serious interest in the scientific problems of his medical work; and yet even these three groups of motives would never make him a true physician and would never inspire him enough for the great task which he may have to perform at a bedside if there were not the ethical motive of the desire to help suffering mankind. In a similar way we may disentangle personal and social and idealistic motive elements in every vocation, but in none does their co-operation seem more important than in the mental structure of the naval officer. Of course there must be personal motives involved. The officer must think of earning his livelihood, of filling an honorable position, of advancing as quickly as possible in his career. But motives on a much higher level, motives which do not refer to the individual as such, but to ideal aims and purposes, must be intimately associated with the personal ones. He must feel joy in the service as such; he must have interest in the details of the work and in the problems which it offers; he must be determined by a consciousness of duty which gives him perfect satisfaction when he is loyal to his task, whatever sacrifices it may demand. Yet here again we must insist that even all these motives of a higher order are not sufficient to guarantee the ideal perfection of the officer's achievement. There must be one motive which is still deeper-rooted and which lies far beyond mere personal consideration.

What is needed as the central energy in the mind of the naval officer is an enthusiastic belief in the ideal value of the navy and the task of the navy. The teacher can never give his best if he is not inspired by the ideal belief in the incomparable value of educating the youth. The artist and the scholar cannot create works of lasting glory if they do not live in an unquestioning belief in the sacred mission of beauty and truth. The minister cannot be a true preacher

if pure religion is not the center of his soul. Such a belief, such an inspiration, such a religion, must penetrate and fill the mind of the officer. With every fiber of his personality he must feel that it is sacred work to which he is called, that the mission of the navy is an ideal one, and that the honor of the country is not too dearly paid for by his death.

The psychologist sees in all these demands for the highest unselfish motives, not simply beautiful phrases and romantic illusions. Even though he abstracts from the higher moral aspect and simply takes the standpoint of description and explanation, he must acknowledge that such an emotional belief is the strongest reservoir of the energies for psychophysical action. The teacher and the minister, the artist and the scholar, and with them the officer, may perform every single activity which is needed for their life-work by the mere interplay of ideas, by learning and training. But in every case the available power for activity would easily be exhausted. Any friction would interfere with the possible success, any selfish desire would inhibit the impulses, fatigue would weaken the work, chance distractions and temptations would lead to side activities. Wherever one great emotional motive synthesizes the life-work, the psychophysical energy can overcome those frictions and those temptations, those selfish motives, those difficulties and dangers. This is true of the mind of the masses as well as of the individual. The maximum effort and the faithful endurance through the hour of danger presuppose that high-pitched tension for which mere intellectual processes can never be a substitute. The psychologist, therefore, without any emotionalism on his part, but for strictly scientific reasons, must demand that every factor be inhibited which interferes with a whole-hearted surrender to the sacredness of the naval cause.

The daily routine work may easily be carried on by officers and men who lack this belief, and the smoothness of their performance may deceive the world concerning the perfunctory character of their service. The interference with this ultimately decisive attitude may result from many conditions. Among the bluejackets a great mental inhibition may come from the tendency to change the vocation. English observers seem to believe that here lies the central mental difficulty of the American navy, since it must be acknowledged that in no other country are the rank and file

of the population so easily inclined to change from one vocation to another. The minds of the officers, on the other hand, are perhaps most easily harmed by what has often been called the spirit of the steam-yachtsman. The steam-yachtsman danger is, psychologically, especially grave, because it so easily creeps in without at first allowing any one to perceive the difference between the right and the wrong attitude. The steam-yachtsman loves the ship and its handling, enjoys the life on the water, is deeply interested in all naval movements; and yet the whole setting of his mind is fundamentally wrong for the officer who has to prepare himself and his men for the heroic work in the crisis. It is a spirit of ease and comfort, of charming hospitality and delightful companionship, of self-satisfaction and good-natured sportsmanship. In many a foreign navy the true believers in sea power, therefore, dislike to see too many rich officers in the service, as their spirit of comfort and relaxation spreads far too much this steam-yachtsman attitude. There are not a few who believe that this difference alone was the real reason for the victory of the Japanese navy, in which such a steam-yachtsman element does not exist, over the Russian navy, in which it is said to be widespread.

But the social psychologist cannot overlook a still more dangerous rock which is threatening under the surface. The whole civilized world to-day is filled not only with the old vague wish for peace, but with a more modern conviction that means can be found to secure peace and to make war superfluous. The American nation is among the leaders in this international movement, and no educated man has a right to close his eyes to this tremendous problem of civilization. But just because it is appealing to an ideal demand and carries with it the promise of highest humanity, it is much more dangerous to the inner unity of the officer's mind than a mere appeal to comfort and selfishness. The mind of the warrior is thrown into a conflict between the demands of his life-work and the siren voices of the eternal peace advocates. How can the enthusiastic belief in the preparedness for war and in the relentlessness of the fight prevail in a mind which is touched by the doubt whether war among civilized nations is not brutal and immoral and criminal? It is one of the most important conditions for the success of the navy that such inner wavering be absolutely excluded

from the officer's mind. He is not for that purpose obliged to fall back to a barbaric hatred of the enemy with the mere longing to kill, nor has he to narrow his horizon and ignorantly to ignore these international peace movements. All that is needed is for him to see them in the right perspective. He will not deny the harm and the losses which war brings with it. But at the same time he will be deeply impressed by the tremendous moral power of a national self-defense which concentrates the energies of the whole nation in loyalty to its historical mission. He must grasp the fundamental rôle of war in the history of mankind as the great vehicle of progress, as the great eradicator of egotism, as the great educator to a spirit of sacrifice and duty.

Moreover, he must recognize how the state forms in which mankind has developed have been bound up with national rivalry and war and how our present age, in spite of its palace of international arbitration at The Hague, seems further removed from warlessness than many a previous period. And as soon as he has recognized that war is necessary and as soon as he has chosen to serve the nation in its military work, no argument against war ought to interfere with the unified setting of his loyal mind. A scholar may be convinced that the poet's imagination is a noble gift for the artist; and yet he must not allow himself to be carried away or even to be touched by this longing for imaginative flight when he is in the path of scholarship. The minister may be convinced that there is high value in the materialistic work of the naturalist; and yet his religious attitude must not be shaken by the demand for a godless universe. The ideals of the artist and of the scholar and of the preacher, of the peace reformer and of the warrior, are all true ideals, are each worthy to give meaning and significance to the life which is devoted to them.

But this significance and this meaning ultimately lie in devotion, and the deepest value is therefore lost if the faithful belief in any one of these ideals is choked by rival ideals. There is no fitness to win without unity of mind and certainty of purpose.

HUGO MÜNSTERBERG.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

BY A. MAURICE LOW

II

HOW THE WORKING-MAN WOULD SUFFER IF THE STATE EMPLOYED ALL LABOR

It was said in the previous article that there are two kinds of Socialists: the evolutionary or scientific, who believes in peaceful and lawful means to accomplish his ends and bring about the socialization of the State; and the revolutionary, who openly advocates violence and the use of any means that will make possible the ideal State as he conceives it. Yet while Socialists of different kinds employ different methods their purpose is the same.

It is easier to discuss the programme of the revolutionary than the evolutionary Socialist, for the former has at least the courage boldly to avow what he wants and the way he would go about to get it. The evolutionary Socialist, on the other hand, is more cautious and clouds his ideas with words without being able to make the average person seeking information understand what he wants or how it can be procured. If one attempts to pin down an evolutionary Socialist to a clear explanation of his purposes and the means to be employed one is very apt to receive this answer:

> "Socialists are constantly confronted with a demand for a detailed description of the Socialist society of the future. This it is impossible to give, since all the forces which make for social change cannot be known. Any such prediction would necessarily be pure Utopian romance."

This is a passage from Spargo and Arner's *Elements of Socialism,* and Spargo is one of the leaders of evolutionary Socialism in this country. Remarking parenthetically that the whole doctrine of Socialism is "pure Utopian romance," it will be seen how difficult it is to combat a cause whose leaders are content to rely on generalities, yet out of the

mass of literature on the subject one may obtain a fairly satisfactory idea of the aims of the evolutionary Socialist. "The statement that Socialists work for the owning of the means of production by the community and the means of consumption by the individuals represents fairly enough their practical aim." This is the concise definition of Graham Wallas, an English Socialist of standing. The main object of the Socialistic attack, says Sydney Olivier, another equally distinguished English Socialist, is "that element in our private property system" the "individual ownership of the instruments of production, land, and capital." Sidney Webb says that "the political economist now knows that with free competition and private property in land and capital, no individual can possibly obtain the full result of his own labor. The student of industrial development, moreover, finds it steadily more and more impossible to trace what is precisely the result of each man's separate toil." Sydney Olivier further observes:

"The livelihood of the typical proletarian is earned by the exercise of his faculties for useful activity; the livelihood of the typical capitalist, or owner of property, is obtained, without any contribution of his or her activity, in the form of a pension called rent, interest, or dividend guaranteed by law out of the wealth produced from day to day by the activities of the proletariat."

I shall ask the reader to read carefully the foregoing passage because in half a dozen lines it is the whole case of Socialism against the rights of property and industry. It is the foundation on which Socialism rests. It is the attempt to create the belief that the so-called "capitalist" is a leech, a parasite, a social excrescence, an utterly useless creature who is responsible for everything that is bad and for all the evils of which society complains. Again and again Socialists assert that the capitalist grows fat on the blood sucked from the "typical proletarian" who alone performs "useful activity." That this belief is both false and fallacious will be demonstrated.

The object for which the evolutionary Socialist is working is to abolish private capital and private ownership so as to transfer both capital and ownership, the means of production as well as the means of consumption, from the hands of the individual to those of the community—that is, the State at large, using the word State, of course, not in the restricted sense of a subordinate political division, but

the whole nation, that entity which we indiscriminately but conveniently call the Government or the people. If Socialism were a fact and not merely an impossible theory, the individual ownership of farms or houses would be prohibited and they would all be owned by the State for the common use. No private person would be permitted to have capital—that is, the capital he may save from his earnings by the exercise of thrift or self-denial, his ingenuity or ability, as the activities for which capital is employed would be in the hands of the State.

Let us take a concrete example. There would be no private bakers, but there would be bakers in every hamlet and village and city appointed by the State who would bake, not the kind of bread that an individual wanted, but the bread provided for in the regulations approved by the Secretary of State or the functionary charged with the duty of superintending the making and baking of several million loaves of bread every morning in the year. For it must be apparent to every one, even to the person who has given the most indifferent thought to the question now that his attention is called to it, that if the State took over the whole operation of making bread it would have to be systematized and regulated or the people would go without bread. As private bread-making for sale would be declared illegal, just as now no one except the Government is permitted to mint coins or to print dollar bills or make postage stamps, Government bakeries would have to be established, each in charge of a manager or a superintendent, the employees appointed by the Government, their hours of labor and duties regulated by the Government, the materials purchased by the Government, the number, size, and quality of the loaves prescribed by the Government. Obviously the manager in charge of a Government bakery at Painted Post, Arkansas, let us say, would be permitted no more discretion than the superintendent in charge of a branch mint, who turns out the coins he is directed by the Secretary of the Treasury. There would, of course, be a bread standard, just as now there is a coin standard. By Act of Congress or the referendum or the recall or some other device the standard loaf of bread in the United States would be made of wheat flour because the majority of the people eat bread made of wheaten flour; the dough, according to the formula, would be mixed at a certain hour throughout the United States;

it would be put in the oven on schedule time; the loaves would be taken out as directed by the regulations. It would be the boast of the American that whether in Painted Post or New York, in New Orleans or in a mining-camp that has sprung into existence overnight, his loaf of bread would be made of the same materials, it would weigh the same, it would cost the same and taste the same. There in a sentence is the effect of Socialism. It would result in monotony; it would destroy initiative; it would offer no premium to ability.

Lest I be charged with unfairness, let us examine into the matter more in detail. With the standard loaf of bread established by the Government, the sole duty of the Government baker would be to turn out his loaves according to the Government formula. When enterprise is in the hands of private individuals there is always an incentive to the individual to do his work a little better than his rival, for if he makes a better article than a competitor his trade increases, which means he makes more money. A Government employee has no such incentive. He has no share in the profits (of course under Socialism there would be no profits), he gains no personal credit. He simply does what is required of him; nothing more.

There is another way by which the general public would be injured if the baking of bread was a Government function. An enterprising baker bakes bread for profit and is continually trying to see how he can enlarge his trade by catering to the public taste. He conceives the idea, let us say, that if he uses more or less yeast, or yeast made according to his own receipt, he will have a loaf that will be pleasing to some people; not to all, but to a certain number. Whereupon he experiments, wasting a great deal of dough and money, until he finds the exact proportions, discovering that the loaves must be baked a little more or less than the ordinary loaf and the temperature of the oven must be changed; but at last his experiments are successful, and he is able to produce the perfected loaf and is in his small way a benefactor and properly entitled to his reward.

Under State control there would be no experimenting because no one would be sufficiently interested to try experiments, and if some one was ingenious enough to think of a new way to make bread and suggested it to the Government official in charge of the baking establishment he

would be told that the idea was absurd, for it is notorious that Government officials, once they get into a rut, strive by every means in their power to keep there. If the ingenious individual is persistent enough and is inspired with the zeal of the reformer or the pertinacity of the crank, he may, perhaps, in time secure from Congress an appropriation for experimenting; and many years after all the rest of the non-socialistic world has been enjoying better or more nutritious bread it will be made possible for Americans to have it.

I shall, perhaps, be told that I am not fair, that there will be a Government laboratory for experimentation where scientists will spend their entire time searching not only to add a new flavor to bread, but also how to cheapen its cost and improve its qualities. Very true, but what is one or even half a dozen laboratories compared to the hundreds of thousands of bakeries where practical men, even if they are not scientists, every day have the highest personal incentive to make a better or a more delectable loaf? It is that personal incentive that has made progress, that enables the poorest of to-day to be so much better and cheaper clothed and fed and housed than the richest of a past generation. Governments do not invent or discover or build. States do not experiment or take large risks with capital in the hope of cheapening production. It is not the unselfish Socialist or the unpractical Utopian who has reduced the cost of manufacture by the fraction of a cent, but it is Sydney Olivier's " typical capitalist " who has turned the darkness of night into day so that the " typical proletarian " may live in decency and comfort.

I have used bread as an illustration of what we may expect when Socialism is instituted because the making of bread is one of the simplest manufacturing operations and also because the use of bread is universal. We can manage to get along without jam or Panama hats, but bread in some form or other every one must have. We have already seen that if the State took over the bakeries there would have to be a tremendous army of State bakery employees appointed simply to turn the flour into loaves, but that, of course, would only be a detachment of the army. There would have to be shops for the sale of bread, salesmen, cashiers, bookkeepers, delivery men, horses and wagons or motor-trucks. There would be inspectors to see that the

subordinates were properly doing their duty and the Government was not defrauded, for even among Socialists there would be some bad and dishonest men; there would be auditors and clerks and accountants to examine the returns so as to assure the people that their money was not improperly expended. Does any sane person believe that under this system the price of a loaf of bread would be reduced by the infinitesimal fraction of a cent? Does not every person of intelligence see that the only result of the socialization of bread-making would be to increase the price of the loaf of bread without in any way increasing its size or improving its quality?

The very men who most loudly demand Socialism because they claim they are now "exploited" by private capital and, therefore, denied a fair return for their labor are those who would be most injuriously affected if Socialism was put into operation. Under the existing system of industrialism, it is possible for the journeyman baker to become a boss baker, to rise from the ranks of the employee into those of the employer, if he is industrious, saving, and has intelligence; and, as every one knows, there are bakers and plumbers and carpenters—men, in fact, in every trade and walk in life, who, beginning the struggle for existence without advantage and influence and with only their hands and their brains as their capital, have risen by their own endeavor; some to comfort, some to affluence, some to high position. In the ranks of industrialism the baton of the field marshal is at the bottom of every recruit's knapsack, although not every one has the wit to find it. But it is there, and that is the incentive to hard work, to decent living, to the exercise of man's reasoning faculties. That is the reward to which every apprentice may aspire; but what would be his reward if the State took over all industry? Assuming an absolutely honest civil service where there is no favoritism, where influence counts for naught and merit is the sole test—an ideal state of affairs not impossible of realization, but practically almost so—the faithful, diligent, and intelligent Government servant would slowly gain his promotion and might hope, after long years of service, to reach the highest rung in the ladder—an agency or the management of an important bakery. But he would always remain a hired man, a servant of the State. Socialism would mean implanting upon Western civilization the debasing and in-

jurious effects of the caste system of the East. A man would be born a baker and die a baker; in all probability the son would follow in the footsteps of the father, and there would be a caste of bakers in America just as there is a caste of offal collectors in India. I take it this phase of Socialism has not been considered by the working-man, and I believe that the average American working-man is too intelligent and too ambitious to surrender the hope of reward for the dubious benefit of becoming a barnacle of the State, especially as the first and most marked effect of Socialism would be to increase the cost of all commodities without conferring any corresponding benefit.

Socialism on the high scale that would be necessary if in this country the Government took over all the bake-shops has never been tested; but it has been tried on a smaller scale, and the result was so disastrous that it showed what the consequences would be were the people mad enough to permit the Socialists to wreck the country.

In 1848 the French Provisional Government, in fulfilment of its promise to provide work for all who claimed it, established *ateliers nationaux,* or national workshops, which was coming very close to the realization of the Socialistic dream. A great establishment for the manufacture of clothing was set up in Paris. The Government provided the buildings rent free and furnished the working capital, charging no interest. It gave an immediate order for 25,000 uniforms for the National Guard and promised further orders so as to keep the plant in operation and agreed to pay the same price as private contractors asked, eleven francs per uniform. Fifteen hundred men were put to work, to whom the Government advanced daily two francs a day as "subsistence money" pending a final division of the profits. When the accounts came to be squared it was found that instead of profits there was a loss and that the two francs a day paid to the workmen as subsistence money worked out as the equivalent of sixteen francs for a uniform instead of eleven, the price by private contract; while the "subsistence money," which was only another term for wages, of two francs a day was less than that which journeymen tailors earned in private employ. Summed up, this was the result of the experiment: The Government paid five francs more for a uniform than if it had bought in the open market besides losing the amount invested in the plant and the inter-

est on the money advanced, while the working-men received lower wages than private employers paid. A great many employers were ruined by the competition of the State and much distress followed. As usual, the working-man was the chief sufferer.

Why was the experiment a failure? According to contemporary accounts, it failed chiefly because *incentive was destroyed.* The scheme contemplated an equal division of the profits among the 1,500 men employed, but as each man was working not for himself, but for all the others, no man thought it necessary to put forward his full energy, as the others would make up for his dishonesty; and as every man conceived the same selfish idea the daily output was reduced and the cost of manufacturing necessarily increased; for, as every one knows, the smaller the production the greater the cost. Socialists are very fond of saying that Socialism will put an end to selfishness. That is all very fine as a phrase, but is it truth? Is an intelligent, conscientious Socialist working at his loom eight hours a day and turning out so many yards of cloth content to receive no higher wages than the man at the next loom, who, because he is unintelligent or a shirker, turns out only half the number of yards of cloth? The answer is to be found in the actions of the Socialists themselves whenever there is a dispute between masters and working-men over wages.

Perhaps a thousand years hence, when human nature has become so refined that selfishness no longer exists and individuals are born with a conscience instead of conscience being a cultivated virtue, the joy of labor, of which the poets sing so blithely, may be all that is necessary for each man to give the best that is in him for the benefit of all others. We have not yet reached the ideal State, and until we do selfishness will continue to be a greater force than altruism, and the hope of reward will be the motive to make each man exert himself to the utmost. Take away incentive and little is left. That is what Socialism would do. It would destroy incentive. Instead of men doing their best, they would be content to do only merely sufficient to enable them to earn their daily subsistence.

A. Maurice Low.

(To be Continued)

CHINA'S REVOLUTION AND ITS EFFECT

BY CHING-CHUN WANG

A LITTLE more than a year ago the world was shaken by the guns at Wu Chang, which were opened upon the imperial troops of the Manchu Dynasty. Ever since we have been surprised and astonished again and again by the kaleidoscopic changes taking place in China. The revolution, which was at first looked upon as a farce and then feared as a sure prelude to general lawlessness, prolonged chaos, and wholesale bloodshed, has within the amazingly short time of a quarter of a year retired one of the oldest monarchies in the world to its proper place in history and opened up a new era of freedom and prosperity for a quarter of the whole human race; and all this has been done with a moderation unique and unparalleled in the history of nations. Therefore, China's revolution has been rightly called the great miracle of the twentieth century.

But this bloodless and marvelously speedy revolution was not the result of a transient passion. It was the natural outcome of a long-cherished desire for a broad-based freedom making for lasting contentment and uninterrupted progress. Ever since the Chino-Japanese War of 1895 there has grown a conviction that the Imperial Government was inefficient, corrupt, and incurable. The idea of love of country and the latent spirit of patriotism, which had lain dormant for ages, gradually revived in the hearts of the Chinese people. They began to notice China's unenviable position and to feel where she should and could be. This consciousness of the sacred love of one's fatherland, once awakened, immediately began to grow. Thus we saw the efforts of the young reformers of 1898, heartlessly frustrated by the merciless hands of the late Empress Dowager, with the summary execution and permanent exile of scores of the

brightest young men in the country. This act of the Manchu Government once more set back the hands of the clock of progress and continued their reactionary programme. But the blood of these martyrs seemed to have only fertilized the soil for renewed efforts; and repeated attempts at reform were made from time to time even at the risk of loss of life.

The astute Empress and her advisers, however, were blind to the wish of the people and the need of the country. Instead of heeding the cry of their subjects and of learning a lesson from our sad experience, they continued their suicidal policy of suppressing individual qualities and national aspirations. Every effort aimed at reform was viewed with suspicion and every attempt at improvement was blocked. Their ignorance became so dense that finally in 1900 they set loose the bloodthirsty Boxers of that year. What followed that nefarious rascality is too sad a story to repeat. Suffice it to say that hundreds and hundreds of men, women, and children were ruthlessly put to the sword and billions of dollars in property were consigned to the torch. China herself barely escaped the curse of being dismembered; and that only after the payment of an indemnity of $300,000,000, besides the sacrifice of Formosa and Korea, a territory as large as Germany and more productive than all Spain. It is only Providence itself that has saved China to play her part. Patriots continued their efforts to plead with the dynasty for substantial reforms in order to save the country and the dynasty itself; but their efforts were of no avail. Foreign Powers pounded at its door, sometimes with advice and sometimes with threats, but to no purpose. Thus, dominated by a characteristic ignorance and selfishness, the ultra-conservative Manchu Court closed the doors of the country, stuffed up its ears to the cry of the people, blindfolded its own eyes before the pitiable plight of the nation, and plunged itself and the country deeper and deeper into a state of benighted darkness.

Being face to face with such conditions of the country and having lost all hope of any possibility of inducing the Manchu Court to reform, the Chinese people finally recognized that nothing short of a revolution could remove the primary causes. Therefore, instead of wasting any more time to coax the Manchu Court, they set about to plan for its removal.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

These are some of the primary factors which culminated in the great revolution. As destruction, undesirable as it is, was found necessary to precede construction, people therefore attempted a series of assassinations and revolts which came as forerunners of the revolution itself. The first sign of this destructive programme broke out in 1905, with the explosion of a bomb in Peking aimed at the five commissioners who were sent to travel in Europe and America to inquire into the constitutional forms of government. Then came numerous other attempts at revolt in different parts of the country. Such attempts became more numerous as well as more formidable each time, resulting, however, in the execution of many revolutionists in payment of the penalty for their rash patriotism. But the losing of one's head under the executioner's sword for a worthy cause seemed to have marked attraction. The more the revolutionists were executed, the more revolutionists there seemed to be, until they were found everywhere. In the workshops, in the newspaper offices, in the universities and colleges, among the soldiers, and even in the Forbidden City itself people were suspected of being revolutionists. Indeed, the time was ripe and a general upheaval seemed inevitable.

Definite plans were made in Wu Chang for a sustained trial at revolution on a large scale in December, 1911, which was to begin simultaneously in many parts of the country so as to dumfound the Manchus by the first shock. Things looked more favorable as time went on. But suddenly a bomb, which was being prepared for the revolution, accidentally exploded on October 9th, which prematurely gave alarm to the Manchus. The place of the explosion was immediately raided and the whole plan of the revolution, together with a roll of the revolutionists' names, were seized. Wholesale arrests were made and executions went on right and left. The situation was desperate. There was no time to lose. So the revolutionists were forced to make an immature attempt on October 10th. In the darkness of night these revolutionists, with white badges around their arms and seizing every weapon they could get hold of, swept over the whole city like wildfire. The military forces were so full of revolutionary elements, and the preparation was so quickly made, that except a handful of bodyguards, who fled with their imperial commander, every officer and man turned revolutionary. Disorderly firing and marshaling of troops

went on all night. No one felt his life secure or knew what was actually taking place. It was a night of desperate struggle; it was a night of anxiety. But when morning dawned in the east the revolutionists found the whole triad city of Hankow, Wu Chang, and Han-Yang, with the best arsenal of the country, immense quantity of arms and ammunition, together with several million taels in cash, in their hands. With these sinews of war at their command, they made every minute count. As the details of how all this took place and how General Li Yuan-Hung was elected commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces, and so forth, are still fresh in our minds, suffice it to say that with hearts full of zeal and determination, hardly knowing where they would find their heads the next moment, General Li and his assistants —mostly returned students from Japan, Europe, or America—immediately commenced a constructive policy which soon anchored the cause of the revolution securely in the sympathy of the Chinese people as well as that of the world.

Thus the revolution, with all its uncertainties, was begun in the very heart of the Empire to decide the most enormous stake known in history—namely, the freedom of 400,000,000 people. The Chinese, hitherto silent and submissive under the imperial yoke, suddenly found their voice and set about with determination to tell the world what they meant to do. Things were begun in earnest. All people—adults, youthful boys, and old men—rushed to the revolutionary camps with equal enthusiasm. Every available space was turned into a drill-ground and every needle was applied to the sewing of uniforms. Within a few days the revolutionary army reached a proportion beyond all expectation.

When this state of affairs was telegraphed to Peking the Imperialists were terror-stricken. Order after order was promulgated, sending all the loyal troops to Wu Chang. Edict after edict was issued, conferring all sorts of titles upon every human being from whom they thought they could get any military support. So, in spite of the sympathy and threatened revolt of many soldiers, a large army of modern drilled troops was soon marshaled in front of Hankow. The Imperialists had hoped that the appearance of such a formidable army, with all its Maxims, mountain-guns, and other deadly-looking weapons of modern warfare, could easily scare the life out of the raw and untrained revolutionists. So they marched forward as the Redcoats

did in 1776 in front of Bunker Hill, expecting to meet no serious resistance. In this, however, they were mistaken. Indeed, they were confounded when the bullets of the despised rebels riddled through their bright uniforms. They found they had to fight. Thus both sides settled down to real business and the civil war began in earnest.

As the thrilling details of how battle after battle was fought around Hankow, how hand-to-hand clashes were made both day and night, how fortresses were taken and retaken, and how step by step the sheer superiority of the imperial troops pressed on and finally recaptured Hankow—as all these details must be still fresh in our memory, we need not repeat them again. Suffice it to say that the Imperialists had to pay heavily for what they gained. The revolutionary army, untrained as it was, was of the " dare-to-die " sort. They would not give up an inch until they were either killed to the last man or disabled from pulling the trigger.

But from the very start of the real conflict, it was obvious that the ill-equipped revolutionists were at a great disadvantage in front of the modern Imperial troops. The revolutionists were mostly raw recruits who had never been under gun-fire. In fact, many of them were old farmers and young school-boys who had never seen a firearm before and who scarcely knew the dangerous end of a rifle. Back sights need not have been invented so far as they were concerned. Nor were gun-butts necessary, for they fired in all sorts of ways—from the level, from the hip, from the stomach, and from everywhere else but the right place. But, in spite of their lack of drill and equipment, they fought bravely because they fought for a worthy cause. They had no regard for hails of bullets, nor did they falter under bursting shells. Their pluck and indomitable perseverance, as a correspondent said, were both marvelous and pathetic. Hundreds and hundreds of these men went forth determined to die. Enlisted on Tuesday, drilled on Wednesday, shot on Thursday was often the fate of many of these revolutionists. Another writer said: " The Chinese revolution gave to the world an object-lesson of the power of love of country and passion for freedom to make the downtrodden coolie a brave and enthusiastic fighting-machine." For those who went forth knew in their hearts that they were not alone on the field, but that there were thousands and even millions of their compatriots who were

ready to die with them if it need be. Indeed, such united sentiment among such a large number of people has never been known before. The Northerner and the Southerner, the men from the East as well as the men from the West, all rushed to the revolutionary ranks, eager to fight, shoulder to shoulder, and ready to fall side by side. Thus this industrious and peaceful people silently but unmistakably made it known that they meant to redeem their freedom.

But the superiority in marksmanship and equipment of the Imperial troops told heavily on the revolutionary army. Whole regiments, even whole battalions, of these revolutionists were sometimes mowed down like wheat before the scythe. Step by step, inch by inch, the Imperial army pressed onward toward Hankow, until finally they stormed it in a pitch-dark night under cover of a pouring rain.

This capture of Hankow by the Imperialists placed the revolutionary cause in a very doubtful plight so far as Wu Chang was concerned. With their modern guns mounted on the surrounding hills, it looked as if they would in a few hours wipe out all the revolutionary forces from this place where the revolution started. Indeed, the Manchu Court had hoped that this serious reverse would have knocked the spirit out of the revolutionists to such an extent that they would become disorganized, that their leaders would in true old-fashioned style begin to quarrel among themselves, and that they would all come to their senses. Overtures of surrender were actually offered to General Li. But in this belief they were again mistaken. The loss of Hankow, serious as it was, failed to make any deep impression upon the revolutionists in face of their determination. They stuck together closer than ever and preferred to fight under the fire of the Imperial cannon rather than to think of giving up.

Moreover, it must be recalled that the revolution was not limited to Hankow alone. The excellent example and marvelous pluck of these men at Wu Chang had such an effect that, while the Imperialists were pressing on Hankow, revolutions broke out spontaneously in many other important centers of the whole Empire. One after another large cities and even whole provinces turned revolutionary. By the time the Imperial army reached Hankow every province south of the Yangtse River declared independence. The whole Empire was vehemently fomented and the Imperial power was fast disintegrating everywhere. What

made the Ruling House more hopeless was the conversion of the whole fleet to the revolutionary cause. The movement became so wide-spread and the sentiment of the people so united that no Imperialist knew for sure who were revolutionists and who were not. Hence the capture and burning of Hankow by the Imperial troops, instead of disheartening the revolutionists, only made them more determined than ever before to push the struggle to its ultimate end. Within a few days of the fall of Hankow the revolutionary army captured Nanking, the last Imperial city south of the Yangtse River.

Thus, early in January, just about three months after the outbreak of the revolution at Hankow, seventeen of the twenty-three provinces became revolutionary, while an Imperial army of over 70,000 men stood facing a revolutionary force of about three times that number. The terrific loss in dead and wounded within this short period already amounted to something like 30,000 to 50,000, and the enormous damage to property was beyond estimation. The Imperialists were determined to make the last struggle to maintain their dignity, while the revolutionists were equally determined to fight to the bitter end to win their freedom. Thus, as one went around in the different places, to hear the bugle of mobilization, to see the drilling of new men, to observe the silent determination written on their faces, and to come into contact with those who were ready to lay down their lives for the betterment of their country, one felt, with a shivering thrill through his system, that a prolonged and desperate clash between iron and blood was sure to continue.

But as if the Almighty had purposely intended to make the great revolution a new miracle in history, it was just at this moment when everything looked dark and hopeless that the revolution took another unexpected turn. After having fought over two months and seen such terrific loss both in life and property, our people began to question the advisability of continuing blindly in the beaten path of our barbarous ancestors in trying to settle the controversy of civil war simply by the heartless shedding of human blood. They felt more and more the folly of Chinese fighting Chinese for the vain glory of the degenerate Manchu Court. Every man killed or wounded, be he revolutionist or Imperialist, and every dollar spent, no matter by which side, meant just that much loss to the country. Therefore, it was

realized that the sooner fighting was brought to an end the better it would be for the country. A loud cry was spontaneously raised by the thinking people, both Chinese and foreign friends of China, in favor of a peaceful solution of the controversy. It was argued everywhere that instead of settling the question at issue by brutal force, why not settle it by reason and right.

About the same time the Imperialists also began to feel that some other means than mere fighting were imperative in order to avoid a complete annihilation. In two months' time of continued struggle they found that, no matter how many battles they might win or how many rebels they might bayonet to death, the revolution itself continued to grow and spread. They were convinced that they could kill the rebel, but not conquer him. Then, again, the Imperial treasury, the sinew of war, was rapidly becoming as empty as a balloon. Only the poorer class of the Imperialists, who had not much to contribute, were the people who cried out for war. But the rich princes and wealthy dukes were not willing to pay, and the Imperial Court could not squeeze a cent out of them. This lack of money and the terror wrought by the indomitable zeal of the revolutionists gradually forced the Imperialists to see that unless they found some means of getting out of it their cause was doomed.

Thus both sides were ready for peace. An armistice was declared. A peace conference was immediately arranged. Without any loss of time Mr. Tang Shao-yi, a graduate of Columbia University, with four other Imperial representatives, met the revolutionary Peace Commissioners, headed by Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, in Shanghai. These peace plenipotentiaries sat down face to face to discuss the terms of settlement. This group of young men, mostly educated in Japan, England, and the United States, held in their hands the existence or extinction of the Dragon Throne which had ruled supreme for centuries in China. What was of even greater weight, however, was the fact that upon the shoulders of these men hung the question whether war, with all its bitterness, was to continue or whether reason, with its blessings of prosperity, should rule. Not only the Chinese people, but the whole world, turned their eyes toward this epoch-making peace conference. For its effects, then about to shape the future of China, not only involved a quarter of the human race, but affected all civilized nations.

The main question at issue was whether imperialism or democracy should rule in China. Simple as this question may appear, it was conceived by the world then that it involved such far-reaching and unknown complications that it was a question to be settled only by force, as had always been the case heretofore. Many foreigners thought it was all humbug, to use the proper word, to try to settle the question of dynasty by peaceful measures. Many Chinese also felt that the peace talk was only to gain time for renewed and more desperate fighting. The Peace Commissioners themselves found innumerable blocking-stones in their way and at once realized that they had an unenviable task to perform. Peace seemed impossible; and yet peace was imperative. Every heart turned toward Shanghai. For days there was little encouragement. The renewed armistice was about to end. No conclusion or agreement seemed in sight. To make things worse, the revolutionary troops were disgusted with the prolonged talk of peace and they openly objected to further time being wasted in the negotiations. The resumption of hostilities looked imminent.

But the unexpected again happened. The Peace Commissioners, by sheer reasoning, forced all parties to see that the question which was of even greater importance than the existence or extinction of the Manchu dynasty was the preservation of the country. This conviction, together with the confidence of the people, which was roused by the painstaking labor and magnanimous attitude of these Peace Commissioners, gradually chased away the threatening war clouds and the Prince of Peace came out triumphant. As the details regarding the adoption of the republican form of government, the unparalleled liberal treatment of the dethroned dynasty, as well as the details of other unique characteristics of the conference, were so recently reported in the daily papers, we need not repeat them, except to add that without the firing of another shot or the shedding of another drop of blood the oldest dynasty in the world was induced to retire with satisfaction; and the Dragon, whose fangs have bitten into our life, whose claws have cramped our capability, and whose general ugliness has reigned supreme for centuries over our people, was once, and once for all, hauled down, and in its place was triumphantly hoisted the five-colored flag which signifies unity and equality among the five sections of the Chinese people.

So the Chinese nation, after being bound hand and foot for centuries, has at last courageously broken loose from her past and is now ready to step forward to make use of her unlimited potentiality.

Now, what is going to be the effect of this tremendous change? This is what especially interests us, for it is universally recognized that what affects China affects the whole world. Answers to this question are too many to enumerate. Suffice it to say that for China herself it means a steady advancement in all branches of modern civilization, and to her friends it offers an unprecedented opportunity. With the adoption of a modern republican constitution and the codification of her laws, China, once free from her ancient bondages, will march forward by leaps and bounds. There are the railways to build, the mines to open, the industries to develop, the religious attitude to shape, the social fabric to weave. In short, China has to be remade. As was the case with the revolution itself, the impending changes will be accomplished with such speed that we shall soon find China a brand-new country, a regular workshop with her teeming population. China has contributed to the outer world in the past. Once free from obstacles, China, with her untold resources and wholesome traditions, will soon begin to make stupendous contributions again.

In this transformation China will offer an unprecedented opportunity to men of all professions. The educator will find a new field, the theologian will have a fresh opening, the manufacturer will meet a gigantic consumer, the merchant will discover a golden market. Indeed, one of the most certain things to follow the recent upheaval will be the enormous increase in China's foreign trade. On this point all observers—optimists and pessimists alike—agree. The world will see in China a stride forward in commercial progress such as it has never seen before. China has held back from foreign things for centuries. The foreign imports, which have already reached enormous proportions, represent only what has been hammered into China through closed doors and which hardly represent a tithe of the trade that will accompany the opening up of the country. During her period of seclusion the seed has been sown for such a harvest of trade and commercial prosperity that it will keep all the factories of the world busy to cope with her demands. When we realize the vast dimensions of her terri-

tory, the enormity of her population, and her unlimited resources, we then begin to feel that China's market is stupendous. The recent discarding of the queue may be taken as an instance. With the removal of this useless appendage there immediately arose a demand for the foreign hat. A trade was at once created and into the country poured foreign head-gears of every description—felts, derbies, stovepipes, and even "merry-widows." Thus hats of all sorts were sold by the hundreds of thousands every day; and in the short period of a few months China had practically been rehatted.

But the hat constitutes only a very small part of what a man needs. After the hat the foreign shoe is now gradually attracting attention. And in this trade Americans ought to find it easy to compete with all others. But what is needed by the individual bears no comparison to what is needed by the nation. Materials for our railways, machinery for our mines, tools for our agriculture, ships for our commerce, outfits for our factories—in short, we need everything. In spite of all sorts of drawbacks and behind closed doors, China's trade has doubled during the last decade. What will be the magnitude of the trade during the ten years to come when not only the doors of the country, but also the hearts of the people, are wide open? So vast is the country, so enormous the population, so immense the resources, and so unlimited the needs that it is impossible to form a just estimate of the value of that market. As the nineteenth century was a century of mechanical inventions, so the twentieth century will be a century of trade development. In this respect, at least, the Chinese revolution has been highly opportune. We can see, if we will, in the Far East a dawn of a greater day, and in this transformation China pledges herself to open up the whole country where business men of all nations and every trade may enjoy a fair chance in the supply of the unlimited demands for the regeneration of a quarter of the human race.

But in our regeneration it is not material development alone that is going to receive our attention. Intellectual as well as moral advancement shall also occupy an equal portion of our thought. Our traditions teach us that when we enjoy what is present we shall not only look to the future, but also reflect on the past. China as a republic is but a baby, but as a nation she is the grandmother of all. She

has seen the rise and fall of Egypt, she has witnessed the splendor and dissolution of the Roman Empire. She has been able to stand the test of these ages and outlive all her contemporaries, not entirely because of material prosperity or because she has armed her people to the teeth so as to war at every one that comes along, but because she has taught her people to be industrious, honest, and peace-loving. These inheritances have preserved us in the past and will form our guiding principle in the future.

This leads us to examine briefly the part which the United States has played in the revolution and also what bearing this tremendous change will have upon the United States. First of all it may be interesting for many to hear that the revolution has been called in some quarters an American revolution. They say this because there is so much Americanism in it. Most of the leaders of the revolution either received their education or got their ideas of republicanism from America. Dr. Sun, the originator of the revolution, got much inspiration from the United States, where he sojourned so many years and where he found not only complete safety, but sympathetic encouragement, while a price was on his head. The Hon. Mr. Tang Shao-yi, our great Peace Commissioner, was one of the one hundred and twenty young men who first came to America some thirty years ago. The Hon. Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, at the age of seventy-eight, who is well known in America, is often called a Yankee. Then we find in the revolutionary Government at Nanking the Hon. Dr. Chin-Tao Chen, Minister of Finance, and the Hon. Dr. Chung-Hui Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who are graduates of Yale. And so down the list are a large number of American-educated students in the revolution. This is not all. In the Assembly it was also the American-returned student who held the rudder. The first chairman of that representative body, for instance, was the Hon. Mr. Chao S. Bok, a graduate of New York University; and the vice-chairman, who was also the ablest speaker of the House, was the Hon. Mr. Chengting Wang, another graduate of Yale. Then there were scores of others from American universities, such as Harvard, Chicago, Wisconsin, Illinois, and California, who played important parts in the revolution. In the provinces as well we also find the American-educated students in every center of activity, with their sleeves rolled up to their elbows, working in true Yankee style.

The handful of young men who received their education from America have already shown the Chinese people and the world as well what they have learned from their colleges. What is more significant is that which may be expected hereafter from the hundreds and hundreds of Chinese young men now found in every important educational institution in the whole United States. For it is in America that we have the largest number of students in any single foreign country outside of Japan; and it is also here that the young Chinese learn the American push and the business spirit. They always remember their universities and colleges with gratitude. These memories have done them good, and in return they have done credit to their Alma Mater.

The good showing made by the American-returned students, together with the square deal and disinterested fairness of the United States shown to China heretofore, have already made a tremendous impression in the minds of the Chinese people. The bold action taken by the late beloved John Hay to maintain China's integrity during our tribulations of 1900, the new standard of international morality set by Colonel Roosevelt in returning the surplus Boxer indemnity, and the good efforts of President Taft in preventing foreign interference during our revolution—these actions of American statesmen have aroused such a feeling of gratitude among the Chinese people that China to-day not only worships these individuals, but extends her good-will to the whole American people.

Then we Chinese are thankful to those Americans who have since the early forties forsaken their own homes and their dear ones to risk the oceans in coming over to our country for the Christian, or Confucian, purpose of establishing schools, starting hospitals, and building churches. We realize that the untiring efforts of these true Christians must have contributed a great share not only in making our revolution a success, but in making it so moderate, so civilized, and so sane.

Therefore, we can safely say that to-day, on the eve of the transformation and opening up of China with her untold wealth, stupendous market, and unlimited future, the United States holds the highest advantage over all other nations. The American merchant is much preferred, the American missionary is better trusted, the American university is more

desired. In short, everything American shares a certain amount of this good-will.

In the recent revolution itself America has always been looked upon as a good friend. To repeat, it is America that has taken the lead in preventing some of the Powers from interfering with our domestic affairs. There is not the least doubt that China will become more friendly to America and learn more from her than from any other country. We have to-day more than eight hundred students in American schools, with more to come over. When these young men return to China as engineers, agriculturists, foresters, and so forth, do you think that they can turn their backs upon the United States and flirt with Germany or Russia? Impossible! They will want everything American to which they are accustomed. Therefore, there is no reason why America should not get the lion's share of the possibilities of our regeneration.

Moreover, this troop of students constitutes the best kind of emissaries of good-will between our two countries. For they do not only study American text-books, but they learn to love America next only to our own republic.

Then, again, the two countries have always been good neighbors, never having had a serious quarrel. When the Panama Canal opens in 1915 our republic will no longer remain a baby, but will become a youth, and there will be no reason why the two greatest republics in the world should not come even closer together and join hands to co-operate with their common friends in guarding the Pacific so that its peace and tranquillity may last forever.

In conclusion, we may observe that this great revolution has shown that when the opportunity comes the Chinese people can unite and achieve what they should in a sane and systematic manner even under great excitement. With their industrious habits, wholesome traditions, and instinctive love of peace, these Chinese millions are to-day ready to begin their programme of economic and moral development along modern lines and will soon turn their unparalleled inheritance into account not only for China's own benefit, but for that of all peace-loving nations. Instead of remaining the Sick Man of the East, China will soon contribute her share in promoting honorable peace among nations as well as in the advancement of the civilization of mankind.

CHING-CHUN WANG.

GRAIN-GROWING AND CANADIAN EXPANSION

BY EDWARD PORRITT

Canada has had full control of her own affairs since the forties of the nineteenth century—certainly since 1858, when the United Provinces of Quebec and Ontario enacted a tariff in which protective duties were levied on imports from Great Britain. The older provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario—have been of Confederation since 1867. Progress in the material development of the Dominion, despite many obstacles, has been almost continuous since that time; but in no period since 1867 has the progress of the Dominion been so obvious to the world as in the six years from 1906 to 1912. All this progress and all the attention that Canada is now attracting are due almost entirely to the immigration of the last six years into the four provinces of the Dominion west of the Great Lakes, and in particular to the extension during that period of the area under grain in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.

It is, I am convinced, no exaggeration to say that neither the old nor the new world ever before witnessed an immigration comparable with that which since 1906 has been pouring into the provinces west of the Great Lakes. There certainly was never before an immigration into any part of the Anglo-Saxon world that was accompanied by such activity in bringing new lands under cultivation, in the extension of existing railways and the building of new lines, or in the provision of public works by governments and municipalities as has been going on since Saskatchewan and Alberta, formerly of the Northwest Territories, came into the Dominion as provinces in 1905.

Immigration into the United States since 1900 has been much larger than immigration into Canada during the same

twelve years. But in this country it is not newly opened lands that are the attraction; and immigration into the United States in recent years has distributed itself among the industrial cities, where a fully developed political civilization was in readiness for the new-comers. Part of the immigration into Canada since 1900 has gone to the cities of Montreal and Toronto and to the smaller industrial centers of Ontario, where a political civilization was fully developed and where the problems created by the new-comers were those of housing and school accommodation. By far the larger part of the immigration, however, has gone into the prairie provinces, and especially into Saskatchewan and Alberta. It has gone into an area that seven years ago had a population of less than two hundred thousand; and here a political civilization much more complete and comprehensive than that of the period when this area was governed as Northwest Territories from Ottawa has had to be organized while the stream that began in 1906 has been pouring in.

Manitoba has been a province since 1870; British Columbia has been of Confederation since 1871; but material progress in these two provinces was slow, hesitating, and uncertain until the great tide of immigration spread over the whole of the country between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains. The main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Montreal to Port Moody, British Columbia, was completed in 1886. From the time the railway reached as far west as Winnipeg and Brandon—Manitoba cities which were connected with the head of the Lakes and with Ottawa and Montreal in 1883—free grants of homesteads from the Dominion Government, cheap lands from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Hudson Bay Company, grain-growing on these lands and the business enterprises incidental to grain-growing have been the magnet that has attracted immigration to the country between the Great Lakes and the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains. For fourteen or fifteen years after the Canadian Pacific had opened out this country the movement of population into it was comparatively slow. There were not more than 420,000 people—not more than the population of many an American city of the first class—in what are now Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta at the census of 1901; and in the grain season that preceded this census—the season of 1899-

1900—although the export of grain from Manitoba had been going on since 1883 and from what is now Saskatchewan from 1884, the total quantity of wheat available for Canadian milling and for export was not quite twelve and a half million bushels.

An immigration propaganda has been conducted by the Dominion Government continuously since Manitoba came into Confederation in 1870. Its aim since the Canadian Pacific Railway began to serve Manitoba in 1883 has been to induce immigration from oversea and from the United States into the country west of the Lakes. From Confederation to 1912 the Dominion has spent $17,000,000 on this propaganda. Nearly eight and a half million dollars—half of the aggregate expenditure since Confederation—were spent between the incoming of the Laurier Administration in 1896 and its defeat at the general election in 1911.

Much new energy was infused into the propaganda from 1897 onward; but the full effect of the policy of stimulating immigration from the United States and continental Europe, as well as from England, Scotland, and Ireland, was not apparent until the turn of the century. From 1896 to 1900 in no year did the number of immigrants reach fifty thousand, and by no means all these immigrants went into the prairie provinces. Since 1900 people have been moving into the prairie provinces at an average rate of a little over one hundred thousand a year. The stream, which began to reach to its present proportions only in 1906, began to widen in 1902, when the total number of immigrants arriving in Canada was 67,000. But taking the year 1900 as the starting-point the average annual immigration into Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta and British Columbia has been over one hundred thousand.

Of the 2,118,712 immigrants who arrived in Canada in the years from 1900 to 1912, the destination of 1,202,497 was in the provinces west of the Lakes. A large proportion of the 903,000 immigrants who arrived in the Dominion in these twelve years not booked through to the West migrated there later on; and in these twelve years also tens of thousands of Canadians, born in Ontario or Quebec or the Maritime Provinces, joined the stream of new-comers from oversea or from the United States that has been continuously pouring into the grain-growing provinces and British Columbia.

Until 1908 or 1909 British Columbia received only a trickle of the immigration. The main stream did not go beyond the prairie country of which Calgary, Alberta, is the western center. But since 1909 population has been spreading all over the four western provinces; and British Columbia, while it is not of the grain-growing territory, has been enormously stimulated in its development by the constantly increasing area of land in the prairie provinces that since 1906 has been put under grain. Oats, barley, and flax are now grown in these provinces. Over fifty-three million bushels of oats were graded by the Government inspectors at Winnipeg in the season of 1911–12—the season which began on September 1, 1911, and ended on the 31st of August last. Flax is exported to oil-mills in the United States, while for oats, in addition to the export trade by way of Montreal or Buffalo, there has been during the last four or five years a growing demand from the hundreds of railway construction camps dotted all over the country from the Lakes to the Pacific Ocean. But it is wheat that gives Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta their world-wide fame. It is wheat-growing that since 1900 has been attracting to these provinces men who intend to make their living from the land; and on the success and expansion of wheat-growing depend the industrial and commercial prosperity of the older provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

With the exception of Prince Edward Island—the little garden province, with less than a hundred thousand inhabitants, with no mineral or lumber resources, and practically no manufactures — all the provinces are more or less affected by the prosperity of the great and constantly extending wheat-growing area of the Dominion. British Columbia, which lies adjacent to this area, is confidently expecting gains in trade and population from the opening of the Panama Canal. If the canal were already open and the expected increases in the lumber and coal industries and in the transport and distributing business of British Columbia were in hand, with further increase well in sight, prices for sites in Vancouver and Victoria for department stores, hotels, office buildings, and warehouses could scarcely be higher than they have been during the last three years. An enormous amount of railway building is now going on in British Columbia. The Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Canadian Northern, and the Great Northern are

all spending large sums of money in the province. The Canadian Pacific expenditures are on extensions at Vancouver and in its neighborhood. Those of the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern are on lines connecting British Columbia with the prairie provinces and the East. But these extensions and new lines are due not so much to the construction of the Panama Canal as to the development of the last ten years in the three grain-growing provinces.

It is, moreover, this great development in the country between the Rocky Mountains and the Great Lakes that accounts for the growth of the coal and lumber industries of British Columbia and for the large increase in recent years in fruit culture along the shores of Okanagan, Arrow, Kootenay, and other of the beautiful lakes of British Columbia. Most of the fruit grown in these valleys is marketed in the prairie provinces, where little or no fruit of any kind is grown.

The newer fame of Victoria and Vancouver as residential cities is also partly due to the prosperity of the grain-growing provinces. British Columbia was famous for its scenery and its climate in the days when it was a crown colony. These attracted settlers from England in the fifties and sixties of last century. They have attracted tourists from eastern Canada and the United States ever since the Canadian Pacific was carried across the continent in 1886, since the days when there were not a hundred thousand people in the wide stretch of country between Port Arthur and the Pacific coast. The vogue of British Columbia as a tourist resort has increased with the growth of population in the middle western and the inter-mountain States; but much of the prosperity of British Columbia which is due to its climate and its scenery, as distinct from recent developments in lumbering, mining, and fisheries, may be attributed to the prosperity of grain-growers in the prairie provinces and of business men in the cities who are engaged in enterprises that are subsidiary or incidental to the great business of grain-growing.

In the prairie provinces men look eastward when intent on business. Their interests then lie in the direction of Toronto or Montreal. On holiday bent, or when intent on escaping the rigors of winter in the prairie provinces, they turn westward; and this tendency of people in these prov-

inces during the last six or seven years has made Victoria and Vancouver popular residential cities, cities which bid fair to become the Brighton, the Hastings, or the Eastbourne of the Dominion.

It is this prosperity of the grain-growing provinces also that keeps the iron and steel plants and the woolen-mills of far-distant Nova Scotia employed. Halifax and Sydney, the principal ports of Nova Scotia, both profit from it. From Sydney during navigation season rails and other products of the local steel-mills are shipped to Port Arthur and Fort William for distribution in the prairie provinces; and Halifax in the winter months, when the St. Lawrence is closed by ice, gets a large share of the immigration business and of the import trade of the West. The cotton-mills in the neighborhood of St. John, and the shoe factories at Fredericton, New Brunswick, prosper when the prairie provinces are prospering; and from December to April St. John is the only Canadian port from which grain is shipped to Great Britain.

Every province, except Prince Edward Island, has thus a direct interest in the inflow of immigration and in the extensions that follow in the area under grain in the prairie provinces. But none of the provinces east of the Lakes have a greater interest in the West than Ontario and Quebec; for grain-growing beyond the Lakes is for the Dominion, and for these two provinces in particular, much what the gold-mines on the Rand and the diamond-mines at Kimberley are for all the four States of the South African Union. If it were possible to imagine the mines eliminated from the industrial economy of British South Africa it would be difficult to see what reason Johannesburg and Kimberley would have for existence; and without Johannesburg and Kimberley, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban would be deprived of four-fifths of the importing, distributing, and banking business of which they are now the centers.

Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton are not so dependent on grain-growing in the prairie provinces as Cape Town and Durban are on the mines. These Canadian cities were ports and centers of distribution, and of some manufacturing, before Confederation, when British Columbia was the only province west of Ontario and when the vast stretch of country between the Lakes and the Rocky Mountains

was in the sole possession of the Hudson Bay Company. Ontario and Quebec were thriving provinces before Confederation and before East and West were connected by the Canadian Pacific Railway. But the recent growth of Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton is due to grain-growing beyond the Lakes much more than to any development in rural Ontario or Quebec or any increase in the material progress of the Maritime Provinces. Nearly nine-tenths of the factories of the Dominion are in Ontario and Quebec; and these factories, all protected by the tariff against British as well as American competition, furnish the West with most of its manufactured goods. These two provinces, moreover, benefit enormously from the great increase in transport business—transport by lake and canal as well as by rail—that has come since 1900 with the development of grain-growing in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.

The newer Ontario cities of Port Arthur and Fort William at the head of lake and canal navigation are even more dependent on grain-growing than Cape Town and Durban are on the gold and diamond mines. These two new cities on Thunder Bay have been created by the grain industry. They are at the gateway to the West. They live and thrive on the movement of grain from west to east and on the movement of merchandise and coal from east to west. Everything going west, whether by lake and canal or by all-rail route, must go by way of Port Arthur or Fort William. All the wheat that is not milled at Calgary, Regina, Brandon, or Winnipeg goes eastward for milling in Ontario and Quebec or for export *via* the two cities at the head of the Lakes. There are ten great elevators there; and in the autumn of 1912 three new ones were building, one of which is to be owned and worked by the Dominion Government. In the winter when navigation is closed grain is carried eastward over the Canadian Pacific Railway from Port Arthur and Fort William to St. John for export to Great Britain; and in still larger quantities is stored in the elevators at the head of the Lakes awaiting the opening of navigation in April.

Wheat harvested in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta is graded at Winnipeg by government inspectors before it is shipped eastward. The grain-export business began in 1883 just as soon as the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway made it possible to get Manitoba grain to the head

of the Lakes. The Manitoba Grain Act, under which grain is inspected and graded by officers of the Dominion Government, became operative in 1886. But the grain export business was of sixteen years' standing before the wheat graded at Winnipeg in any one year exceeded a total of twenty million bushels. It suddenly increased from eight million bushels in 1898 to twenty-six million bushels in 1899. This was a year before the present stream of immigration began to pour into the prairie provinces—immigration the results of which are strikingly manifest in the grain statistics since 1901. Forty-five and a half million bushels of wheat were sent forward to the elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur in 1901. In 1909 ninety-five million bushels went through the elevators, while in the grain year that ended on August 31, 1912, the wheat handled at the upper lake elevators amounted to one hundred and forty-six million bushels. In the current year—that which began on September 1, 1912—the expectation is that two hundred million bushels of wheat will be graded by the government inspectors at Calgary and Winnipeg.

The great increase in the production of grain, directly due to the immigration, is at the foundation of the present wide-spread prosperity in all the provinces of the Dominion, and it accounts for an activity in railway-building in the country west of the Great Lakes that is without precedent in the history of any of the British oversea dominions. This activity in the summer and autumn of 1912 will be better realized when it is recalled that in 1900 the only railway connecting eastern Canada, the Great Lakes, and the Pacific Ocean was the Canadian Pacific. Until the large immigration began in 1900 this road, with its single track and branch lines forking out north and south, met all the needs of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba as regards connection with the ports at the head of the Lakes, with Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and the Atlantic coast. This was the position in 1900; and it was 1904 before there was any movement for the construction of a second transcontinental railway.

There was legislation in 1904 and 1905 by the Dominion Parliament providing for the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific, which when completed in 1913 will connect all four western provinces with Fort William and Port Arthur and also with Montreal and with tide-water at St. John. Three

years before the Laurier Government carried the first Grand Trunk Pacific Act through Parliament the Canadian Northern Company had been organized and had taken over from the Government of Manitoba the lines—some three hundred and fifty miles—which had been built by the Northern Pacific and the Manitoba Railway Company and subsequently acquired by the Government. This was the beginning of the Canadian Northern Company, a beginning unlike that of the Canadian Pacific or the Grand Trunk Pacific, which both originated with the Government at Ottawa. Between 1902 and 1908 the Canadian Northern built or acquired other lines outside the province of Manitoba; and it is now constructing lines, chiefly in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec, which when linked up will give the Dominion its third transcontinental railway.

The western terminal of the Grand Trunk Pacific is already established at Prince Rupert, British Columbia. The western terminals of the Canadian Northern are to be at Vancouver and Port Mann on the Fraser River. While an enormous area of new land is opened out by these new lines of the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Northern, these lines, like those of the older Canadian Pacific, are to serve all the larger cities between the Great Lakes and the Pacific coast. Next year will see the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific, which has under construction in the West 1,017 miles of railway, of which 600 are to be finished this year. A year later the Canadian Northern will be completed from the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast and also to Montreal.

Two years before a commencement was made on the Grand Trunk Pacific, and long before it was generally realized that the Canadian Northern was to construct a third transcontinental line, the Canadian Pacific had begun the double tracking of its line from Port Arthur westward toward Winnipeg. Last year the double tracking was carried as far as Brandon, 133 miles west of Winnipeg; and this year it has been continued farther west to Regina and eastward from Vancouver to Kamloops. About 115 miles of the work on these sections was completed in 1912. Double tracking has also been proceeding in 1912 from Port Arthur to Sudbury; and soon after the two new transcontinental lines connect the Atlantic with the Pacific the Canadian Pacific will have a double track railway all the way from Montreal to Vancouver.

Pressure during the grain season is greatest between Winnipeg and Fort William, and next between Calgary and Winnipeg. Hence double tracking has been pushed with most energy between the Great Lakes and Calgary. The building of branch lines into new grain-growing areas has proceeded with the work of double tracking; and in 1912 over eight hundred miles of steel have been laid on new branch lines of the Canadian Pacific between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean.

Since 1906 new stations have been built at every city on the Canadian Pacific between Port Arthur and Banff, Alberta. The spaciousness and beauty of these stations are a surprise to visitors who are in the West for the first time. But these new stations, like the new legislative buildings at Regina, Edmonton, and Victoria, and the buildings of the new provincial universities of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon and of Alberta at Strathcona, are proofs of the confidence of the people of these western provinces that the existing prosperity is on a stable foundation and will continue and increase, no matter what may happen to the extraordinary boom in real estate that since 1910 has extended across the continent from Port Arthur to Victoria.

Nearly twenty thousand men were at work on railway construction in the western provinces during the whole of the season of 1912. The three great railway companies were competing for men; and work on each of the transcontinental lines was limited only by the ability of the contractors to secure men and to obtain rails, structural steel, and other necessary materials. The pressure on the existing lines all through the year, and especially after the grain transport season opened in September, was greater than ever before in the history of the prairie provinces; and the conviction in the West was that just as soon as the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern were connected from coast to coast these companies would be compelled to follow the example of the Canadian Pacific and commence at once to double track their lines from the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains to the Great Lakes.

EDWARD PORRITT.

THE DELICATE QUESTION OF RAILWAY CREDIT

BY FRANKLIN ESCHER

In no clearer way can the present state of railway credit be set forth than by the bare statement that the railways have practically stopped offering new issues of bonds to the investment-buying public. With traffic moving in the greatest volume ever known and railway facilities very much curtailed as a result of two years of enforced economy, there is every reason why the railroads should be in the market for funds. But such is not the case. Like the man who knows that his credit isn't good and so very wisely keeps away from the bank, railway finance managers are very wisely forbearing to ask investors to subscribe to new issues of railway securities. When those roads whose need for capital is so urgent that they cannot wait are seen paying eight and ten per cent. for the money they cannot do without, most borrowers prefer to keep out of the market altogether.

For the present unwillingness on the part of investors to buy railway bonds—or, putting it another way, to lend money to the railroads—uncertainty as to the effect on earnings of the attitude assumed by the Interstate Commerce Commission during the past couple of years has been directly responsible. During the quarter-century of its existence the Commission has at all times exerted more or less of an influence on railway affairs, but it is only since the summer of 1910, when by Act of Congress its authority was greatly increased, that the Commission's regulatory power has been really strongly exercised. Early in that year, following the threat of a general strike, the railroads granted extensive wage increases to their employees, appealing to the Commerce Commission at the same time for permission to raise their freight-rates correspondingly. That general appeal

was flatly denied, as has been practically every other individual one since made. To the railway mens' repeated statements that a point has been reached where, unless the transportation industry is seriously to suffer, freight-rates have got to be raised, the Commerce Commissioners by word and action have steadily made reply that rates are high enough as they are. On the whole plea of the railroads, indeed, that the increase in their operating expenses brought about by the higher cost of materials and labor entitles them to charge more for the transportation they have to sell, the attitude of the Commission has been absolutely uncompromising.

With one big railroad man after another coming out openly with statements that unless there is a change in the Commerce Commission's attitude a number of important properties will before long find themselves threatened with insolvency, it is hardly to be wondered at that investors are chary about putting their money into railroad securities. It is realized, of course, that the railway men who have been making these very strong statements are, so to speak, interested parties. But, on the other hand, there seems to prevail a strong conviction that unless the railways' need for more revenue were really urgent, these leading figures in the transportation world would hesitate about making statements so certain to bring about further impairment in the investment standing of their own securities. For them to urge the need of higher freight-rates is all very well; it is they themselves who have everything to gain. But unless there were justice in their claims—unless, indeed, the prosperity of the industry does depend upon a change in the treatment accorded the railways, would these authorities go on telling the public the very things best calculated to make it draw its purse-strings even closer, and most certain to make the path of the railroad seeking new capital even thornier than it is now? By the very frankness with which such men as President Ripley, of the Atchison, President Brown, of the New York Central, and President Finley, of the Southern, have been stating their case, they have convinced a good many thinking people that this is no mere attempt on the part of the transportation interests to get more money out of the shippers, but an honest attempt to preserve the integrity of the industry in which they are engaged.

The proportion of the public, however, which has been reached by the fair and frank statements of Messrs. Ripley, Brown, Finley, and the others is almost inconsiderable in comparison with the very large number of persons who believe that the railroads are making plenty of money and that their rates, if anything, should be reduced and not advanced. There has been some subsidence, it is true, in the wave of anti-railroad sentiment which swept the country a couple of years ago and made itself felt in the passing by State legislatures of hundreds of ill-considered anti-railroad laws and regulations. But, although the number of such laws actually put on the statute-books has shown a great falling off during the past year, there is still running strong a current of anti-railroad feeling which is heard in frequent propositions that a physical valuation of the railways be made the basis of a new structure of freight-rates, that railway profits be limited by law, and that Government sanction be required for new issues of securities. Here and there outside of transportation circles a man can be found who believes that the railways are not being treated justly, but in the opinion of the vast majority of people they are getting no more than they deserve. Talk to the average man about the plight the railroads are in, and he will tell you that they are not in any plight, but making lots of money and well able to take care of themselves. The rates they charge for carrying freight, he will probably inform you, are high enough; it would be a good thing, indeed, from *his* point of view, if the Government were to step in and fix things so that the railroads could earn a fair return on the actual amount of money invested, and no more.

Just here we come to the root of the whole trouble—the rapid spread of the idea that the railway is nothing but a public servant, after all, and that as such it ought not to be allowed to earn anything more than a moderate return on the actual amount of its investment. Let us find out how much *is* actually invested in the railways, goes the demagogic cry, and then let us make the railways fix their freight-rates accordingly. To you, shippers of freight, it will mean a much lower charge for sending your product to market. To you, the general consumer, it will mean a corresponding reduction in prices.

Great is the popularity achieved by the idea. Everywhere people have been speaking of the advisability of a physical

valuation of railways and " the lowering of the cost of living " which would result from a readjustment of freight-rate schedules. That is perfectly plain and can be understood by anybody. It is much plainer and easier to understand, for instance, than further considerations having to do with reactive effects such a course of action may be expected to exert upon general business. By those advocating the thing that side of it has been carefully kept in the background—along with the question of any rights the railways or the holders of railway securities may have in the matter. Prices to the consumer are to be lowered. Is not that enough?

By the leaders of thought in the railway world the prevalence of this idea is fully appreciated, and it is realized just as fully that as long as it remains uncorrected in the public mind the uncompromising attitude of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which represents the public, is bound to remain unchanged. Only by getting the facts before the public, so that it may see how utterly unlikely such interference with freight-rates is to bring about lower prices, can public sentiment toward the railways be dissuaded from its pursuit of this *ignis fatuus* and brought back to solid ground.

Before anything in that line can be accomplished two great misconceptions must be corrected. The first is that freight-rates have anything to do with capitalization—that is to say, that what a railroad charges for carrying freight should in any way be influenced by the value of the railroad's property. The second is that anything can be gained for the shipper or the general public by limiting railway profits—that is to say, by passing laws that a railroad shall be allowed to earn only so-and-so much on the amount of money invested in the property.

It is the first of these two misconceptions which is probably the more wide-spread. Between capitalization and freight rates, in the average man's mind, there is a close connection. Time and again he has been told that most railways have a lot of watered stock outstanding on which dividends have got to be earned, and that in order to earn these dividends freight-rates have got to be higher than they would be if there were no watered stock to be taken care of. And that, of course, as anybody can see, is all wrong. Just because some railroad has issued a lot of

shares without anything tangible having been paid into the treasury in return, why should shippers along the line and the public in general be made to pay such freight-rates as to allow anything to be earned on this "water"? That as an argument sounds first class. It has, furthermore, been repeated so often that a very large number of people have come, almost unconsciously, to believe that it is true and to associate railway capitalization and railway freight-rates in their minds. A surprising proportion even of thinking people, indeed, believe that when the railways fix their freight-rates the chief consideration they have in mind is to get them high enough so that earnings can be shown on inflated capitalization.

Capitalization is not, never was, and never will be the basis of freight-rates, for the very simple reason that competing lines' capitalization almost invariably differs widely. Take the several roads which compete for business between New York and Chicago. Among them we find about the most conservatively capitalized railroad in the country, running almost side by side with the road that first comes into most people's minds when the subject of over-capitalization is brought up. This latter line we will say, for the purpose of the argument (or, rather, to show its absurdity), decides to fix its freight-rates on such a basis as will allow it to earn dividends on its ocean of common stock. What would be the inevitable result? Simply, of course, that the road wouldn't get any business, and that if it wanted to keep on earning anything at all it would quickly enough have to drop back its charges to a competitive basis—to what, from the shipper's standpoint, *its service is worth.*

What the service is worth—there we have the basis on which freight-rates are really fixed. Not what the railroad would *like* to get or what the capitalization makes it necessary to get in order to pay dividends, but simply what is the money equivalent of the service rendered. Selling railroad transportation is really no different from selling anything else. Imagine a merchant, about to fix a price on a lot of goods, saying to himself: "Here, I and my associates have capitalized this business at more than it is worth and now we have got to make enough money to keep up our dividend. I'll just put such a price on these goods as will allow us to make the amount of money we need." Would that be likely to accomplish the desired result? Hardly.

What does the consumer care about the amount of money the merchant considers it necessary to make? The goods, presumably, have a certain value and that value, or something approximating it, is all the purchaser is willing to pay. Let the merchant arbitrarily mark up the price and one of two things will surely happen—the purchaser will either go somewhere else or will refuse to buy entirely.

Just exactly that same thing is true of railway transportation. Where the question of competition comes in it is obviously impossible for a railroad, in fixing its rates, to pay any attention to what its existing capitalization may be. Nor, in the case where that railroad has a monopoly, is it going to be so foolish as to fix a rate which will impose any check upon the free movement of business. What the railroad wants to see is a constantly developing and enlarging volume of traffic and that result, it very well knows, can be accomplished only by the fixing of freight-rates which are a fair measure of the service rendered. The whole history of American railroading, indeed, is filled with instances of railroads built through territory in the development stage keeping their freight-rates *below* the value of the service rendered in order to give new industries located along the line a chance to get a foothold and grow strong. There is nothing altruistic about it. It is a matter of business pure and simple. The prosperity of the railroad depends upon the prosperity of the territory it serves, and for the railway to forego immediate returns in order to build up future business is a most reasonable sort of policy. The industries located along its lines having developed and become firmly established *as a result of low freight-rates,* the traffic can bear more and rates can be advanced to a point where the railway can make a reasonable profit out of handling the business.

Were the public cognizant of the fact that it is of such threads that the fabric of freight-rates is woven, the demand for a readjustment based upon a physical valuation of railway properties would die out overnight. The whole rate structure, it is plain, has been built up on the idea of developing traffic to the greatest possible degree—of letting a factory in the Middle West, for example, compete with a factory in New England for the New York market. Rates as we have them are not the result of chance or of any desire on the part of anybody to earn dividends on watered

stock. If there is anything sweetly reasonable about modern business it is just this system of railway freight-rates which has, perhaps, done more to develop the country's manufacturing interests than any other one thing. To attempt now to readjust this delicate mechanism on the idea that property investment should govern rates would be exactly like attempting to readjust the works of a chronometer with a crowbar.

The other thing which has done so much to hurt railway credit and keep investors from putting their money into securities of that sort is the spread of the idea that railway profits should be limited by law. A railway, the argument goes, is a public servant, doing its business by virtue of public favor and under a franchise granted by the people. Why, then, should the people allow the railway—any railway—to make large profits at their expense? A certain amount of capital has been invested, it is true, and on that it is only right that a fair return should be earned. But when profits go beyond what is a fair return, why, so the argument runs, should the public go on paying such rates for service as to make these profits possible? Why should not, then, rates be reduced to a point enabling the railroad to pay a fair dividend—say, six or seven per cent. at the outside—and no more?

Ignoring the right and wrong of such a proceeding—its hopeless injustice to those who have in good faith put their money into railway enterprise—and passing directly to the cold question of expediency, would the limitation of profits accomplish the end in view, the lowering of the actual cost of service? *Why, of course it would,* we hear it said; that's the point of the whole thing—to limit profits by making the railway charge less for its service. But just a moment. It stands to reason, of course, that if a railroad is making what is considered too much money and its rates are ordered reduced, its profits will be cut down. But suppose now that as a result of its profits having been cut down the railroad can't spend as much for improvements as it used to and there is deterioration in the service offered. Then how about the lower rates? Apparently they are lower, but are they really so? Well, the shipper pays less money. Yes, but not for the same thing. The railroad, perhaps, was contemplating buying a number of bigger engines or putting in double track or doing other things calculated to make it

possible to move freight faster and better. Very possibly now, with its margin of earnings so reduced, it will not feel like spending the money and the improvement in service will not be made. The shipper may be paying less, but he is getting correspondingly less for his money.

But is it a fact that if railway profits are limited by law deterioration of service is bound to follow? In the great majority of cases it is. A few of the big earners might be able to stand reduction of profits without its necessitating economies and so affecting the quality of their service, but the great majority of the railroads are in no position to stand reduction of any consequence in their net income accounts. A large proportion of railroad stocks pay no dividends at all, and in the case of those that do the margin of earnings above requirements is usually no more than enough to allow of necessary betterments and the adding of a little something to surplus account. The idea that American railroads as a whole earn any very great amount of money is very far from being the case. Take the rank and file of the dividend-payers, and it is undeniable that if anything were done further to limit the amount they are able to earn, expenses would have to be so curtailed as to effect serious impairment of service. And that, of course, would only come back on those "enjoying" the reduced freight-rates.

Then, again, were it ordained that a railroad could earn only so-and-so much, greater profits bringing about an automatic reduction in freight-rates, service would suffer because all incentive toward maximum efficiency would be destroyed. What would a road care? Its business having reached the point productive of the greatest revenue legally allowable, what incentive would there be toward better service and a greater degree of efficiency? Efforts in that direction in the conduct of any enterprise are the result of a desire to increase the volume of business and make more money, but in this case that desire would be lacking, or at least shut off by law. We are making all we are allowed to make, the railroad would say. Why should we go on trying to increase our business and improve our service when the only reward we can possibly expect is to have our freight-rates further reduced?

No, limiting railway profits by simply cutting down freight-rates is by no means as simple a proposition as it

would seem. The freight-rate structure, as we have seen, is no arbitrary creation of the railways, but has been piled up stone by stone over a long series of years, according to the needs and development of the country's business. With rates as they are the railroads as a whole are not earning enough money to enable them to make the improvements and extensions they ought to be making. Attempt to limit profits by reducing rates, and serious indeed will be the consequences.

For the present state of railway credit the prevalence of these two ideas is principally responsible. A large part of the public being firm in its belief that a physical valuation of the railroads ought to be made and the whole structure of freight-rates readjusted accordingly, and, furthermore, that no railroad ought to be allowed to earn more than a fixed amount, it is hardly to be wondered at that the investor refuses to put his money into new railway securities. There has been no general "valuation" of railway properties as yet, nor any legislation limiting the amount a railway can earn, but with the public feeling as it does, the danger of these things must be accounted great. Why, under such circumstances, should any one feel like putting money into new railway enterprise?

What is the remedy? How can confidence in railway securities be restored? In one way and in one way only: by putting before the public the facts in the case and relying upon that to bring about correction of the prevalent misapprehension concerning freight-rates. Let the public once see the true position the railways are in and there will be a speedy end to the talk about "valuation" and legal limitation of profits. Very quickly then will follow the restoration of railway securities to that high degree of investment favor they enjoyed but a very few years ago.

FRANKLIN ESCHER.

TRUST REGULATION

EXPEDIENCY OF COMMODITY COURT

BY ALBERT FINK

II

PUTTING out of view any question of the constitutional power of Congress to organize a Commodity Court or Commission with authority to prescribe a maximum or reasonable charge beyond which trust or quasi-trust products may not be sold, and assuming *arguendo* that such power in fact exists under the Commerce Clause, the next question which suggests itself is as to the expediency of its exercise.

At the outset it must be admitted that the suggestion is at least novel and would seem an effort to control by legislation matters which, if possible, should be left to the natural laws of supply and demand. So far as can be observed, though as yet no very clear statement of their case has appeared in the public prints, the advocates of a commodity court, modeled in the main after the fashion of the Interstate Commerce Commission and invested with price-regulating powers, seem to be composed of two distinct schools of political thought. First, those who believe they see in the necessities of modern civilization an imperative demand for large combination, who insist that restriction of competition is economically sound, resulting in elimination of useless waste, and who, while believing that there should be no governmental interference at all, nevertheless advocate the proposed tribunal as a compromise measure—"a sop to Cerberus," if you please—in the nature of a guarantee to the public against the dreaded extortion of an unrestrained industrial monopoly. Secondly, those who are opposed to all forms of large combination, insisting that competition remain unrestricted, no matter how cruelly ruinous or wasteful of human energy it may prove, but who

nevertheless favor the proposed legislation from an abiding despair of preventing such combination or otherwise adequately dealing with a situation they have come to regard as intolerable.

Both classes seem to advocate the measure from a sense of helplessness and inability to suggest other or better remedies rather than from any apparently deep-rooted conviction of its wisdom. As one of the curses of the times is believed to be "legislative tinkering" and an aptitude for political nostrums when it is suggested that there be a departure so radical from the well-tried principles of government as understood for many generations, as embodied in the utterances of the best experts upon the subject and as evolved by the gradual development of the science, it would seem the part of wisdom before embarking upon these strange and unexplored seas or entering upon these new and untried bridle-paths to examine somewhat minutely both the evil complained of and the remedy suggested.

The evil complained of for which the proposed remedy is offered as a specific is that the monopolistic trusts, having exterminated all competition, will, unless prevented by government, exploit the public by demanding for their products an unreasonable and extortionate price. The remedy suggested is to create by law a maximum beyond which they may not charge. Obviously if there exist combinations of capital which have in fact eliminated all competition and are able to continue so to do, and if there be no other natural law which will in its operative effect protect the public from exploitation, all will agree that government regulation even as to price is not only expedient, but imperative. If, however, on the other hand, it can be shown that there are not now, nor ever can be created in a government such as this, monopolistic trusts with power to eliminate competition otherwise than by the sale of a superior article at a minimum price, and if it can be shown that such policy, even if possible, would be in direct contravention of the material pecuniary benefit of the monopoly, then in either event all should agree that the proposed legislation is useless, undesirable, and unnecessary for the purposes for which it is suggested.

Monopolies are of two kinds. First, those which exist by government grant whereby an exclusive privilege is given to the few, to the exclusion of others, who are prohibited

by law from engaging in the same or similar enterprises; and, secondly, those which are based purely on economic conditions and created by the ability to produce and market a given commodity at a price cheaper than the same article can be manufactured and distributed by others. As to the first we have little concern. They never have and probably never will exist in this country, save in such a limited sense as may arise from the operation of the patent and copyright laws to which there is no apparent objection. As to the second the danger so far, at least, as excessive prices or inferior product is concerned, would seem to be remote.

In the first place, there has never existed in this country a combination so powerful as to throw off *all* competition, nor even in the absence of the Sherman Act is such combination possible where all are free to enter upon any field of enterprise or industry at such time and upon such terms and conditions as they see fit. Not even Standard Oil, with its superbly organized system, its espionage over competitors, and its baneful domination of the carriers, was able to control the entire manufacture and distribution of refined oil. The Sugar Trust has, perhaps, more nearly than any other approached an actual monopoly; but even here, with all its false weights, rebates, and corrupt manipulation, it was unable to control more than ninety per cent. of the business of refining and distributing sugar, and it is immaterial, so far as the price of the product is concerned, that the trust controls the vast bulk of the business, for any enhanced, excessive, or unreasonable price is merely a signal to the independents already engaged in the business to increase the capacity of their plants and widen the scope of their operations, while to those not already so engaged it is an invitation to enter the field. Monopoly-controlled banks may refuse loans. The "money trust," if such there be, may protest. The monopoly itself may threaten and bully, but the ultimate fact remains that whenever a profit can be shown, either by reason of some new and secret process, the acquisition of some patent, or the enhanced price of the monopoly-controlled products, capital for competition will be available both here and abroad. No sooner will the new rival have entered the field than monopoly must either buy him out at a profit, which is merely to invite others to repeat the same performance, or else so reduce the price of the commodity as to force its new rival to operate at a

loss; but this means that monopoly must undersell its rival's cost of production in all the markets of the country, and inasmuch as this rival is able to secure long-time contracts for its output the process of elimination proves tedious and more costly in the end than would have been the case had monopoly in the first instance maintained a price sufficiently low to render unattractive any invasion of its field of activity.

It is true that an actual monopoly might be created and competition completely eliminated by acquisition or control of transportation of the raw material, but as to the former the railroads have been very thoroughly divorced from the industrials, and an Interstate Commerce Commission and very drastic laws have rendered discriminatory rates and rebates relics of the past. As to the latter, it is hardly likely that any combination will ever be able to acquire that control of the raw material necessary to the successful operation of monopoly bent on public exploitation through excessive prices. The country is too vast, its resources too boundless; such a plan would mean too much idle capital locked up in natural resources for the sole purpose of preventing their acquisition or use by others. Monopolies must pay the interest on their bonded indebtedness and dividends to their stockholders. So, too, the cost of importation of the raw material from other lands is in many instances less than the cost of its transportation from one part of this country to another. And to acquire that monopoly which would or could appreciably affect the price of the finished product, not only must the raw material of this country be controlled, but that of the world as well. Again, it is to be remembered that no sooner does a trust commodity reach a price unreasonably high than it comes in direct competition with the world at large. It must always be sold in this country at the price at which it is offered in other nations plus freight and tariff. Ocean freights add little to the cost of production, and, inasmuch as one of the great political parties is avowedly for free trade and the other for a tariff only, where such is needed to protect the home industry, any excessive price may be promptly regulated by the simple process of tariff reduction.

But there is yet another natural law of trade which precludes the possibility of excessive or extortionate charge. Just as in the manufacture of automobiles the constant

effort is to produce a durable and efficient machine at a reduced price, so in every other industry the same tendency may be observed, nor is the ultimate purpose solely to undersell the competitor. It is a fundamental principle underlying the modern conception of sound business methods. A market must be made for the product. This market must be developed, cultivated, and enlarged. Such prices must be offered to consumers as will not only *enable* them, but also *induce* them to buy. Such combinations as aspire to monopoly in any given field require large investments of capital. This outlay must be distributed in mills and plants located at such convenient places throughout the country as have been calculated to be the cheapest and most economical points for manufacture and distribution. Great pay-rolls fall due weekly and monthly. There are terminal and managerial expenses, stupendous fixed charges, interest, dividends. These mills must be kept going else there is so much wasted and idle capital. These employees must be kept engaged lest labor skilled in the specific trade fall into the hands of willing and ever-ready competitors. The fixed charges must be met, the interest paid when due. Dividends must be earned. This requires a market here or abroad. A surplus may occasionally be sold abroad cheaper than at home, but this must be a rare occurrence if a protective tariff is desired. The market at home must be made to absorb the bulk of the product. Obviously the commodity must be offered at a price at which the home market is able to buy, or the market itself is destroyed. The day of small sales and large profits has long since departed. All business science points to large and ready sales with low profits —rapid turning over of the capital invested. A large market with small profits has these advantages over a small market with large profits: in the first case the market itself gradually expands, thus in turn increasing the profits, while in the other case the market gradually shrinks as people cease consumption and educate themselves to the use of substitutes, thus in turn forcing an ever-increasing price in order to maintain an equilibrium of profit. Obviously a diminishing market with a corresponding increase in price invites competition, while an expanding market with a decrease in price has an opposite effect.

In view of these considerations, it would seem that the danger of excessive or unreasonable charges upon trust-

controlled or partially controlled products is more fanciful than real, that from economic laws more potential in their operation than those of any legislature, there is little reason to fear that in the near future at least there will be either such monopolization of production or distribution of any given commodity or elimination of a balancing and equalizing competition as need cause serious alarm. In order to insure reasonable prices, it is not necessary that there be actual competition. It is sufficient that there *may be—self-interest does the rest.* When the price of cotton reaches an unreasonable figure over the cost of production there is a corresponding increase in the next year's crop. When the price becomes unreasonably low, production is curtailed. As it is with cotton so it is with every other commodity. The natural laws of trade, of supply and demand, more surely maintain a just and desirable equilibrium than would be possible by virtue of any legislative act.

But even if it be conceded that the price of monopolistic products might at times be slightly in excess of what they would be if there were no large combinations, and the manufacture and distribution were more equally divided among numbers of competitive individuals and corporations such as existed prior to the time when improved transportation facilities made available to the producer the markets of the entire country, thus rendering such combinations possible, it does not yet follow that such a condition is wholly undesirable. For the greater the profit to the manufacturer the greater the possible wage to labor. And if there be an excess in price, a profit over and above that which would exist under a system of greater competition, this in itself enables labor to exact and secure a larger wage. The whole underlying theory of our tariff system is to prevent as far as possible our people coming into direct and unrestricted competition with the pauper populations of foreign countries. The principle in the one case is directly applicable to the other. For if it be true that a protective tariff which enables a manufacturer to obtain a better price for his product in the home market than he could otherwise secure also enables him to pay a higher rate of wage, it necessarily follows that if monopoly is able to secure a higher price it also can afford a greater wage. Nor is it any answer to say that as no higher wage is paid under the tariff system so no greater would be received, even though a larger price

was secured by monopoly. For as to tariff the statement is not true in point of fact; and even were the contrary the case it is immaterial to this discussion, for if it be admitted that labor does not receive its just share of profit this fact does not depend upon similar considerations; it involves different principles and requires other and further remedies. Though believed to be wholly unwarranted in point of fact, it may for the purpose of argument be admitted that no manufacturer, monopolistic or otherwise, will willingly give up any greater proportion of his profit than he is compelled to. Surely, however, this does not obviate the necessity of creating the profit before arranging for its division. All will agree that before there can be any just or other divisions the profit itself must first be created and obviously the larger the profit the more to divide.

It is upon labor more than upon any other class of our citizens that unrestricted competition lays its heavy hand. The great industrial problem which this generation must solve, and solve correctly, is believed to be the formulation of some plan whereby reserving individual freedom, initiative, and independence, labor will yet be relieved from the present necessity of coming into such cruel and unrestricted competition with itself; but of this more will be said in a subsequent article. The only point here sought to be made is that such slight occasional and temporary increase in the price of monopoly-controlled commodities, if such would in fact be the result, is not necessarily of itself to be deplored and need cause no great alarm.

Though not strictly pertinent to this discussion, as pointed out in a previous article, the fixing of maximum prices beyond which trust commodities may not be sold in no way tends to preserve that competition so ardently desired by one school of political thought. It is of no assistance to the independent in any field of industry. Competition is eliminated by underselling, not by overselling the market. To secure the business, trust prices must be met. To lower these by governmental action makes still sharper competition. It is only by establishing minimum rates, thus preventing the independent from being undersold, that he can be at all aided. Surely no one would advocate the fixing of a minimum rate below which a commodity might not be sold to the end that some one or more engaged in a similar industry might derive profit thereby. Not only then does

there seem to be no apparent necessity for the proposed legislation, but even its working practicability may well be doubted.

Let us suppose that a Commodity Court has in fact been organized, composed, say, of five members and with jurisdiction to fix maximum charges, beyond which no person or corporation engaged in interstate commerce, and who has acquired a monopoly or partial monopoly, may sell his or its products. Let us assume that this court has been given power to issue subpœnas, compel the attendance of witnesses, punish for contempt, and enforce its decrees in the same manner and under like circumstances with other courts. How is its machinery to be set in motion? Is it to be by complaint of any individual who thinks the price of nails manufactured at Cincinnati should be the same at New Orleans as at St. Louis? Or is its jurisdiction only to be invoked by government? If the latter, at whose instigation must government act and under what circumstances? If the former, the court will not be without business.

To what extent must any given article be trust-tainted before it falls within the jurisdiction of the court? Must the alleged monopoly be complete or only partial? If the former, will the jurisdiction end when some independent, no matter how insignificant, shall have entered the field? If the latter, to what extent? Will it be necessary to show that the corporation complained of does thirty or sixty or ninety per cent. of the entire business of the country in the given commodity under investigation?

Mr. Bryan once suggested that no corporation be permitted to handle more than fifty per cent. of the total business of the country in any given industrial field. Suppose, for the sake of any better, this figure be taken as an experimental working basis for the first "legislative tinkering" upon the subject, though, as has been pointed out, it is obvious that the manufacture and control of fifty per cent. will not and cannot either fix or maintain the selling price. The United States Steel Corporation manufacturing sixty per cent. of the steel rails of the country, and thus clearly within the jurisdiction of the court upon this specific commodity, is cited, let us say, to appear and show cause, if any it has, why the price of rails should not be reduced from thirty to twenty-five dollars per ton. Thirty dollars is and has been the market price. After a full hearing, the

court is of the opinion that this price is unreasonable and excessive and orders the reduction prayed for in the bill of complaint. Will the independents now be permitted to realize thirty, while the United States Steel is compelled to sell at twenty-five? Of course it is no answer to say that the market will immediately drop to twenty-five, for there may not be sufficient steel rails on hand or capable of manufacture by the Steel Corporation to supply the demand. If compelled to sell at twenty-five—to whom, it may be asked? To those who first made demand or will every one desiring the product be entitled to share ratably in this court-granted windfall? If the former, in what particular form must the demand be made so as to render it binding and obligatory upon the vendor? If the latter, will the division be according to necessity or speculative desire? How long will the order of reduction remain in force? If by reason of sudden rise in the price of raw material or labor, or such unusual demand as necessitates overtime operations with their attendant increase in the cost of production, must there be a reinvestigation, or may the corporation itself be the judge as to whether or not the order should be modified? When once sold by the trust, will the article be relieved in the hands of the purchaser of its original taint to the end that it may be resold by the first vendee at what price he wills, or shall it still remain impressed with its original character of trust-produced commodity? Obviously, if the former policy is presumed, it enables the trust to sell to its favored few, who may then resell at what price they will; while if the latter is adopted the whole doctrine of the absolute right of private ownership of personal property becomes abandoned. Must the commodity be sold for the same price in all the markets of the country, or will a base price be fixed at the place of production and the manufacturer be permitted to add to this the cost of transportation to the point of ultimate sale? What becomes of long-time contracts? Will the vendees be given the benefit of any reduction made by the court in the selling price? What of warranties? May a trust-tainted commodity be sold at a greater price if its efficiency and durability are guaranteed? If so, for what per cent. of excess?

Again, what will be the standard measure or principle upon which it will be adjudged that a given price is reasonable and proper or unreasonably excessive and extortionate?

Will the measure be a given rate of interest upon the capital invested? If so, how much? Will it be ten or twenty or thirty per cent. or the average interest value of money loaned on good security? Will any allowance be made for or premium placed upon efficient and economical management, system, or order, or will such economy in production mean simply a decreased selling price? If the former, how much, translated into figures? If the latter, to what extent will inefficient management, extravagance, and want of order and system be allowed as an excuse for a higher selling price than would otherwise be permitted? Will the permissible basis of profit be upon the physical valuation of the property employed in production or upon the price paid by the public for the securities? If the former, the great industrials must collapse, for in their several plans of consolidation so great have been the prices paid for bonuses, commissions, and good will that unless the per cent. of profit be fixed at a very high figure these combinations would find themselves unable to pay the interest on their bonds, much less earn dividends for their stock. Such a policy would mean simply an outright confiscation of the funds of hundreds of thousands of innocent stockholders who have invested their savings in these securities in the utmost good faith. If, on the other hand, the price paid by the public is to form the basis of the authorized profit, there would seem to be no necessity for the proposed legislation. For it is to be remembered that the monopolistic trusts are not privately owned concerns. They are not close corporations whose stocks, parceled out among the few, lie in safety boxes secure from onslaught. The great industrials, like the railroads, are owned by the public. Their interest-bearing bonds, their preferred and common stocks, are offered for sale in all the great markets of the world. He who thinks their profits excessive may participate therein, thus reimbursing himself for any overcharge which may have been imposed by reason of his consumption of manufactured articles; the laborer, the clerk, the farmer who has saved one hundred dollars, the public at large, all may share.

Will the power of the court extend to labor when it has become unionized in the same proportion to the total as shall be determined to be sufficient to give the court jurisdiction over the commodity? Will the court decree a price beyond which labor shall not charge for its services? If so, what

will be the principle upon which this decision will be made to rest? What is a reasonable wage for labor? These are all pertinent and important practical questions which must be answered by the legislature, for it is hardly to be expected that Congress will ever vest in any tribunal the jurisdiction proposed without rule or guide, standard measure or principle, other than the whim and caprice of the court. Unless, of course, the reign of law is to be utterly abandoned for that of men.

It has been suggested as one of the principal reasons for the proposed legislation that some tribunal be created from which business might secure advance and authoritative information as to what it could or could not do. It is hard to conceive of a doctrine more un-American in its principle. It is little removed from absolutism. A body with power to say to one set of men "you may," to another "you may not." To one corporation "you may engage in this enterprise to this limited extent," to another "you shall not." Desperate indeed must be a situation which evokes such suggestion. Better had we in the first instance elect some able, industrious, and benign prince whose will shall be ultimate law. It is to be hoped that neither the American people nor business, big or small, will so far surrender their prerogatives as to place themselves in the position of asking any court or commission what they may or may not do. What the law permits they may do, from what it prohibits they must abstain.

But it will be said that the same objections now set forth were urged against the Interstate Commerce and the several State Railway and Public Utility Commissions and that experience has demonstrated them unsound. The suggestion would be conclusive if there was no distinction between the operation of the proposed Commodity Court and these Commissions. Such, however, is not the case. The difference is fundamental. In the case of Commissions fixing rates for public utilities all are treated alike. No sooner does a new carrier spring into existence than automatically it comes under the jurisdiction of the Commission. The rules that are applied to all others are extended to it. There is no discrimination; telephone and telegraph companies, water and lighting plants, all transportation companies operating in the same area are in law upon an equal footing. In the case of the proposed Commodity Court, all en-

gaged in the same field of industry are not to be within its jurisdiction. There will be independents not subject to its rules or regulations. It is as if the Great Northern Railway were within the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Northern Pacific without. In fixing the maximum charges for the grain elevators of Chicago the legislature of Illinois made no discrimination; all were equally within the law. So these public utilities, clothed with quasi-governmental powers within their spheres of operation, are monopolies in fact. The world's competition, the natural laws of trade, do not operate upon them as directly or potentially (often not at all) as in the manufacture and distribution of the ordinary articles of commerce. Nor does it at all follow that because it has proven expedient for government to control and regulate public utilities the same result would be accomplished by a similar control over the prices of commodities.

It has been suggested that an appeal be allowed from the proposed court. If so, to what tribunal? Will it be to the District Courts of the United States or to some Circuit Court of Appeals. Will the Supreme Court, in addition to its already overwhelming burdens, be compelled to at times abandon the realm of law and enter upon a minute investigation of all the various prices of production? If there is to be any ultimate review by the courts the jurisdiction had as well be there placed in the first instance, giving to the vendee of the commodity in question the right of private action for any unreasonable excess in purchase price, thus rendering the courts not only law tribunals, but also *administrators for the more equitable distribution of personal property.*

In view of the foregoing considerations, it would seem that the suggestion of a Commodity Court or Commission with the jurisdiction and powers proposed is not only unnecessary, but utterly impracticable, except with such fundamental changes and modification of commercial intercourse as would meet the approval of no one. *Surely there must be some other solution.*

ALBERT FINK.

THE MUSE OF THE INCOMMUNICABLE

BY GEORGE STERLING

An echo often have our singers caught
And they that bend above the saddened strings;
One hue of all the hundreds on her wings
Our painters render, and our men of thought
In realms mysterious her face have sought
And glimpsed its marvel in elusive things:
Her shadow gathers and her fragrance clings
To all the loveliness that man has wrought.

The wind of lonely places is her wine.
Still she evades us, hidden, hushed, and fleet—
A star withheld, a music in the gloom.
Beauty and death her speechless lips assign,
Where silence is, and where the surf-loud feet
Of armies wander on the sands of doom.

BY THE SEA

BY ROBERT STANLEY WEIR

Dreaming upon the sands I lift mine eyes to gaze
Beyond the infinite and heaving blue;
The far horizon, blurred in cloud and haze,
Bends o'er some beach (I muse) a thousand leagues from view.
"And there," saith Fancy, "looking toward these sands,
Wistful like thee, an unknown dreamer stands!"

THE QUALITY OF MARVELL'S POETRY

BY FRANCIS BICKLEY

Modern criticism—with an ardor sometimes disproportioned to its theme—has been a busy maker of reputations. We grow more catholic, seeing that art is a house of many mansions; but toleration has not been the only motive at work. In the trade of letters competition grows ever keener, and the tradesman's best chance of profit lies in the display of strange wares. So poets who have long languished in obscurity have been brought with a flourish to the light. Some of them surely must have blinked beneath its unexpected beams.

Not that the literary discoverer is a bad citizen. All men who have lived are interesting more or less, and that some have written verse does not necessarily diminish their interest. To have rescued the seventeenth century from the dark night cast over it by the eighteenth is a pious and admirable work: by no means the least noble manifestation of the nineteenth century's vaunted progress. It is only that to hail every calf-bound duodecimo raked from the two-penny box as a precious casket of genius is to set our minor poets too low a standard. But the pseudo-great, ancient or modern, will soon sink into a decent oblivion.

So it comes about that there are few poets who can claim that they lack at least their due meed of worship. But there are just one or two who have listened in vain, if not for the trumpet, at least for the answering shout. Andrew Marvell is one of them. He is possibly the most undervalued of our poets.

True, he has his place, with many a lesser man, in the *Muses' Library,* and so can be bought for a florin. Dr. Grosart, an enthusiast but a pedant, edited him completely, prose and verse, in four bulky and inaccessible volumes, the hundred possessors whereof must needs be muscular as well

as wealthy. Somewhat tardily the Ministry has honored him with admission to the *English Men of Letters;* but Mr. Birrell, while writing an admirable biography of the politician and satirist, pecks but cautiously at criticism of the artist. The new *Cambridge History,* though discreetly appreciative, gives him a curious position as a kind of makeweight in a chapter devoted to Bunyan.

If Marvell were merely of the rank and file of his age, such recognition would be enough. The modern discovery of such charming singers as Waller and Carew and Suckling is an excellent thing, if only as a symptom that we have at last got free from the stupendous solemnity of the romantic revival and are not utterly engulfed in the solemnity of modern problems; that we have learned that greatness and gravity are not identical in art. But we should not lay too great a stress on these men's importance. Give them a tray in the window as good specimens of Ben's progeny, but don't put them in the central showcase to jostle their betters.

Marvell, however, is in quite another class than Carew or Suckling. Yet, in the matter of editing, appreciation, and so forth, he has had much the same treatment. In this he has been unfairly used. One other man, roughly of his era, is roughly his equal. At an Elysian banquet of poets of the Cavalier and Puritan age Herrick and Marvell should be set on either hand of John Milton, their president. Herrick has his due. For a time forgotten, then recognized for a pretty singer, he has now his place in the van of the English lyrists. It is admitted that if one considers the "Nativity Ode" a better poem than the "Nightpiece to Julia," it is a matter of taste rather than of weight and measure. Herrick is of the elect. But Marvell must still take his chance with the ruck.

One does not desire to establish him among the mighty. But he has certain qualities which call for wider recognition. All but very few of the poets whom we honor are only great in moments more or less frequent. Coleridge, who touched perfection in "Kubla Khan," was the author of I know not what dreariness. Longfellow, who doddered at such inordinate length, was a great poet when he wrote "My Lost Youth." Marvell is another of the intermittent great. He might be compared with Marlowe. He is as far below Milton as Marlowe is below Shakespeare. The

Elizabethan produced much gaudy fustian, the Puritan elaborated many empty conceits. But each scaled sudden heights, each had his moments of insight. Marlowe once saw Helen more clearly than any Greek. Marvell, the Puritan (some said the Republican), had a nobler vision of Charles than was vouchsafed to the most loyal Cavalier. In lines among the few of his that have become common quotation he re-created the King in the high-handed way of the great artist; in the way of Wordsworth with Chatterton, of Swinburne with François Villon.

"He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try;

"Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed."

This directness of statement, an absolute rightness of touch based on an absolute sureness of vision, is a high virtue in poetry and one of the rarest. Poets the loftiest in spirit and the wealthiest in words have almost or altogether lacked it. The poets of the romantic revolt, for instance, with all their splendor, achieved it only at long intervals; for in their attitude something of the argumentative was implied which made against this divine certitude. Yet it is a quality of the romantics. The eighteenth century, which stated its opinions in couplets, knew nothing of this or any other poetic quality except the art of getting a high polish on their phrases. But Milton, the truest classic among our poets, also lacked the gift of sudden inevitability. No English poet comes anywhere near him in general perfection. None says what he wants to say with so calm and melodious an assurance. But he misses just the final something. This, as Matthew Arnold held, is the difference between classic and romantic. The classic with his watchful art, his nine years' solicitude, makes his work as perfect as hand and brain can contrive. The romantic contents himself with faulty work while he waits—I will not say the inspiration—but the impulse to expression which seems transcendental in its aptitude.

Marvell partook of the nature both of the classic and of the romantic. In some poems he has the romantic's faults

and rare triumphs or the faults without the triumphs. In others he is wholly classic in his chaste and chiseled accuracy. Once, at least, he is both in one poem. "The Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland" will, according to Dean Trench, "give a truer notion of the kind of greatness which he [Horace] achieved than could, as far as I know, be obtained from any other poem in our language." It is indeed a stately panegyric of a man whose opinions and achievements the poet respected. But when he has to speak of a man whose opinions he dislikes, but whose personality is one of those which fascinate the imaginative in their own despite, a sudden wave of enthusiasm uplifts him and impels him to the magic of the lines quoted.

This mixture of classical and romantic was common enough in the Renaissance poets. But whereas by Marvell's time the classical was fast gaining ground, Marvell was more romantic not only than his contemporaries, but than the majority of his predecessors. He sounds certain notes which will not be heard again in English literature until the days of Coleridge and Shelley. Shakespeare's "wood-notes wild," Herrick's songs of country pleasures, have not that intimacy with impersonal nature which makes Marvell seem so modern.

Divers influences shaped Marvell. He was educated at the Hull Grammar School under his father, a good scholar who grounded him in the classics, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He wrote verses both Latin and Greek. He knew his Horace, as we have seen, and also his Catullus. Sparrows and fawns can hardly be called akin, but the pets of Lesbia and of Marvell's nymph might at least have come from the same fanciers.

> "For it was full of sport, and light
> Of foot and heart; and did invite
> Me to its game; it seemed to bless
> Itself in me; how could I less
> Than love it? O, I cannot be
> Unkind t'a beast that loveth me."

These lines can scarcely be the work of one who did not remember

> "Nam mellitus erat, suamque norat
> Ipsam tam bene quam puella matrem.
> Nec sese a gremio illius movebat,
> Sed circumsiliens modo huc modo illuc
> Ad solam dominam usque pipiebat."

Marvell, like most of his fellows, felt the influence of Donne's potent personality. Conceit was a fashion which it took a stronger man than he to ignore. There are conceits in his verse in plenty, as when he says that "Jubal tuned Music's Jubilee," and writes of "music, the mosaic of the air." Nor need we admire such things. There is no need to school our historical sense to appreciate Donne when our sense of beauty has Jonson and Herrick and Milton ready to hand. Donne was a man of daring conceptions which he only marred by his tricksy style. There is a dateless language which has been written by all the greatest poets and calls for no chronological posturing to feel at ease with it. Those who do not use that language are the less worthy of our homage. They may have much in them that is admirable, but undue exaltation of such men of their age as Donne and Sir Thomas Browne is sentimental antiquarianism.

Marvell, however, had a natural directness of expression which largely counteracted these crooked influences. He who could write the last four lines of "Bermudas"—

> "Thus sang they, in the English boat,
> An holy and a cheerful note;
> And all the way, to guide their chime,
> With falling oars they kept the time—"

was hardly the man seriously to disfigure any large proportion of his work with tortuous conceits. Still, many of his poems are of the "metaphysical" order. "The Match," "Mourning," and others are overweighted with the faults of the school. But sometimes when Marvell has had conceptions of the Donnesque order and translated them into Donne's symbolism, he has in the actual writing purified them with his own simplicity. The result is a poem as vast, picturesque, and lucid as "To his Coy Mistress," which contains the lines,

> "But at my back I always hear
> Time's wingèd chariot hurrying near."

This is the second of the "familiar quotations" from Marvell, but the whole passage (a third part of the poem) is of equal felicity. It has almost all the virtues and almost none of the faults of a phase of English poetry of which it is a typical example.

"But at my back I always hear
Time's wingèd chariot hurrying near,
And yonder all before us lie
Deserts of vast eternity.
Thy beauty shall no more be found,
Nor, in thy marble vault, shall sound
My echoing song; then worms shall try
That long-preserved virginity,
And your quaint honor turn to dust,
And into ashes all my lust:
The grave's a fine and private place,
But none, I think, do there embrace."

It cannot be claimed that the language of this is dateless, but its topical flavor does not weigh heavier than the idea, which is an universal one. Similarly composed are "Daphnis and Chloe," so old-fashioned in its conception, so modern in its astringent humor, and the less satisfactory "Definition of Love" with its magnificent beginning:

"My love is of a birth as rare
As 'tis, for object, strange and high;
It was begotten by Despair,
Upon Impossibility."

"Daphnis and Chloe" is, unfortunately, too long to quote in full and too climactic to quote in part, but there is probably no poem of Marvell's which gives one greater joy to read.

Lightness, the one thing lacking in our nineteenth-century great; butterfly-winged in Shakespeare's songs and in Herrick; the predominant virtue of the Caroline singers, varying from sheer faery to sheer frivolity; not quite gone (though sadly materialized) even at the Restoration; last heard in Prior; this lightness often makes Marvell's verse charming. "Daphnis and Chloe," though wasp rather than butterfly, is at any rate winged; and winged and stingless are the dainty dialogues between Clorinda and Damon, Thyrsis and Dorinda, Hobbinol, Phillis, and Tomalin (for Mary Cromwell's Wedding), and Ametas and Thestylis at their hay-rope. This last is short as well as sweet:

AMETAS. "Think'st thou that this love can stand,
Whilst thou still dost say me nay?
Love unpaid does soon disband:
Love binds love, as hay binds hay."

THESTYLIS. "Think'st thou that this rope would twine,
If we both should turn one way?

Where both parties so combine,
Neither love will twist, nor hay."

AMETAS. "Thus you vain excuses find,
Which yourself and us delay:
And love ties a woman's mind
Looser than with ropes of hay."

THESTYLIS. "What you cannot constant hope
Must be taken as you may."

AMETAS. "Then let's both lay by our rope,
And go kiss within the hay."

It is a slight note, but one the world did ill to lose. It was sounded by no light scorner of the realities, but by a man immersed in affairs and earnestly concerned with the problems of religion and government. Love, the state, and the soul came alike to the ready lyre of the seventeenth century; and Marvell was as varied in his themes as any, and more varied in his touch than most. The form so prettily used for pastoral colloquy was transformed into the vehicle of sound if not very original moralizing in the dialogues between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure and between the Soul and the Body. The fine lines called "Bermudas," referring to the emigrants driven thither by Laud, were inspired by Marvell's hatred of Episcopalian tyranny, though he was ever a faithful, if independent, son of the Established Church.

Love is seen in many ways; never more beautifully than in the allied and exquisite poems "The Picture of Little T. C. in a Prospect of Flowers" and "Young Love." Political interests produced, if they did not perfect, the "Horatian Ode" and called forth some pages of dignified couplets on the Protector's death and Blake's victory at Santa Cruz. After the Restoration they seduced the poet to satire; but Marvell, though his was the better cause, has left nothing that lives with "Hudibras" and "Absalom and Achitophel." His satires, inspired by a fine enthusiasm —shame at the Dutch in the Medway, horror of the corruption at Court—are written with tremendous vigor and often in language unsuited to the nice modern ear. They served their turn. But they have neither Dryden's finality and dignity nor the babbling wit which makes Butler still readable because he is so easy to read.

The finest of Marvell's poems in decasyllabic couplets is

that prefixed to the 1674 edition of "Paradise Lost." It is a noble tribute from a poet to his friend and superior, is an excellent piece of criticism, and has a sting in its tail for Dryden. It may here be noted that at one time Milton, Dryden, and Marvell were all working in the same office of the Council of State. Not even when Mr. Dobson and Mr. Gosse were concocting rondeaux at the Board of Trade (as Mr. Beerbohm has portrayed them) was so much poetic talent ever gathered into a government office before or since.

But apart from exceptional passages, such as the royal stanzas of the "Horatian Ode," the quality which separates Marvell from his contemporaries and lifts him, as it were, right over the eighteenth century is his almost mystical *rapport* with nature.

It is true that there are no stark mountain-tops or troubled seas in his work; his is the kindlier nature of the garden. It was an age of garden-lovers. Bacon, Cowley, and Temple spanned the century. Marvell, as literary horticulturalist, makes a worthy fourth. The garden looms large in his poems. Cromwell comes "from his private gardens" to his great work. The poet had every opportunity of cultivating the taste. He was born at Winstead in Holderness. "Roses still riot in Winstead," says Mr. Birrell; "the fruit-trees are as many as in the seventeenth century." The garden of Hull Grammar School was famous; so was that at Nunappleton House, where Marvell lived as tutor to Fairfax's daughter and probably wrote most of his poetry. Thus the poet wandered from garden to garden, learning their secret.

The garden may be the antithesis of nature. But the garden which Marvell loved was not so. It was no place of balanced *parterres* and clipped hedges, but a spot where the earth's fruitfulness is intensified rather than selected.

> "Ripe apples drop about my head;
> The luscious clusters of the vine
> Upon my mouth do crush their wine;
> The nectarine and curious peach
> Into my hands themselves do reach;
> Stumbling on melons, as I pass,
> Insnared with flowers, I fall on grass."

"My fruits are only flowers," he says elsewhere, but here in his garden poem *par excellence* the fruits are plentiful enough. The last two lines are suggestive of a tropical for-

est. In one poem, indeed, he goes so far as to inveigh against the gardener's art; but this is one of a charming series for which Damon the Mower is made responsible and in any case does not amount to more than an indictment of too much artifice. Marvell's garden was a " delicious solitude " of rich grass and fruitful trees. Above all, it was a green place.

In " The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn " he describes a girl's delightful pleasaunce—

> " So with roses overgrown,
> And lilies, that you would it guess
> To be a little wilderness ";

and for a score of lines he rings the changes on white and pink, reminding one of Jacopo del Sellaio's Venus in the National Gallery.

> " I have through every garden been
> Amongst the red, the white, the green,"

he writes elsewhere; but in the famous " Garden,"

> " No white nor red was ever seen
> So amorous as this lovely green."

Taken by themselves, these lines suggest nothing more than a feeling for color. It is only when one has read right through Marvell's work that one realizes the intense significance which green things had for him. Time and again the word occurs, as substantive or adjective, and always with a curious pregnancy. One does not credit him with the definite vagueness, or the vague definition, of a modern symbolist; but it is obvious that *green* was his shorthand for something he could not quite describe, an ecstasy which came on him among grass and moss and trees. It colors his couplets on Appleton House and invests a long and rather tedious poem with a certain glamour. " The nursery of all things green " he calls Eden, the mother of gardens. Elusive, colorless things, shadows, and thoughts are green for him. In " The Garden " the overripe, too solid stanza about apples and melons is followed by his most subtle and suggestive lines:

> " Meanwhile the mind, from pleasure less,
> Withdraws into its happiness:
> The mind, that ocean where each kind
> Does straight its own resemblance find:

Yet it creates, transcending these,
Far other worlds, and other seas,
Annihilating all that's made
To a green thought in a green shade."

One might search Shelley and Meredith in vain for a more perfect expression of the mystical union between man and nature. The next stanza is more explicit.

"Here at the fountain's sliding foot,
Or at some fruit-tree's mossy root,
Casting the body's vest aside,
My soul into the boughs does glide:
There, like a bird, it sits and sings,
Then whets and combs its silver wings,
And, till prepared for longer flight,
Waves in its plumes the various light."

This idea of metamorphosis occurs also in "Appleton House":

"Thus I, easy philosopher,
Among the birds and trees confer;
And little now to make me wants
Or of the fowls, or of the plants:
Give me but wings as they, and I
Straight floating on the air shall fly;
Or turn me but, and you shall see
I was but an inverted tree."

There is nothing very remarkable about either of these two passages. They might be mere flights of fancy. But taken in connection with the rest of Marvell's work, read while his sudden flashes of insight are remembered (one of which, indeed, the first immediately follows), they appear as attempts at an intellectual description of the experiences of a wonderful imaginative sympathy. An understanding which is more than mere aptitude for simile went to the making of such lines as,

"He hangs in shades the orange bright,
Like golden lamps in a green night";

or

"While the youthful hue
Sits on thy skin like morning dew."

This imaginative quality is by no means omnipresent in Marvell's poetry, but it is there in sufficient volume to be a strong element in the final impression which that poetry leaves; and it links him with Marlowe and Shakespeare on the one hand, with Coleridge and Shelley on the other, rather

than with those who were of his own age and in many external characteristics his kin.

His poems were little more than an episode in Marvell's busy life, and he did not even publish them. It was not until three years after his death that a volume of his verse was given to the world. All his best work was probably done while he was in the pleasant and stimulating company of the Fairfaxes. His latter days were almost songless. Affairs claimed him. First as Milton's assistant in the Latin secretaryship, and then for eighteen years as a silent but conscientious member of Parliament, he had little time for strolling in green garden ways.

His pen was by no means dry. The weekly letters which he wrote to his constituents at Hull are valuable documents for the parliamentary history of the period. After the Restoration he used much black and bitter ink in satire and controversy. He was the most brilliant journalist of the Country Party. But though "The Rehearsal Transprosed" and "The Last Instructions to a Painter" are still interesting, they are journalism and nothing higher. The lines on Milton are the noblest work of his later years, but even they have the taint of party feeling.

It is obvious that Marvell was extremely sensitive to his environment. He was not one of those who can write of roses in Grub Street. In the thick of politics he became perforce a pamphleteer; it was only on the shaded lawns of Appleton that he could be a poet. His poems are as few as his years of rural peace. But if this responsiveness to his surroundings conditioned and limited his production, it was also precisely that which gave to what he did write its intimate magic.

FRANCIS BICKLEY.

PHILLIPS BROOKS AND GERMAN PREACHING

BY FRANCIS G. PEABODY

PHILLIPS BROOKS died just twenty years ago, on January 23, 1893. It is difficult for those who listened to him with such profound emotion to realize that a new generation has arrived, which, if it reads his sermons at all, cannot hear in them the searching cadences and torrential energy which moved every heart. "He rose," Mr. Bryce once said, "in his first few sentences like a strong-winged bird, into a serene atmosphere of meditation, stilling and thrilling the crowd. The listeners never thought of style or manner, but only of the substance of the thought. They were entranced and carried out of themselves by the strength and sweetness and beauty of the aspects of religious truth which he presented." To those who thus remember him he will always be the prince of preachers; and they hear with something like consternation the comments of younger readers who are inclined to find Phillips Brooks fanciful, exuberant, or diffuse.

Much, it must be admitted, has happened in these few years to diminish general interest in his message. The social interpretation of religion, which is now so compelling, was hardly approached by him. It is true that in one chapter of the volume which his biographer regards as the most important of his writings, the *Lectures on the Influence of Jesus,* the correlation of Christianity with social service is foreshadowed and welcomed; yet these lectures, partly perhaps because of their academic form, have never received the general attention which they still deserve. The overwhelming effect of his preaching has obscured the importance of this theological confession; and his preaching, it must be admitted, does not strike the note which is domi-

nant to-day. He was primarily, not a reformer, but a revealer. He lived at the end of the nineteenth century rather than at the beginning of the twentieth. His message was not so much of the duty of man in the service of the world as of the life of God in the soul of man.

The movement of ecclesiastical interest during the last twenty years has contributed to this decline of Brooks's authority. He was in his theology an Evangelical and in his practice a broad Churchman; and both in the Church of England and in the Protestant Episcopal Church, to which he was so loyally devoted, neither the Evangelical nor the Broad Church party is now in control. Phillips Brooks had indeed little interest in any ecclesiastical movement. The Christian Church was to him a means rather than an end. "I care less and less for organization," he said when on the point of being made a bishop. His supreme concern was for the individual soul. He had what the author of *Ecce Homo* called, in Jesus Christ, a passion for personality; and this search for the one sheep that was lost made him, as it made his Master, indifferent to distinctions which to many of his brethren seemed of vital concern. Questions of priesthood or ritual, the assumption of a new title by his communion as the American Church—in short, the whole structure of exclusive authority and tradition—seemed to him an unauthorized limitation of the grace of God; and as the movement toward a "Catholic" position has advanced, it has left Phillips Brooks behind, or at least on one side.

This obscuration of his teaching has been increased, so far as Boston is concerned, by the nature of the monument erected to commemorate his work; and it is certainly one of the ironies of local history that before the Church which still echoes with his words there should stand a memorial which so ingeniously misrepresents him. Dismissing from consideration the problems of art which this much-discussed statue has provoked—whether the symbolic Christ dwarfs the preacher's figure, whether the canopy crushes the group, or whether the anatomy is faulty—what must future generations conclude from the study of this statue concerning the preacher's manner and method? A boyish, not to say bumptious, orator, thickset and stumpy, is brandishing his right arm with a hortatory gesture, while behind him a veiled Christ is directing his message. Could anything be more

unacceptable to Phillips Brooks than such an interpretation of his purpose? No hearer, it is safe to say, ever saw him in the attitude portrayed. He rarely used any gesture, save the quick toss of the head and the pressure of the hand against his side. His weapon of communication was not the brandishing arm, but the flashing eye. He scorned the arts of oratory and practised the higher art of restraint. It would be as reasonable to portray a rushing river making conscious gestures as to represent Phillips Brooks in an oratorical pose. As to the veiled Christ, it may be fairly said that the preaching of Phillips Brooks was habitually directed to free the Church from so ghostly and dehumanized a conception of its Master. The veil, he might have said with the Apostle Paul, is "taken away at the reading of the New Testament." If the symbolism of this ascetic figure, instead of suggesting, as is intended, the inspiration of the preacher, were designed to indicate a fruitless attempt to detain him in the grasp of mediævalism, it would be more consistent with the facts. To compare this veiled figure with Brooks's teaching on "The influence of Jesus" is like passing from darkness to dawn.

It may be still further urged that the decline in Brooks's influence is due to the special limitations of his work, and that a preacher must anticipate the fate of temporariness. The more immediate and personal his message is, the more transient may be its reputation. When one recalls the history of the pulpit in New England during the nineteenth century, he may not unreasonably conclude that out of the thousands of preachers who have faithfully served their generations only two names survive which represent permanent contributions to religious progress. Channing and Bushnell dealt habitually with great themes on a great scale. The nature of God and man, the dignity of human nature and its ruins, the evidences of Christianity, and the intimations of immortality—sermons on themes like these, preached by great masters, became not so much contemporary influences as historical monuments. These exceptions, however, seem to prove the rule concerning preaching. The vast majority of preachers must be content to have their day and cease to be; to live by faith in that occasional alchemy which transforms preaching into character and makes a word into flesh. Sermons are prepared, not to be read, but to be heard. The touch of personality and intimacy which may give a ser-

mon its immediate authority is precisely what the reader, beyond the reach of eye or voice, may not be able to feel. No literature is likely to become more desiccated than the volumes of sermons, whose publication grateful parishioners promote, leaving to their children the pious duty of transferring to the nearest theological library their uncut and dusty copies, as if in obedience to the maxim which has been suggested as a guide to modern charity: Give what you do not want to others who do not want it. The difference between readers and hearers may be illustrated, even in the case of Phillips Brooks, by the impression which he made on reviewers and on listeners in England. In October, 1884, the London *Spectator,* in a somewhat patronizing notice of his printed sermons, said:

"Mr. Brooks's whole treatment of religion is too fanciful and casual; . . . he gives much that is valuable, much that is wise, much that is ingenious and thoughtful, but he does not strengthen the foundations of religious thought. Mr. Brooks is a fine preacher of the second class."

It was, however, but a few years before British hearers came to share the judgment of the United States and great congregations hung on his words with such passionate interest that in 1890 Professor A. B. Bruce, of Glasgow, on being asked how Brooks should be compared with English preachers, said:

"It is this way: Our great preachers take into the pulpit a bucket full, or half full, of the word of God and then by the force of personal mechanism they attempt to carry it to the congregation. But this man is just a great water-main attached to the everlasting reservoir of God's truth and grace and love; and streams of life, by a heavenly gravitation, pour through him to refresh every weary soul."

Must it, then, be inferred that the type of preaching, of which Brooks was so supreme a master, is to be permanently displaced? Do the new needs of a new century demand a new kind of appeal? Has this message to the individual lost its force in an era of associated action and social remedies? Will congregations listen to nothing but the summons to look out and not in? Must the individual wither as the world grows more and more? American booksellers report that a new and cheap edition of Brooks's sermons has stimulated a sale in the South and West, but that the normal demand has become very limited. Has the fate of temporariness overtaken even the preaching of Phillips Brooks?

These questions are sufficiently answered by the extraordinary welcome given to Brooks's sermons in a German translation; and it is certainly a suggestive incident in literary history that, while the tide of appreciation has gradually ebbed in England and America, it has risen with suddenness and volume where his name and fame have been quite unknown. It may seem surprising that German readers should not long ago have become familiar with so distinguished a teacher. The barrier of language intervenes, however, more seriously than might be supposed. To a German pastor, for example, the study of Schleiermacher would seem as essential a part of professional training as familiarity with Brooks would appear to an American student; yet the German master is probably quite as unknown to most Americans as the American has hitherto been to Germans. Indeed, among the curiosities of modern literary history must be named the types of American religion which have become most familiar to German readers through translation, and the writers who are generally accepted in Germany as representative of American religious thought. Longfellow, it is true, has long been a household name and Emerson has had large acceptance; but of contemporary American writers concerned with the spiritual life, the translation of whose works has reached from twenty-four to forty editions, the names best known in Germany are those of Ralph Waldo Trine and Oliver Scott Marden.

When, however, one recalls the nature of Phillips Brooks's message, it becomes evident that there is a real kinship between it and the best of German preaching. An American listener in German churches is likely to hear much which is sentimental, pietistic, and hortatory, and to miss the qualities of masculine, intellectual, or ethical appeal. The German pastor usually speaks, as the Apostle said, "to edification, exhortation, and comfort." He is often exuberant and emotional instead of vigorous and cogent. It does not, therefore, surprise an American hearer that the type of preaching most familiar in Germany has reduced many congregations to a mere sprinkling of feminine worshipers. This pastoral sentimentalism is, it must be remembered, the product of centuries of tradition. The preacher is the organ of a State Church, and he may reasonably assume that his hearers have been duly instructed in the elements of Christian faith and duty. The Reformed preacher is,

still further, the heir of homiletical methods derived from the mediæval Church, and the note of authority, and even of priestly condescension, may survive in very radical teaching. Yet this tradition, which may tempt small preachers to substitute feeling for thought, is precisely what has given to the classic types of German preaching qualities which a breezy democracy is likely to miss. The first intimation of revolt from Roman authority was in the preaching of the German Mystics; and that summons of the soul from external conformity to personal communion with God has become the characteristic note of German homiletics. Tauler and Eckart were the spiritual ancestors of Schleiermacher and Krummacher, of Tholuck and Rothe. Spiritual introspection, meditation upon experience, or what may be in general called experimental religion, is as conspicuously the theme of German preaching as practical righteousness and the call to social service are the characteristic themes of the American pulpit.

To this tradition of spirituality derived from mediæval preaching must be further added the tradition of Biblical authority derived from the Reformation. What the Church was to Catholics the Bible became to the Reformers. Textual preaching supplanted the earlier homilies. The problem of the preacher became that of Biblical interpretation; and this habit of Biblical exposition still persists even in preachers whose Biblical criticism is most destructive. Each of these hereditary influences has tended to restrict the scope and aim of German preaching. The strain of mysticism has encouraged sentimental oratory; the Biblical method has reduced many sermons to historical reflections. Yet when these two traditions meet in a great mind there must result great preaching. The Biblical method spiritually interpreted; experimental religion historically reinforced; the present built on the past and the past supporting the present; dogma and ritual forgotten in the supreme desire to renew the spirit of Christ in the experience of the disciple; personal piety mated with ample learning—all this is what one finds in the best utterances of the German pulpit. In Schleiermacher, for example, the most versatile and influential of modern theologians, this fusion of feeling and thought became complete. He was philosopher, historian, professor of theology, and reconstructor of the National Church; but in his preaching he

was the interpreter of experience, the searcher of hearts, the translator of Biblical incidents into their spiritual equivalents. Religion, to Schleiermacher, was neither a way of thinking nor a form of action, but an expression of emotion, a communion with God through Christ, a Christian experience. Preaching was the communication of this experience. As the heart thus uttered itself it reproduced in others the experience which it reports. Preaching, from this point of view, is primarily not doctrinal or even ethical, but emotional. It assumes in hearers the ideals which it expresses and by faith in such experience communicates or creates it. "*Pectus facit predicatorem*" might be its motto. The sermon is not a work of art or a contribution to apologetics, but a liturgical act, a factor in worship, a call to life, as though its single text might be, "Because I live, ye shall live also."

This is the way of preaching which may be in general terms contrasted with the dogmatic and didactic types as suggestive. It opens vistas; it shows a way; it kindles a flame; it suggests a path which experience may take. Suggestion is, on the whole, the preacher's most available instrument. It has not the weight or dignity of the best didactic preaching. The sermons of Bishop Butler, of Liddon or Mozeley in England, of Bushnell, Channing, or Munger in the United States, are contributions to the history of thought, milestones of theological progress; but for immediate effectiveness, for the saving of souls, suggestion is the best use of a half-hour. To undertake the logical demonstration of a great truth is, in the first place, to preach a very long sermon and, in the second place, to run great risk of rousing the objector to protest or denial; but to illustrate and adumbrate, to open the door toward a view, to start the hearer's mind toward an interpretation—that is the natural method for the preaching of personal religion, and of this suggestive method the best German preachers are unrivaled masters. Traces of their influence may be found even in the most distinguished types of English preaching. The sermon of Robertson on Prayer, while wholly original in its detailed analysis and its personal confession, bears almost unmistakeable marks of acquaintance with the equally notable sermon of Schleiermacher on the same text and theme.

When one turns from these observations on German

homiletics to the preaching of Phillips Brooks he recognizes at once a spiritual kinship. Without intimacy with German models Brooks by temperament and intuition belongs to the German school He was the most suggestive of modern preachers. All his reading, as the extraordinary note-books cited in his biography testify, converged on themes for sermons to be utilized by the method of suggestion. He seldom made a frontal attack upon his subject, but approached it by the strategy of a figure or picture or parable, so that the position was in his hands before its defenders were aware. Instead of making a small theme complicated and abstract, he made a great theme simple and concrete. When a younger preacher expressed his sense of the difficulties of a subject Brooks replied, "We must make it simple"; and that simplicity to which the most difficult theme must be reduced was to him always the simplicity which, as the Apostle's words should be translated, is "toward Christ."

When, therefore, a certain pastor in Lugano discovered for the first time, about four years ago, the sermons of Brooks, he recognized the kinship with the German tradition and proceeded with confidence to arrange a translation of some selected sermons. The first volume was published in 1908, under the title *Ein Ruf in die Höhe,* and the immediate and extraordinary interest which it created led to the publication of a new series in 1911, under the title *Siegeskraft.* Many of the comments of German theologians and pastors on these two volumes are entertaining, both in their appreciation of Brooks and in the opinion prevailing among them of the character of American preaching. A pastor of Basel writes in a Swiss journal:

"The first impression which one receives in the reading of Brooks is one of surprise. We expect from an American something exhilarating and sensational, after the pattern of Henry Ward Beecher, but we find in Brooks a depth, thoroughness, and restraint which are thoroughly German. His sermons, or, as his translator more fitly calls them, his addresses on religion, are no easy reading, and their philosophical discernment and logical development make severe demands on the reader. They are addressed to Christians who think, yet they are thoroughly practical and issue into an earnest appeal to the will."

Another critic writes:

"If we had the impression that American preachers were notable for vulgar and sensational writers, we must now confess that these addresses of Phillips Brooks are both in matter and in force the equals of any

German collection. They are, however, addresses rather than sermons. The text gives a starting-point, a theme which the speaker develops, not from Biblical, but from personal suggestions. History and criticism are subordinated to psychological analysis. It is a book for those who care little for dogmatic or Biblical authority, but are seekers for God."

To the same effect are many other comments in various magazines and reviews. "These sermons have nothing American about them; one seeks in vain for the sensational and eccentric and finds German depth and thoroughness." "These discourses seem to us to lack the simplicity which sermons need, but as spiritual flights through the regions of Christian knowledge, excursions among the hidden workings of the human heart, studies of the life of the soul, they deserve high appreciation." A village pastor goes farther in his estimate. "How much Brooks has meant to me may be measured by the fact that I have learned English in order to read him. There are, I hear, several volumes of his sermons. The one which I have seen presents great, though not insuperable, difficulties. With enthusiasm and a dictionary one may succeed!" Finally, may be added, what is of genuine importance to German readers, the warm appreciation of the German Emperor, communicated in a conversation with Pastor Krummacher, in the course of which the versatile sovereign took occasion also to commend the Noble Lectures in Harvard University on "The Witness to the Influence of Christ," delivered in 1904 by the Lord Bishop of Ripon.

This recognition of Phillips Brooks in a new environment, where the persuasiveness of his presence is unknown and where one critic speaks of him as still living, may go far to justify the reverent admiration of those who have heard and loved him. His place seems to be fixed, not among the preachers who have their day and cease to be, but among those who are not to be forgotten. Changes in American conditions and in ecclesiastical tendencies may make his voice less heard in the street, but that may be the fault of the street rather than of the preacher. If not in the United States, then somewhere else, and some day surely in this country again, the fundamental needs of the human soul will demand satisfaction at the preacher's hands and will find again in Brooks what those who heard him found.

Preaching, like all arts, has an element of periodicity and must use the material of its own time. Monet and

Maeterlinck and Strauss meet the spiritual craving of the present age, which turns from artificiality, superficiality, and conformity to nature, mystery, and power. In the same manner an age dominated by concern for social problems desires to hear in preaching a new note of social redemption. Yet there remains in art a classic style, a best way, a permanent supremacy. Changes of taste or circumstance do not displace Titian or Shakespeare or Beethoven. Back of the periodicity of art is its still more impressive continuity. Temporariness is the fate of all who deal with temporary themes. Even Beecher, the most versatile and inexhaustible of modern preachers, by the dedication of his gifts to the immediate problems of his own time, has now become a figure of the past, an apostle of liberty for the slave and for the Christian, rather than an interpreter of those unchanging spiritual needs which give to teachers so remote from each other as Thomas-à-Kempis and Pascal, Newman and Martineau, a certain timelessness of influence. No one would now think of translating Beecher into German. As for the multitude of less gifted preachers, who regard contemporary life as a sufficient subject and whose sermons become indistinguishable from talks on current events, nothing but temporariness can be anticipated as their destiny. On a single Saturday, taken at random, the announcements of churches in Boston for the next day contained the following subjects, among others, for discourses: "The religion of social service"; "Can a Christian be a rich man?"; "Whiskey, beer, and wine"; "The most striking lessons of the election"; "Are you worth what you cost?" "Standing at Armageddon to fight for the Lord." To pass from this region of bustling sensationalism into the atmosphere of Brooks's preaching is as when the disciples went up from the gossip of Galilee into a high mountain apart, where the great prophets of the past greeted the new Preacher of the Kingdom. On the serene summit of Christian experience the masters of preaching meet; Chrysostom and Augustine, Tauler and Eckart, Robertson and Newman, Schleiermacher and Caird, the goodly company of the prophets who have escaped the fate of temporariness and preach a timeless message; and in this lofty companionship, of different centuries and creeds, there is a place for the generous and guileless genius of Phillips Brooks.

FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

"BORIS GODOUNOFF"

BY KURT SCHINDLER

With "Boris Godounoff," a drama of the Russian people, a new type of "historical opera" has been founded; far from the stereotyped pattern of Halévy's and Meyerbeer's ambiguous and artificial creations, this is a work of the simple and compelling logic of a master playwright, in which the great emotional forces, the revolutionizing sentiments of a period are depicted through the medium of music.

There have been great musical geniuses who summed up every development that had gone before; of this type were Bach and Mozart. Then there were those volcanic temperaments, those prophetic minds who definitely formulated new ideals — Monteverde, Gluck, Beethoven, and Wagner, and among these must be included the Russian Moussorgsky, who with clear purpose steered the ship of art, as he said, "unto new shores." Moussorgsky was not only a wonderful composer individually, but behind him lay the unexplored musical wealth of the great Slav nation—a mine of rhythmically and melodically unusual folk-songs; of Byzantine church-chants flavoring of the mysterious early Christian period; of old bard tunes, rhapsodical and full of grandeur; of new and violent vocal inflections rooted in the dialects of a rich and varied language. While Tschaikowsky had adapted his Russian nature to the cosmopolitan surroundings in which he lived, his poor and obscure contemporary (for Moussorgsky was little known outside of Russia till long after his death) built the edifice of his art on purely racial grounds.

It was this intimate love of his own people that led Moussorgsky to base his greatest work, "Boris," on a play by Pushkin, the poet who "took Russia away from the artificiality of the eighteenth century and revealed the possibilities of native material in the native tongue." And as the

intense humanism of Moussorgsky's art made it a graphic reflection of his own experiences as well as of the life of his nation, a knowledge of the man in the artist is essential to an understanding of his work.

Modest Petrovitch Moussorgsky was born in Karevo, a village two hundred miles south of St. Petersburg, on the 28th of March of the year 1839, as the son of simple people belonging to the small nobility. Here he passed his childhood to his tenth year in the midst of fields and forests, the typical Russian landscape, in intimate touch with nature and the life of the peasants. His father and mother were both very musical, and his mother it was who first taught him the piano. The young Moussorgsky had a strong and vivid imagination which was nourished by the Russian fairy-tales, so highly colored and barbarically gorgeous in their picturing, which he heard from the lips of his "Njanja," the nurse. At an early age he used to sit down and improvise at the piano on these fairy-tales. The devotion of the boy to his mother was of the tenderest kind. In later years he used to speak of her as "a saint," and his impressive cradle song is inscribed to her memory. In 1849, when he was ten years old, his father sent him to St. Petersburg, where he first went to a preparatory school, later to a high school for noblemen. He kept on with his piano studies, developing a remarkable proficiency; and through an old priest, who taught him in religion, he came to know about the old Greek liturgical chants and about the music of the Roman Catholic Church, a knowledge which benefited him much in later years. He also learned German and Latin and showed marked interest for the study of history, of German philosophy and psychology. When, in 1856, he entered the Preobrajenki Regiment, he soon became very popular through his lovable character and his many accomplishments, both among his comrades and in social circles.

At this time he became acquainted with Dargomyszky, the greatest Russian composer of those days, whose fine personality and high ideals made a profound impression on the young man, and at whose house he met all the young composers of the day. Dargomyszky, mature alike in his work and years, had developed the theory in his new opera, "The Guest of the Stone," that the musical sound should be the exact translation of the spoken word. This was, of course, very much the same idea that Richard Wagner car-

ried out when in "Die Meistersinger" he let Eva and Magdalene, David and Hans Sachs, sing in vocal inflections conforming absolutely to the inflections of the speaking voice, a principle which, naturally, led to very different results when applied to the Russian language, so rich in sonority, so changeful in modulations. While Dargomyszky's "Guest of Stone" impresses one to-day as dry and theoretical, it was left to Moussorgsky, who eagerly absorbed Dargomyszky's axioms and instructions, to carry this idea of *musical naturalism* to its utmost convincing conclusions.

Moussorgsky now began to compose larger works, and in 1860 Anton Rubinstein conducted an orchestral Scherzo of his in St. Petersburg. Already the year before Moussorgsky had sent his resignation to the regiment, feeling that his musical calling needed his entire and undivided devotion. No advice from his family or his friends was of any avail; the examples of Cui and Lermontoff, the poet, that were held up to prove to him that art and service in the army could be combined, failed to impress him. He said, "I am not Lermontoff; I cannot serve two masters." This resolution was in one respect most dangerous to Moussorgsky, because, not being blessed with worldly means, he was deprived of an assured income and soon faced grave financial troubles. These sorrows, together with the strain of his feverish zeal in music, led very soon to a nervous breakdown, and he had to be removed to the country, where his mother had remarried after the death of his father. From now on for the rest of his life Moussorgsky's health was frail, his manners feverish, restless, irregular, and his sensitiveness high strung to a degree. In the mean time he worked on a grand opera on the subject of Flaubert's "Salammbo." This work was never finished, but a great many of its melodies have been rescued, being incorporated in "Boris Godounoff" and in the religious cantata "Joshua." In the white heat of his enthusiasm he scorned the advice of his friends to acquire a better knowledge of musical technique, because he mistakenly confounded technique with conventionalism and because he was too full of inspiration to wait for the years of dry preparatory work, and, further, because he believed that a new path can only be found by creating a new style together with a new inspiration.

The year 1865 forms a turning-point in his composing. His mother, Julia Ivanovna, had died, and in the days of

deepest emotion that sent his mind wandering back to the early days of his childhood he wrote his " Cradle Song of the Poor " and dedicated it to the memory of his mother. Here a new type of song is created; it is a picture of real life, a *genre* scene of the deepest meaning, this song of the peasant mother bent over the child, wailing and lamenting the doom to which it is predestined in the small and prescribed circuit of its life. From 1866 to 1868 Moussorgsky lives again in the country and comes once more in touch with the peasant population; and in the new light of the ideal that Dargomyszky inculcated in him, he sees a new beauty in the Russian peasant songs, in the simple and direct utterances of these village types. A little episode became of momentous interest in his life development: by chance he witnessed unseen from his window a scene where a poor little wretch, the village simpleton, makes love to the beautiful Ivanovna, the belle of the village. The touching and throbbing accents of this poor, loveless, feeble-minded creature, the direct truth that speaks out of his instinctive passion, made a profound impression on Moussorgsky.

And he tries to embody this little scene exactly as he has witnessed it in a song for which he wrote both words and music. This incident is used in " Boris Godounoff " most effectively, and because of its importance it is, perhaps, worth while to recall the fact that the Russian country people treat these unfortunate " yourodivy," the village simpletons, of which they have so many, with awe and superstitious reverence, believing that they have divine foresight, an idea that is to some extent borne out by science, which claims that their lack of intellect is often compensated by a keener intuition.

The witnessing of this pathetic little drama inspires him to a further resolution in his work. He will from now on not only seek to make the song an exact translation of the spoken word, but he will try to reveal through music those instinctive hidden undercurrents of emotion which lie beneath the veneer of civilization and which psychologists study in the insane and feeble-minded. He will thus, with his music, approach mysterious thresholds which among poets only Shakespeare dared to cross. The culmination of these efforts of Moussorgsky was to be the mad scene of " Boris Godounoff." But not everything in Moussorgsky's work deals with sad and gruesome things. He shares with some

of the great men of Russian literature the reverse side of the national character—a keen sense of humor and mockery. A delightful specimen of this side of his talent is a character song called "The Seminarist," in which he shows the troubles of a young student of theology, who, under the watchful eyes of his teacher, the priest, essays a flirtation with the latter's daughter, is caught and drastically punished and now tries to repeat his Latin lesson of irregular verbs, while choked with sobs and haunted by vivid, unpleasant memories.

Even more amusing and original is another song called "The Peep Show," a kind of musical pamphlet in which he lets the five most important music critics of St. Petersburg pass by as in a *camera obscura,* each one parodied in a good-natured way. There is Famyntsine, the classic, for whom great music ends with Mozart. There is Fifi Tolstoi, who raves about Patti and dances an ecstatic waltz to the air of "Patti-Patti," and there is Zaremba prostrated before the genius of Wagner. This musical pamphlet, in its humor and *bonhomie,* was an immense success. What Moussorgsky would have done had he finished the music to Gogol's comedy, "The Marriage," we cannot tell. He completed but one act, in which he realized a verisimilitude in reproducing the types of the Russian *bourgeoisie,* faithful alike in manner of speech and of action, that strikes us today, forty-five years later, as extremely modern and really ahead of the times. But he gave up the work on this musical comedy when the idea of setting to music Pushkin's historical drama "Boris Godounoff" was proposed to him by the actor Nikolsky, whom he met at the house of his intimate friend Stassof at St. Petersburg. At Stassof's house he also met Rimsky-Korsakoff, with whom he liked to discuss music and with whom in later years he even shared an apartment.

In September, 1868, he started to work on "Boris." The first act was already finished in November, and in the fall of 1869 the first version was completed. He orchestrated it in the subsequent winter, and the circle of musicians that first heard it received it with great enthusiasm because it seemed to carry out the ideals of the young Russian school desiring absolute veracity and minute reproduction of life. His friends, though, unanimously objected to the absence of the female element and of a love story in the opera, which

he remedied by inventing the scene of the Polish Princess Marina and by giving such subordinate personages as the hostess and the little Tsarevitch (played by a woman) several arias to sing. He had the good taste, though, to keep these arias in the folk-song style, thus preserving the unity of the opera's historical character.

In February, 1873, the second act was produced on a private stage, and owing to its success the entire work was taken up at the Imperial Theater, where the first performance took place on the 24th of January, 1874. It had an enormous success, especially with the younger generation, the progressive faction of the students. Twenty performances were given, but, much to the grief of the composer a great many scenes, because of court intrigue, were censored as revolutionary and had to be omitted. Just for a few weeks the life of the composer had seemed to reach a climax of recognition and success, but from now on one disappointment succeeded another. The only real gleam of hope that still shone into his life was a message of appreciation from Franz Liszt, who had received through mutual friends a set of children's songs called " The Child's Nursery " in which Moussorgsky had noted the little joys and troubles of child life with an accuracy and fidelity to detail hitherto unheard of. Liszt sent Moussorgsky word that he was enchanted with it and wanted to transcribe it for the piano.

During the last seven years of Moussorgsky's life he worked on another opera taken from Russian history and dealing with the conspiracy of the Khovanskis. Its Russian title is " Khovantchina." He did not live to complete this, although some parts of it were given under the direction of Balakireff during Moussorgsky's lifetime. The work was actually finished by Rimsky-Korsakoff, who also reorchestrated a great many parts of " Boris " to suit the exigencies of large opera-houses. The service that Rimsky-Korsakoff tried to render the memory of his comrade is of questionable value. Rimsky was not a big enough man to realize the beauty and originality of Moussorgsky's genius, and he often tried to cover and soften what seemed to him harshness, but what was really visionary audacity and the force of inspiration. His corrections, although giving higher color, often detracted from the vigor of Moussorgsky's drawing.

Over the last few years of Moussorgsky's life it is well to pass quickly. The story is too sad. Deep melancholy had settled on him, and he was so poor that in order to make a living he had to take up inferior clerical work in the various ministerial departments and was obliged to accept a position as accompanist in a singing-school.

When he returned to St. Petersburg in 1880, he was already desperately ill and addicted to the use of cognac. His friends tried to raise money for him by giving a concert of his own compositions in February, 1881, but it was too late; and a few days later he had to be taken to the military hospital, where he died on the 16th of March, 1881.

The story of "Boris Godounoff" is founded on some facts in Russian history between the years 1598–1605. It is the story of the False Dimitri, used by many dramatists, among them the German, Schiller, and the Russian, Pushkin; and it is the text of the latter author which forms the basis of Moussorgsky's libretto, but certain scenes were written by Moussorgsky himself after descriptions by the historian, Karamzine. After the death of Ivan the Terrible, Feodor, the feeble-minded brother of the Tsar, had ascended the throne; and there being only an infant son, Dimitri, Boris, the brother-in-law of Feodor, was made regent and tutor of the child. Before the opening of the opera the gruesome deed had already taken place—that is, the murder of the Tsarevitch Dimitri in the church of Ouglitch at the hidden instigation of Boris, who knows that he thus paves for himself the way to the throne. Feodor meanwhile has died, and when the curtain rises the scene is the monastery of Novo-Dvejtchi near Moscow, whereto Boris has retired, professing that he will not accept the crown. A great crowd of country people, ignorant and docile, pour into the courtyard, driven by prefects and Boïars to implore Boris to become their Tsar. This blind multitude is a mere tool in the hands of the noblemen. The next scene shows the coronation of Boris on the Kremlin, where, though surrounded by the cheers of his subjects, the new Tsar, haunted by his deed, is sad and filled with ominous forebodings. This ends the prologue of the opera.

The first scene of Act I. reveals a cell in a monastery of Moscow at night. The venerable monk, Pimenn, is in the act of finishing his chronicle of the history of Russia, in which he has described the murder of the Tsarevitch Dimitri. A young novice, Gregory, who shares the cell, awakes from

obsessing dreams of ambition, and Pimenn, to quiet him tells him of the vanity of earthly power and how even those who wear the crown are not free from sorrow. While speaking of the murder of Dimitri the old monk mentions the fact that the Tsarevitch, had he lived, would have been exactly the same age as the young monk Gregory now is. Instantly an idea flares up in the mind of the fanatic novice; he persuades himself that he is God's instrument to bring just punishment upon Boris and to avenge the death of the Tsarevitch.

The second scene of the first act is at a village inn near the Lithuanian frontier, where the authorities are seeking the fugitive young monk, who is stirring up the people by proclaiming that he is the young Dimitri. They find Gregory in the company of two jolly vagabond friars, but he escapes through the window bound for the Polish frontier. The second act is in Polish Lithuania, where a great festival is being held at the Castle of Sandomir. Marina, a Polish princess, urged on by her Jesuit advisers, has received the false Dimitri hospitably, seeing in him a means to strike at the Russian throne. Dimitri, who has fallen in love with Marina, is stirred by her to his utmost ambition. She says that only when he becomes Tsar of Russia will she marry him. The next scene, in the palace of the Tsar Boris, in the nursery of the Imperial children, is an intimate picture of tender home life, offering opportunities for charming children songs and nursery ditties. Here the Tsar is seen in his human aspect as a grave and affectionate father capable of the deepest love for his children. Yet always the shadow of his crime moves beside him. He hears through the sly and cunning Boïar Chouisky, of an uprising at the frontier and of the appearance of a young man claiming to be Dimitri. Doubts arise in his soul as to whether his commands were actually carried out and if the Tsarevitch may not really still be alive. Left alone, a growing horror seizes him; the ghost of the murdered child seems to arise before his eyes—a vision he seeks in vain to repel—and with a prayer to God for forgiveness he sinks down fainting.

The next scene is the death of Boris. For reasons of operatic expediency the scene has been put at the end of the opera, a proceeding which is legitimate because the composer himself at one time had proposed the arrangement. In the great vaulted hall of the Kremlin the Duma of the

Boïars is assembled to discuss the punishment of the usurper Dimitri. They have not caught him yet, but they are already planning what mode of death to choose. There they sit in solemn session in their sumptuous robes and furs when Boris, still in the throes of his terrible vision, appears, haggard and haunted. The old monk, Pimenn, enters, the chronicler of the first act, who, in the midst of intrigue and lying ambition, typifies Truth in this drama. He recounts to the Tsar a miracle of the restoring of sight to a blind peasant who made a pilgrimage to the grave of the dead Dimitri. While this proves the actual death of the Tsarevitch and the falsity of the pretender's claim, it only intensifies the mystic terror by which Boris is obsessed. He completely collapses under the clear gaze of the old monk, feeling that Pimenn reads the guilt in his soul. His attendants, seeing that his end is near, send for his little son to receive his benediction, and they then clothe Boris in the Imperial Skima, the funeral shroud of the Tsars. Boris dies.

The last scene, as Moussorgsky planned it, shows us the highway to Moscow on which on a bitter cold winter day the pretender is advancing with his troops toward the capital. A group of peasant serfs have caught an Imperial messenger and vent their rage upon him. Children are tormenting a poor feeble-minded lad, a "yourodivy," as they call them in Russia. The two vagabond friars of the scene in the inn again appear, seeking to rouse the people to revolt, with the result that a new storm of fury breaks out. In their frenzy they seize upon two Jesuits who are accompanying the victorious army of the false Dimitri (who is, in fact, the Jesuits' tool). While they are about to tear in pieces these monks the pretender appears riding at the head of his troops and proclaiming freedom and forgiveness to all. Equally frantic patriotism succeeds the outburst of fury, and cheering and shouting, the multitude joins the advancing army. Only the poor idiot boy remains behind, and while the snow falls more and more thickly he sits alone, sending forth his sorrowful plaint: "Fall, fall, bitter tears, weep, O soul of the righteous! The enemy approaches, blood will flow, fire will rage. Woe on Russia! Weep, ye starving people!"

In reviewing the life-work of Moussorgsky we find a variety of novel aspects that distinguish it, as well as a wide

range of themes that his work comprises; we find poignant pathos and delightful humor, strong dramatic contrasts on one side, and again, when needed, the monotony of an incessant invariable rhythm, the refined subtle charm of the children songs, and a barbaric stirring force in the folk scenes of his operas. With an extraordinarily precise vision he draws the musical pictures of a Russian landscape in the charm of spring and summer or in the grim clutches of Russia's frosty winter, and more in particular the picture of the Russian village in all the phases of peasant life, showing the mother and the child, the beggar and the "yourodivy," the young lovers, and the sad housewives, the Jews, and the monks. Such interior scenes as the pompous assembly of the peasant family at a holiday celebration, or the jollities of a village inn, are drawn by him with humor and precision.

Moussorgsky always needs a pictorial vision to inspire him to music; his understanding of musical truth means absolute adherence to life, absolute nature-likeness. This is decidedly a limitation of his talent, a one-sidedness that he shares with Berlioz and with Richard Strauss. He always has in view a goal not purely musical; the idea of thematic development, as it forms an intrinsic part of symphonic composition, never appeals to him. His strict adherence to the inflections of the Russian spoken word leads him to a liberty and freedom from regular rhythms hitherto unheard of. There is no regularity of musical periods corresponding to each other, as in the classical masters, and there are continual changes of bar and tempo such as nobody had dared to write up to his time. It means boldness, indeed, on the part of Moussorgsky in the year 1868, to change the bar twenty-three times inside of one song (No. 1 of the children songs); to-day we have become accustomed to such proceeding through the modernists of France and Germany; yet none of these followers have done it with so much logic as Moussorgsky, who merely sought after the most correct musical notation of the speech of the people. Modern musical explorers of Russia, who, like Madame Lineff, have traveled through the peasant districts, taking down the Russian folk songs by means of the phonograph, have stated scientifically how variable and flexible the character of the Russian folk melos is. We have become accustomed to the celebrated five-four rhythm of Tschaikowsky's "Pathétique," but by acquaintance with the work of Moussorgsky one learns

another typical Russian rhythm, the seven-four, and Rimsky's fairy opera entrances with its pompous and stately eleven-four that is as old as the oldest Slavonic traditions.

A new and fertile soil of exploration Moussorgsky had before him when with his keen ears and scrutinizing eyes he watched the country people at work and in song. He had caught as well the weird melodic outline of the Russian lament or wail, the strange incantations of those bards or "Rhapsodes" that now, as centuries ago, wander through the plains of Russia singing the old ballads and folk songs or lamenting at the funeral of the dead in long-drawn-out melodious phrases that are like the falling of tears. Moussorgsky's songs are the songs of the soil. His spirit of observation, of musical experimentation, let him describe the very graphic movements and gestures of the Moujik or Russian peasant in music, an achievement that helps the dramatic effectiveness of the folk scenes of his operas greatly. The idiom of the Russian folk song had so completely become his own that it is hard to say in his work where the nature product stops and where his own invention begins. Far from blaming him for relying thus upon the nation's resources, we ought to admire the truth and strength of his unconscious atavistic music heritage which allowed him to speak with the original force of the people, a spokesman of the dumb millions. Many other Russian composers have used the treasure hold of folk songs, but none like Moussorgsky without tainting and soiling them, without adding the smallness of individual taste to the pure gold of the people's own greatest possession.

This is exactly the corner where Moussorgsky grips us with his boundless love of truth and this is why his work, although strictly national in its idiom, reaches far over the Russian boundaries in its appeal to the entire civilized world. It is a singular power of music that it can convey the very soul essence of a nation even to those who have never come in any touch with it and who do not understand its language.

In "Boris Godounoff" the "people" are actually in the foreground of the happenings, the great masses are really the principal actor; at first dumb, oppressed, easily guided, then stirred up, threatening, finally in open revolt and jubilant war spirit. The strong veracity of these folk scenes can be likened without blasphemy to such eternal masterpieces as Shakespeare's "Coriolanus" and "Julius

Cæsar." And in all dramatic music there is nothing as near to "Macbeth" as the specter scene of "Boris."

One important innovation is that Moussorgsky uses principally prose diction instead of verse, which makes possible the intense realism of his style, and which permits him to faithfully picture scenes of every-day life. His acts begin without elaborate orchestral preludes, and the music ends with the falling of the curtain; in fact, his self-imposed restraint keeps him from drawing one more line or inventing one more melody than is actually demanded by the situation. The idea of spinning out or developing themes symbolically, as Wagner did, is entirely excluded from his operatic credo. On the contrary, it is to the singers, the actual exponents of the dramatic message, that supremacy is given. Much attention is paid to the acting not only of the soloists, but also of the chorus, and the gestures are often indicated by the music itself.

Since Wagner's death there is no work that has so stirred the musical world through its freedom from convention, its direct truth, and its compelling sincerity; and a singular pathos is attached to the fact that "Boris" was written forty-three years ago, but only came to the knowledge of the international public since the sumptuous performances in Paris in 1908. Since then the work has been given in Italian in both Monte Carlo and Milan, and is shortly to be heard in New York. This wider recognition of Moussorgsky's genius, which only began when his ideals struck fire from the susceptible musicians of France, has meant nothing less than a reawakening of musical conscience by this naturalist in art, who declared: "I want Truth above all! To seek and find these treasures hidden in the masses and in individuals which no hand as yet has touched, and to feed hungering humanity with them as with a wholesome food, this is the artist's problem and the joy of joys. Art is not a goal, but the means to talk to one's brethren!"

KURT SCHINDLER.

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN DISRAELI*

VOLUME II

BY PRICE COLLIER

To those of us who knew Mr. Monypenny, the author of the two volumes of the *Life of Benjamin Disraeli* now in print, it is a sad business to chronicle the appearance of this second volume only a few days before the death of the author.

William Flavelle Monypenny was born in 1866 in the County Armagh in Ireland. He took his degree at Dublin University in 1888 after a brilliant career in mathematics, winning the gold medal of his year. He began journalism as a contributor to the *Spectator* and in 1899 became the editor of the *Johannesburg Star*. He went through the Boer War both with his pen and his sword, and the privations of the siege of Ladysmith laid the foundations for his untimely death. He resigned his editorship of the *Star* on the ground of fundamental political and economic differences with the proprietors of that paper and returned to England by way of East Africa and the Victoria Nyanza overland to Egypt. This was undoubtedly a further draught on his health that should not have been made.

On his return to England he was chosen for the task of writing Disraeli's life. He had barely seen this second volume through the press when he died. He was at one time assistant editor of the *Times,* and when the Times Publishing Company was formed in 1908 he was asked to join the Board. His career in journalism was almost as brilliant as that of Disraeli in politics. He was a stern soldier of duty

* *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli,* Vol. II., by William Monypenny. The Macmillan Company: London and New York, 1911.

was Monypenny, with little fear of public opinion and less fancy for the cajolery and courting of it. He was as little the Oriental as a man could well be, and the nice appreciation of the various episodes in Disraeli's life is the more notable since at heart this North of Ireland Protestant could have had little sympathy with certain sinuous methods of his hero.

I can fancy, however, that he came to have a sympathetic insight into Disraeli's life, because both Monypenny and Disraeli were desperate gamblers. The cool, steadfast Ulsterman staked his health on his country's side in war; staked his judgment and his reputation against the proprietors of the *Star* newspaper in South Africa; staked his lease of life against the herculean task of writing this biography when he was little more than an invalid; was always ready, in short, to play so long as the game was straight, the counters honest, and the stake a real and worthy one; and who shall say that he lost! Not I, at any rate. He did not finish his task. No real man ever does. But he was playing hard for his side when the darkness came, and, as I can personally testify, there was no whimpering and no murmur and no railing at the Great Umpire who sooner or later calls "Time!" for all of us.

It is this type of man who rules in India and in Egypt to-day to the wonderment of the superficial in other countries, who are surprised that the two races can be friends and even stout allies at a pinch.

Probably Disraeli would have understood Monypenny and seen his value just as quickly and comprehensively as Monypenny grew into an understanding of, and a sympathy for, Disraeli. They call it smooth patience, an elastic unwillingness to break, in the East; they call it dourness and doggedness in the West; but the qualities are sufficiently alike to braid well together when they meet. In the East they bow, in the West they bend stiffly before the blast, but the best of us, whether we are born to greet the sun's rising or to shade our eyes at its setting, neither curse nor cry.

In my review of the first volume of the *Life of Disraeli,* in the February number of The North American Review for 1911, Disraeli's career is carried on into the year 1837, when at the age of thirty-three he had just won his seat in Parliament.

The fop, the novelist, the Jew, who came from no public

school or university, who pretended that he did not even know how to throw a ball, dowered with neither land nor name, had fought his way into what in those days was the "best club in London," the House of Commons. The men who thought it the best club in London then would consider it scarcely more exclusive than the Charing Cross Railway Station now. It was the first Parliament of Queen Victoria which assembled on November 15, 1837, in which Disraeli took his seat for the first time as a House of Commons man. On August 27, 1839, Parliament was prorogued, and the next day Disraeli was married to Mrs. Wyndham Lewis at St. George's, Hanover Square. She was forty-five, the widow of his fellow-member, a dozen years older than her husband, with an income of some twenty thousand dollars a year, and a house in London. She used to say, laughingly: "Dizzy married me for my money, but if he had the chance again he would marry me for love."

It is a dictum of Bacon: "Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity," but for most men it is a wholesome discipline; and in the case of Disraeli for more than a quarter of a century his married life was of the happiest.

He was still deeply in debt, his first speech in the House had been an humiliating failure, he was widely distrusted, but with a buoyancy, an unimpaired vanity, an unwearying patience, and a confidence in himself which seemed to well from an inexhaustible source.

"I got away by 9.30 and went down to the House, which I found dozing in committee, but I made a speech. . . . It made great effect. . . . The complete command of the House I now have is remarkable."

"The affair last night realized all my hopes; the success was complete and brilliant." [Of another speech.]

He quotes in a letter to his wife the following anent his new novel *Coningsby:*

"I have seen Hope; he only says he is enchanted, but will say nothing more till he has finished and taken in the whole. Cochrane raving; Manners full of wild rapture."

Few men are so easily buoyed up by flattery. To most men of our race it comes as a sort of douche, as something feminine that has been given us by mistake, as though we had found a curling-iron instead of a razor on the dressing-

table. Serious men are humiliated by it if it is trivial, and made to feel gravely responsible if it is sincere.

If anybody had said in 1824, that the bejeweled and perfumed young cub Disraeli would make his way into Parliament there would have been a chorus of laughter; if in 1837, now that he was in Parliament, any one had said that this Jew, with a love-lock across his forehead, would down Sir Robert Peel in less than ten years, words fail me to describe the odds that would have been offered against such a result; as for dreaming that he would end his career as the leader of the country gentlemen, the hunting squires, and the aristocracy of England, there are no such dreams, there would have been only caricature to describe such a thing.

But it all happened. Let us ask ourselves why. The greatest of all revolutions of modern times was taking place in England, as during the last thirty years it has taken place in Germany. England was changing from an agricultural to an industrial nation. The men who had ruled England were the landed gentry; dull, if you please, but dutiful and largely deserving their tenure of power by their efficiency and by their sane and pleasant relations with the people who worked for them. With industrialism came two changes: one the rise of the rich manufacturers demanding representation and some power, and the other the new relation between a stock company or a soulless corporation and its wage-earners. The personal element between employer and employed was evaporating and with nothing to take its place. Ancient slavery and modern slavery differ only in that the modern slave can change his master. Democracy is, naturally enough, startled to find that slavery persists in existing, despite all forms of legislation for its disappearance.

At this same time a school of economists arose who offered as one sedative to the worker, free trade. This was to cheapen his necessities of life, and as England had become so largely industrial she was—it has turned out to be true—to be driven headlong to the destruction of her agriculture by the removal of the taxes on corn. The power of the landed gentry is now no more. Monypenny writes of Sir Robert Peel; "Peel was a typical Englishman of the middle classes from which he sprang, with their practical concrete intellect and a certain scorn and incapacity for theoretical principles; and theory had her revenge by mas-

tering him periodically." If this was true of Peel, it was even more truly characteristic of the great majority of the rest of the House of Commons.

Disraeli was of those who know that life is the language, books only the dictionaries, men are the text, and books only the marginal notes; but he knew too that one remains sadly provincial in his study of men unless he supplements his intercourse with them by a profound study of the dictionaries and the marginal notes. He had the patience, the intellectual tenacity, and the temperament to do this. His outdoor-loving contemporaries became congested with much study and an idea made them feverish. Such Englishmen as that are not uncommon to-day. Disraeli supplied what they lacked. He was fluent and imperturbable in speech once he found himself; he knew how to get up his subject, he was fearless, and he offered the then new panacea of a Tory democracy or a union of the aristocracy and the laborer to overcome the dull, unimaginative legislation of the middle-class economists of whom Peel had become the champion. It was a fine duel and took place in the House of Commons between 1837 and 1846, when Peel was beaten, resigned, and disappeared as a factor in political life.

The first volume of the *Life* describes Disraeli's duel with British prejudice or phlegm, phrase it as you will, and his election to Parliament; this second volume describes his duel with those same qualities impersonated in Sir Robert Peel and is even more exciting than the first, and the curtain goes down again, as it did on the first volume, when one's mouth is watering for more.

This Oriental, with a considerable acquaintance with the men of his time, not a little experience as a traveler, and with much more ability as a student of the theoretical side of contemporary questions than most other men in the House of Commons, took part in the beginning of the greatest and most momentous change that has taken place in English politics. England had been governed by outdoor men, country squires, with wide practical experience of domestic problems, and she was soon to slide from that dominion into the grasp of tired lawyers legislating instead of governing.

Industrialism packs people together, with that herding comes a vast increase in the rules and laws and by-laws of the game, and with that comes a corps of professional

legalists to settle disputes and to interpret the meaning of the countless new laws. We legislate now, we do not govern. Legislating in order to retain office or legislating in order to regain office is not governing. That is the great change that has taken place in our national assemblies since Disraeli's day. Had Disraeli lived he would have been astounded to see how completely in these days government by tired lawyers has taken the place of government by hearty country squires in every democracy in the world. We are no longer governed by men of leisure, but by men in haste; no longer by amateurs who look upon it as a duty, but by professionals who make a living out of it. "The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plow and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labors and whose talk is of bullocks?" We are now governed, not as many people think by the people, but by interpreters of the mesh of legislation in which more and more we entangle ourselves; and, strange to say, we strike against and disobey, and dislike the fatigued and fatiguing legal pedants more than we ever did the dull but common-sense tyrant who solved the problems of government out of the experience born of actual intercourse with the people and out of actual personal participation in their troubles as neighbors and friends. Government was then based upon a compact, now it is based upon a theory; it was then a series of common-sense compromises; it is now a series of legislative interpretations.

Disraeli's dream was that the industrial would fall back again upon the honest country squirearchical aristocracy and depend upon such men as the agriculturist had done. Speaking to his constituents at Shrewsbury, he said:

> "If there were any relics of the feudal system remaining, he regretted that there were not more. What was the fundamental principle of that system? That the tenure of all property should be the performance of its duties—'the noblest principle that was ever conceived by sage or ever practised by patriot.'"

The inarticulate squires, dumfounded at what they deemed the treachery of Peel, who had gone over to the side of the free-traders, turned to Disraeli at last, not with pleasure, not altogether with confidence, but in despair. He at least could articulate; an idea did not send up his tempera-

ture; to work indoors with his head did not make him apoplectic; and the bewildering political tergiversations of Peel did not leave him spluttering incoherent expletives. He was the man of the hour in consequence. To the English squire he was not an ideal champion, but he looked to be salvation, and they grasped at him and eventually robed him in ermine, put an earl's coronet on his head, and a Jew novelist who could not play cricket or put a horse at a fence became Prime Minister.

It is better than any novel, this *Life of Disraeli,* and to the American particularly the scenery, the action, the problems, and the political changes pictured in this second volume are of peculiar interest as bearing upon the development of our own political history. A pessimist may even be led to suspect from a perusal of these volumes that what we take to be progression is only circumgression, after all.

PRICE COLLIER.

THE OHIO CONSTITUTION

A REPLY AND A REJOINDER

To the Editor of the North American Review :

SIR,—An article appearing in your November issue under the title "Socialism in the Ohio Constitution," by Daniel J. Ryan, appears to one acquainted with the facts to call for an answer. The writer of the above article has given the impression that the new constitution of Ohio was fathered by fanatics and obtained by fraud. Some facts pointing to the absurdity and falsity of his idea should be brought before your readers.

Long before discussion became timely advocates of amendments to our State constitution were found not only among so-called progressives or radicals, but among reactionaries. The Ohio State Board of Commerce, an avowedly conservative organization, through its Journal and through the public speeches of its president, Allen Ripley Foote, was crying as loudly as any for a convention to amend the constitution. To be sure, their particular hobby was taxation, and they were later found vigorously opposing the amendments finally submitted; but they as well as others demanded this convention. A perusal of the Ohio State *Journal of Commerce* for the year 1910 will furnish sufficient answer to Mr. Ryan's statement that the only ones who were asking for a constitutional convention were "labor leaders, Socialists, single-taxers, and other reformers."

The trouble with the writer seems to be that he doesn't like the amendments which the convention finally presented and which were adopted by the people; in this he does not stand alone. Any argument which he might make against the advisability or soundness of certain amendments which were adopted would be timely and acceptable. He confuses, however, the argument as to the general desirability of the amendments with the argument as to whether or not they were desired by the people of the State of Ohio. The two questions are entirely distinct. In arguing against the amendments he makes two statements which are part of an argument to the second point above mentioned—*i. e.*, as to whether these amendments were desired by the people of Ohio. The two statements are, in substance, that the delegates to the convention and the vote on the amendments submitted were misrepresentative of the electorate of Ohio!

"That the majority vote on the convention was an involuntary and enforced one is evidenced by the result of the election of the delegates to that body. At this election, held in 1911, less than twenty-five per cent. of the electors of the State participated; and not a single delegate received a vote of a majority of the electors of the county from which he was elected." "Any one securing the required number of names could become a candidate. This opened the door to all kinds of men; it practically closed it to those of great fitness and ability." "The result was a mediocre, unorganized, and chaotic mass."

As an answer to this I give briefly the history of the election of candidates to this convention from my own county (Hamilton). A temporary organization was effected for the sole purpose of electing representative men to the constitutional convention. It was made up of delegates from

almost every civic, social, and business organization in the city, and was known as the United Constitution Committee. This body, after a thorough discussion of what should go into a new constitution, pledged itself to four amendments only and named nine men as its ticket in Hamilton County. Of these, three were labor-union men, all able and highly respected. One of these men was elected to the State Legislature on November 5th, largely because of satisfaction with his record in the Constitutional Convention. One was a business man of standing—secretary of the Receivers' and Shippers' Association of Cincinnati. One was a young lawyer, an independent in city politics, of sterling character and marked ability—then and now president of the Federated Improvement Association, the central body of all the local civic leagues in the city. Another was a lawyer of prominence who was seriously talked of at that very time for Mayor of Cincinnati, and who has since been elected to Congress from the First District of Ohio. Another was one of the ablest business men in the city, a man of wealth and social standing, for many years past holding the important position of president of the Board of Sinking Fund Trustees of Cincinnati. Another was an ex-judge, highly regarded throughout the State as a jurist, and a member of one of the most successful law firms in the city. The ninth was Herbert Bigelow. It would be impossible to secure a more representative set of men. The result was that, although there were over forty candidates in the field, these nine men with one exception were elected by large pluralities. There could not have been a more just or more practical method for selecting these delegates. Every legitimate interest in the community was represented. The experience of Hamilton County was the experience of the entire State. Mr. Ryan's description is not accurate.

The delegates certainly were representative. Was the vote on the amendments also representative? It is not an answer to this question to say that only a certain percentage of the electors voted. There are many reasons familiar to any student of politics for a small vote on questions of this nature. The question is, Did those who voted vote as the mass would have voted? Was the relation between those who voted for and those who voted against certain amendments expressive of the general division of opinion thereon? In short, did the result express the wishes of a majority of the people of Ohio?

The general tone of the convention and of the amendments submitted was undeniably progressive and radical. If these amendments voiced the will of the people of Ohio, then the people of Ohio are progressive and radical. Any question as to the accuracy of this description is easily answered by a survey of contemporary political events. In the spring primaries, where the lines were drawn between Conservative and Radical in both the leading political parties, Mr. Taft, a native son, but supposedly a reactionary, was overwhelmingly defeated by Roosevelt throughout the entire State; and Mr. Wilson as a Progressive on the Democratic side, although he did not enter the State once during the primary campaign, took eighteen national delegates from Judson Harmon, another native son, and a man who had made an excellent record as Governor. Since the election on the constitutional amendments James Cox, at the regular election, running unqualifiedly as a progressive and insisting on the enactment of all legislation necessary to put the constitutional amend-

ments into effect, was elected by the largest plurality ever given a Democratic Governor in the State of Ohio. An impartial survey of the events of the last twelve months in Ohio can leave no doubt as to the sentiment of the people of this State; they are unmistakably and determinedly progressive.

In a general way the result was expressive of the will of the majority. Was it also correctly registered on the particular amendments? Eight of the amendments failed of passage by margins ranging from 1,079 to 87,455. These amendments cannot be in any way classified, nor can any reason be given for their failure to pass except that the voters so willed it. Those failing of adoption included the abolition of capital punishment; one dealing with contempt proceedings and injunctions; woman's suffrage; one designated to eliminate a useless race distinction by striking out the word "white"; and one providing for a fifty-million bond issue for roads. Those amendments which carried had margins which varied from 4,669 to 220,584. Among those receiving large majorities were: one taking off the limit for damages in case of wrongful death, 160,387; one providing for investigations by the General Assembly, 173,442; one providing for the welfare of employees, 163,860; registering and warranting of land titles, 174,566; primary elections, 166,689; double liability of bank stockholders, 220,584; State-wide civil service, 102,187. An analysis of this vote, a survey of those amendments which carried and those which did not, and an examination of the widely different pluralities which the various amendments received show deliberate thought and accurate discrimination.

On a trip through the State during the week preceding the election I had an opportunity to question hundreds of voters from all sections of the State. I was surprised at the interest they were taking and the fullness of their information on particular amendments. My thorough questioning at that time led me to an opinion which the results have strengthened, that the voters were to a remarkable degree exercising a sober judgment after thorough investigation and discussion. I believe that the voters of this State on September 3d last got exactly what they wanted.

It is evident from a thorough investigation of the personnel of the convention and of the votes on the various amendments that they were both representative of the citizens of Ohio. Whatever may be said as to the merits of the amendments finally adopted, there can be no question but that the discriminating will of the majority prevailed. With that fact established, under our present system of government all cavil and complaint should cease. The only course of action aside from acquiescence should be an attempt to change the will of the majority.

Which brings us to a brief discussion of the merits of the amendments themselves. Mr. Ryan says that "the amendments submitted ranged in merit from the unnecessary and harmless to the vicious and revolutionary." Within that range there would seem to be no room for anything practical or beneficial.

Many amendments were submitted to the convention—a total of three hundred and fifty in all. Out of this hopper came forty-two propositions for submission to the voters. Of these one provided as to when the amendments should take effect, another provided a new method of amend-

ing the constitution, another provided for eliminating the word "white" where Amendment Fifteen to the Constitution of the United States had already rendered it nugatory, another provided for suits against the State, and another abolished the Board of Public Works. Besides these there were amendments which were calculated to meet former specific judicial objections on the ground of unconstitutionality, such as the one guaranteeing land titles, the one permitting the use of voting-machines, and the one providing for the organization of boards of education. There was also a group of amendments known as "the labor amendments," which provided for abolishing prison contract labor, for a compulsory Workmen's Compensation Act, for an eight-hour day on public works, for the elimination of the injunction in labor disputes, and for a minimum wage. Another group had to do with changes in courts and court procedure—changing jurisdiction, creating new courts, and introducing the three-fourths jury rule. In addition, there were amendments standing alone which aimed to provide for State-wide civil service, a State liquor license, direct primaries for all elective offices, woman's suffrage, a fifty-million-dollar bond issue for roads, abolition of capital punishment, municipal home-rule, inheritance, income and franchise taxes, and the initiative and referendum. The mere recital of these proposals shows their scope and importance. Among the total of forty-two there were, undoubtedly, some of small merit and relative triviality. On the whole, however, the proposals covered thoroughly the burning questions of the day in Ohio.

The initiative and referendum proposal, which Mr. Ryan referred to as distinctly Socialistic and as "more radical and misrepresentative in its operation than the similar measure in any other State in the Union," was not as radical as its advocates desired and was the result of a compromise. It does not provide for the direct initiative. Under its provisions a measure can only get before the people by being presented first to the legislature by petition signed by three per cent. of the electors of the State distributed over half of the counties of the State. If the legislature takes no action on this law, then by filing a petition of an additional three per cent. of the electors the measure can be placed upon the ballot at the next regular election. No special election under this amendment can be held, thus avoiding one of the stock arguments against the initiative and referendum. The provision that the names on the petition must be distributed throughout half the counties in the State prevents a purely local measure from coming up for the vote of the entire electorate. There are adequate safeguards for guaranteeing the genuineness of signatures and means set forth for acquainting the voters with the proposal to be voted upon.

The referendum part of the amendment provides for a referendum upon the petition of six per cent. of the voters, distributed over half the counties in the State, within ninety days after the adjournment of the legislature. When the writer makes such statements as "Its advocates were unwilling to leave any power to the General Assembly," "They did not propose to take any chances on public sentiment changing," "The principle of legislation by the crowd is thus securely sealed," and "Ohio has distinguished herself by making this percentage the smallest yet adopted by any State," it is evident that he is speaking through a mist

of prejudice so thick that it is impossible to tell whether the voice comes from ignorance or a wilful desire to pervert the facts.

In paying his respects to the amendment dealing with welfare of employees, the writer says that "as a specimen of vicious and discriminating organic law this has no parallel in the constitutions of civilized States." If these words mean anything, and if I am able to decipher their meaning, I would refer Mr. Ryan to the last clause of Article V. of the Constitution of the United States.

It has seemed to me that the things which I have said in this letter should be said and said to your readers in justice to the people of Ohio. We have not been captured either by pirates or fanatics, but are learning, as the citizens of other States are learning, that our forebears did not perform a vicarious act of legislation for all generations to come when they framed our organic law sixty years ago. I am, sir,

CHARLES SAWYER.

To the Editor of the North American Review:

SIR,—I have read with care Mr. Sawyer's communication criticizing my article on "Socialism in the Ohio Constitution," and I do not see any reason to modify any statement or conclusion contained therein. I am compelled, however, to dissent strongly to the arguments set forth in his reply.

Briefly stated, he controverts my arguments that both the Constitutional Convention and the adoption of the amendments were misrepresentative of the real wishes of the majority of the people of Ohio; he contends that the results of the elections for constitutional delegates and on the amendments were expressive of the sentiments of the Ohio electorate. He rests his demonstration on this—that the conservative element of the State desired both the Constitutional Convention and the amendments offered, because the Ohio State Board of Commerce was an ardent advocate of a revision of the Constitution. "To be sure," he says, "their particular hobby was taxation." He also argues that the high character of the Hamilton County delegation in the convention is evidence that the general electorate desired a constitutional revision. He further argues that because Governor-elect James M. Cox aggressively advocated all the amendments, especially the initiative and referendum, and was elected by an overwhelming plurality, that this was evidence that the sentiment of Ohio favored direct legislation.

The conclusions and statements set forth in the balance of his communication are largely due to a failure to carefully read my article.

I repeat that the criticisms of Mr. Sawyer do not answer my conclusions that the actively organized forces in the election of the Constitutional Convention and the adoption of the radical amendments were "labor leaders, Socialists, single-taxers, and other reformers," including in the last class those whose hobby was taxation. Indeed, the controlling factors back of both elections were those with hobbies.

As to his argument that because Governor-elect Cox received such a pronounced plurality it is to be inferred that his election represents an approval of the initiative and referendum and other radical amendments, an examination of the facts will lead to a different conclusion. Governor Cox's election was due primarily to the utter demoralization and division of the Republican party in Ohio. Another important factor was his

brilliant and courageous canvass in which he outlined his policies, which by their affirmative and philanthropic nature won the commendation of a great many voters. Another powerful vote-making element in his canvass was his positive support of the license of the liquor traffic. His advocacy of the radical amendments had but little material effect on his election; and the vote for Mr. Cox cannot by any sort of reasoning be taken as an approval of the initiative and referendum. Many of the counties—to be accurate, thirty-six of the sixty-nine—which he carried gave pronounced majorities against the initiative and referendum. These thirty-six counties gave Mr. Cox a plurality of 47,532; at the election two months before they gave a majority of 41,341 against the initiative and referendum. What justifies the conclusion that Mr. Cox's plurality was due to his advocacy of the initiative and referendum? On the contrary, a strong disapproval of the amendments in more than half of the counties carried by the Governor-elect makes it very evident that the conclusion of Mr. Sawyer is fallacious.

By the adoption of the two radical amendments discussed in my article —the initiative and referendum, and the welfare of employees — are changed the very fundamentals of our State government. They destroy the representative character of the General Assembly and sweep away the protective guarantees for personal and property rights in Ohio. Mr. Sawyer himself recognizes that the only protection left against an unreasonable operation of the last-mentioned amendment is the Federal Constitution. Why or wherefore the vast majority of the people of Ohio permitted this to be done is not worthy of discussion now. But it is the merest absurdity to contend that it is the action of the electorate of this State when only half as many of the electors voted at the constitutional election as did at the State election in November. It was emphatically a triumph of the minority by which 346,373 out of 1,200,000 voters fastened direct legislation on the majority and swept away the constitutional guarantees, in certain cases, of every man, woman, and child in Ohio. When we consider that the population of Ohio is nearly five million, this change in our fundamental law to affect every one of them is brought about by less than one-fourteenth of the inhabitants.

More than ever I am of the opinion that these radical amendments are misrepresentative of the aggregate public sentiment in Ohio and was not desired by our people. The occurrence of daily events shows the folly and danger of the step taken. Petitions for initiative laws are already filed with the Secretary of State to be acted upon by the General Assembly. Many of the thousands of names were secured by employed agents at five cents per name. Every student of the popular mind knows with what facility names can be secured to petitions. Their unreasonableness, injustice, and absurdity seem to be no bar to their success. One of the initiative bills to be presented to the legislature provides practically for the suppression of a free press and State censorship of newspapers. It grows out of the supposed grievance of some people against certain editors. Yet these petitions receive thousands of signatures. The law, if passed by the General Assembly, would be as tyrannical a piece of legislation as any decree issued by Napoleon against the newspapers of France during the First Consulate.

I am, sir,

DANIEL J. RYAN.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. By EDWARD THOMAS. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912.

ONE necessarily feels distrustful twinges in reading a book of criticism so hastily written that it falls short of being grammatical. One may question certain of Arnold's critical verdicts, those upon Shelley in particular; but at least Arnold learned to write English before he wrote. This task Mr. Edward Thomas evidently felt was superfluous. There are many writers who do not know what belongs in a paragraph, but the average writer learns what belongs in a sentence. Mr. Thomas has no prejudices as to the amount of straggling matter to be contained within a period. He is capable of including in one sentence the following conglomerate mass: "The young versifier and lover of poetry was not to be discouraged by a schoolmaster, he was more likely to be impressed by his first meeting with a poet in his early school-days, for though the poet was only Rogers he showed 'gracious and cordial kindness' to the small Etonian." There is no possible relation, even that of contrast, between the schoolmaster who corrected meter and the poet who showed kindness. In like manner Mr. Thomas sets down such a combination as this: "Tennyson did not come to the Isle of Wight until 1853, but Swinburne preferred to think and certainly to write about Northumberland." Why Tennyson's coming in 1853 had anything to do with Swinburne's thinking about Northumberland is unstated. Again, Mr. Thomas writes, "He was to recall how often he had chanted or shouted or otherwise declaimed Hugo's Gastibelza on horseback." There is nothing but the small "h" for horseback to save one from fancying the poem entitled "Gastibelza on Horseback."

The construction of the book is as loose as the sentence structure, and it is quite evident that in writing of the personal characteristics of his subject the author failed to consult authoritative sources. He repeats Edmund Gosse's statement that Swinburne required almost no sleep, dozing occasionally as he sat upright on the deep sofa of his sitting-room. Mr. Watts-Dunton, however, who lived with Swinburne the last thirty years of his life, totally denies this legend, asserting that the poet habitually slept eight or nine hours every night and always took a nap after his luncheon. This may not seem a very vital matter, except in so far as it might influence young poets to imagine genius independent of rest and as the truth on any and every subject is important *per se.*

In the chapter on the prose works he fails to say one word of Swin-

burne's unsurpassed power of invective and his marvelous command of irony. There are few passages in the history of English prose to compare in delicate and insidious irony with the one in "L'Année Terrible," where Swinburne speaks of the poet who harkens rather to the voice of expediency and interest than to the higher voices: "To the friendly admonition that truth which is overtrue is all but falsehood; that in seeking the ideal you find the visionary and become a dreamer through being too much a thinker; . . . that too much light is as sure to blind you as too much darkness, and, if necessary, you should not open the shutter more than half-way; that war and the scaffold are detestable in theory and practically unserviceable; but the shop must be set up beside the temple, though the money-changers were once on a time driven out of it, for the fault of Jesus was to be something too much of a God; that in all things wisdom is moderation, and from its quiet corner can remark and reprehend the flaws and excesses of the universe; as, for instance, that though the sun be splendid and the spring be sweet, the one has too many beams and the other too many roses. This is the inconvenience of all things of the kind and God is by no means free from exaggeration; to imitate Him is to fall into perfection—a grave risk. What is the use of being inaccessible? Jesus goes too far in declining to take the offer of Beelzebub into consideration. Not that I say He ought to close with it, but it is stupid of God to be rude when the devil is civil; it would have been better to say, 'I'll think it over, my good friend.'"

For three full pages of the *Essays and Studies* Swinburne gives an example of subtle irony on the matter of compromise which is unmatched in the English language.

Mr. Thomas accuses Swinburne of self-contradiction because at different times in his life and under different provocation he points out different sides of the genius of Byron and of Whitman. If it is self-contradiction to say of a man one day that he wears a white shirt and of the same man the next day that he wears black trousers, then Swinburne contradicted himself; otherwise not. For all Whitman's freedom and love of liberty, Swinburne loved and admired him; but when he was proclaimed by the popular voice to be a poet equal to Shelley, then Swinburne pointed out differences and degrees of excellence.

It may seem from this that Mr. Edward Thomas holds no brief for the poet he has chosen to write about, maintaining toward him throughout an attitude of marked moderation. No one reading his book would realize that its subject was undoubtedly one of the two greatest of the later Victorians, and certainly one of the two whose message is authoritative for the present generation. On the other hand, Mr. Thomas seems to have read his poet punctiliously and patiently, if not appreciatively, from end to end. It is not his fault if he did not and could not mark its rare and, in many directions, unexcelled beauties. In speaking of Swinburne's use of echoes, he fails to put in the most beautiful ever written; the lines from "Félise,"

> "Ah, that such sweet things should be fleet,
> Such fleet things sweet."

The book has the merit of being a thorough and patient study of the complete works. Swinburne's exuberant facility with rhyme and rhythms is pointed out, as is his unmatched wealth of diction. A strong plea is

made, however, for greater parsimony in using the materials of poetry, lest the reader's attention should flag. The chief flaw in the book is that a young man unpoetic by nature and unable to write correct sentences is finding fault with a poet who could at any odd moment build a very tower of Babylon out of words, whose ease and facility and wealth were overwhelming to the average mind. The study, therefore, while careful and well intentioned, fails in any wise to lead its readers to one of the greatest minds of our era; and the great book upon the life, the personality, the genius of Swinburne is still unwritten. Who is to write it?

THE LYRIC YEAR. Edited by FERDINAND EARLE. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912.

Advertisement proclaimed somewhat over a year ago that some one wished to invest one thousand dollars in prizes for good verse. All the singers in the land were invited to compete for the three prizes into which the sum was to be divided. The result was that ten thousand poems were sent in by two thousand writers, and these were examined by Mr. Ferdinand Earle, and the one hundred which form the present volume were chosen as the best. Of these one hundred, three were again chosen by the editor and Mr. Edward J. Wheeler and Mr. Stanley Braithwaite to receive the prizes.

It may be gross ignorance to confess that we do not know the qualifications of the first and last judges named here; yet we find many others who do not know the names, and *Who's Who,* that compendium of universal information, fails to enlighten us. Mr. Edward J. Wheeler has for years chosen out the most commonplace and unmusical of verse from the current magazines to reprint in *Current Literature.*

There are two American poets of reputation who are well known as understanding of what materials and in what manner verse should be made. Had either one been on the board of judges, the book must have commanded serious respect. As it is, one simply wonders on what grounds these three men decided that they could give verdict on American poetry. Had Louise Imogen Guiney, poet, critic, artist, and great craftsman, given a verdict we should have taken note; or had Georgiana Goddard King, who gives courses in the technique of verse-making at Bryn Mawr College, been one of the judges, the results would have had significance.

It is noteworthy that the *Lyric Year* contains neither of these preeminent names—names that command respect wherever the English tongue is spoken. A poem like Miss Guiney's "The Kings," or a lyric like Miss King's "A man called Dante I have heard," would have shed glamour over the entire volume. As it is, the *Lyric Year* is not a volume upon which to congratulate ourselves. We profoundly trust that it represents neither more nor less than the taste of three men. Most of the material therein is pretty sorry stuff. The editor in the Introduction writes that he "has endeavored to give preference to poems fired with the time spirit . . . rather than to mere technical performance." Probably no greater mistake of judgment could be made in testing poetry, which just in so far as it *is* poetry throws off the "time spirit" and becomes universal and immortal. By such a rule of measurement as he suggests we should forget Swinburne's "Tristram of Lyonesse" to read the Jubilee

poem of 1887, or discard Shelley's "Sensitive Plant" and "The West Wind" for the denunciation of the Lord Chancellor. The entire principle is as wrong and as destructive of real poetry as anything could possibly be.

Of the poems contained in this volume we should certainly not have given a prize to any, but we should have given without question the highest mark to Florence Earle Coates's "New York." Thirty-nine women, sixty men, and one little child are represented in the book. The last mentioned was, doubtless, included for entirely personal reasons; but to do so is to make any wise person tremble for the child's welfare, no less than to detract from the dignity and significance of the volume.

Of the well-known names contained in the book, Bliss Carman's is perhaps the best known. His contribution, however, is far from being up to his average. An unpardonable line is, "Luring civilization on to the fair and new." "Make us a heaven by hand" and "The uplift of the heart" are shocking solecisms and would in the eye of any real knowledge of poetry have thrown the poem out altogether.

Grace Hazard Conkling ruins her quite charming verses with such rasping words as "zoned" and "glimpsed," the last being, perhaps, the most unpardonable vulgarism in the English language and a word rejected in the roughest and readiest conversation of the well-bred and educated. Indeed, throughout the volume it is quite evident that the editors were totally oblivious to matters of metrical technique and choice diction.

Florence Brooks contributes a poem of ten stanzas in quatrain form with but a single rhyme for each quatrain, and uses the harsh and unmusical word "mechanized" in the first line. Donn Byrne has an experiment in the magic rhythm of "Innesfree," a rhythm rarely used and difficult, but gracefully handled by Stevenson in "I will make you brooches and toys for your delight," and by Miss King in "Something calls and whispers along the city street." Mr. Byrne closes one stanza with the three booming spondees which are so skilfully handled in "Innisfree." The difficulty is that Mr. Byrne can only use them once, and his other stanzas fall short of the correct meter. Miss Constance Lounsbury contributes some fair Sapphics; Mr. Hermann Donner tells of the "hell he glimpsed"; Frances Gregg writes after the manner of Laurence Hope; Hermann Hagedorn gives the poorest lyric we have ever seen from his pen; Joyce Kilmer has a rather slight and humorous bit of portraiture after the manner of Edward S. Martin's verse; Hermann Kittridge imitates Poe very badly; Agnes Lee publishes a poem on Browning which is a complete failure, and Theodore Eugene Oertel imitates Poe even worse than Mr. Kittridge. Mrs. Peabody's contribution reminds one of Morris's "Blue Closet"; Sara Teasdale has a singable little lyric called "I Shall Not Care," which is charming despite the remininscence of Christina Rossetti's "When I am Dead, My Dearest."

The book is a disappointment. To measure its value by any real poetry is futile. What is here collected is current magazine verse not of the best order. Using the little Oxford volume of 1880, *Love in Idleness,* as a touchstone, one may see how dull and imitative—and worse, commonplace—is the tone of this little volume.

It may be, of course, that a better volume of verse could have been made of the material to hand, and the failure as like as not lies with

the editors rather than the contributors, since only one hundred out of ten thousand poems are here published.

HAIL AND FAREWELL. By GEORGE MOORE. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1912.

If not admirable, George Moore is highly amusing. He went to Ireland in response to a vision he had commanding him to help with the Celtic revival, and recounted his experiences in the trilogy of confessions called *Ave, Salve, Vale.* The present volume is the second in the series, and more delightfully funny than the first.

All his life George Moore has given himself in the intervals of his novels to the task of self-confession. He has the very style, disconnected, witty, intimate, which makes such matter readable. He went to Ireland somewhat expectant that so important an arrival would be met with a brass-band and proper festivities. But Ireland was busy about its own affairs and had had no rumors that he was a great prophet. When he offered in pure charity a contribution to the Gaelic magazine, he was editorially told that if he would sign it and leave it it would be considered in due course.

Yeats and "the folds of his style" Moore treats to delightful irony. Dear Edward Martyn and his soul figure again and seem more amusing than ever. Æ, of whom no one, apparently, can speak an unkind word, is the only friend who escapes Moore's scathing satire. Æ, with his immortal soul and imperturbable serenity, invites no enmity. A large part of the volume is given over to Moore's discovery that the Roman Catholic religion is incompatible with literature. This startling discovery and his own conversion to the Anglican Church and his proposed departure from Ireland close the volume. In the mean time the book is full of literary gossip and anecdote. There are parts of it as frankly indecent as Rabelais, and yet when some one of his friends mentioned Moore's indecent books the author was as surprised and depressed as if the idea was totally novel to him.

The sibylline Mrs. Meynell and a charming and lovely volume of youthful verse by four of her children and four of their friends, *The Eyes of Youth,* are together treated to a particularly naughty paragraph or two, in which Mr. Moore describes the talent of Francis Thompson as consisting in *"un fond de Crashaw avec une garniture de Shelley."* Mrs. Meynell he remembers chiefly as a "tall, sallow girl with brown eyes and a receding chin who used to show me her poems in manuscript ages ago." She is now a very rarely and wonderfully beautiful woman about whom, probably, more real poetry has been written than about any woman since Beatrice. It must be remembered, when one is reading George Moore's little jokes, that she is the woman to whom Ruskin, George Meredith, Coventry Patmore, Lionel Johnson, Francis Thompson, G. K. Chesterton, and scores of other poets and thinkers have paid reverent tribute, and that her own verse and essays rank high in the history of English literature. George Moore at the moment of writing was out of tune with Romanism and all connected with it. He was also at the same time, doubtless, writing "The Lake." How he can say that Francis Thompson "avoided piety" it is difficult to understand. Is the "Hound of Heaven" impious?

In his eagerness to prove that no literature could possibly be written by a Catholic, the author makes a rather clever analysis of Newman's style in the first few chapters of the *Apologia*.

The chief charm of the book is its wit and its candid *intimité*. It is not a deep book nor is Mr. George Moore's culture at all awe-inspiring, though at times he has the air of proclaiming it so. He never by chance mentions a writer or thinker or painter with whom the average reader is not perfectly well acquainted, and his wit is the outgrowth of his ill temper with his friends and his inability to get on smoothly with other men. Still, the book is so frank, so open, so almost childishly confiding, that it makes most delightful, if not uplifting, reading.

MISS JULIA, THE STRONGER, CREDITORS, PARIAH. By AUGUST STRINDBERG. Translated by EDWIN BJORKMAN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

The effort to set Strindberg beside Ibsen as a great interpreter of life has failed and must fail. Unity of construction, dramatic action, and swift, incisive dialogue are all that Strindberg has to offer. His mind was diseased to the point of insanity. His life was one of long and almost uninterrupted torture; he was ill-born, ill-bred, ill-married several times, and he suffered physically and mentally all his life. It is out of the question that any such abnormal experience of life should be able to produce for those born, if not adequate, at least native to this planet, an instructive picture of life. The best one can say is that a great literary talent wallowed in the most unalleviated and sordid of human horrors.

"Miss Julia" has been played at Copenhagen by the Students' Association and again on the Freie Bühne in Berlin. It is a play so revolting that even the plot is impossible to repeat. The author says that he has tried in this play to treat a theme that is, has been, and always will be of lasting interest—namely, that of ascendency or decline, of higher or lower, of better or worse. He also adds that the story came to him from real life. It is tragic, but so disgusting as to miss the real point of tragedy, to stir the emotions of terror or pity.

"The Stronger" is no more than a sketch or a "scene." There are but two characters: Mrs. X, an actress, married; Miss Y, an actress, unmarried. The scene is a *tour de force* in that the second character never speaks throughout the scene. Again, it is the intrinsic matter which divorces sympathy, for the manner of recounting is able. What one asks is why should two women care for one man who was no more than a shuttlecock twirling from one to the other, and what strength is there in loving what is unworthy?

"Creditors" contains, in Thekla, Stringberg's picture of a woman. The preface says that he considered this portrait fairly representative of the sex, and when one adds that the plot again is not one to be repeated and when one adds that the woman had neither sense, decency, nor honor, one may dispose of this play. Were one to compare Thekla to Ibsen's Hedda, it would make Hedda almost a saint, for at least she wanted something; she was reaching out for something to make life worth while. Thekla is without a single stirring of human aspiration.

Of the four plays contained in these two volumes, "Pariah" only can

be read without disgust. "Mr. X," says the translator's preface, "is much less interesting as a superman *in spe* than as an illustration of what a morally and mentally normal man can do with the tools furnished him by our new understanding of human ways and human motives."

The only conclusions to be drawn from these plays wherein criminals, wantons, weaklings, meet is that too unrelieved a view of the degradation of life is as false as the most evasive idealism. Life has at least moments of relief from horror.

Your United States. By Arnold Bennett. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912.

There are many ways of writing about a country. One is to live in it, study it, become proficient in its literature, and ultimately reproduce for others a nation and a literature. This is what Professor Giles did for China. Another way is to know nothing at all about a land; to hasten through it, giving frank account of one's impressions for what they are worth. The interest then veers from the country to the writer's mind. It is not so much, indeed, the country depicted that one gets as the instructive reactions of the author, so that the interest is psychological rather than historic. This volume, then, is not in the least our United States, but "Arnold Bennett: His United States."

Of the *Five Towns* Arnold Bennett knows everything. He knows all the people, how they look, and what they think. He has written tales and comedies, exhaustive novels, and great full books about the characters and the lives of the inhabitants. His great genius, perhaps, lies in his power of painting Peter de Hoogh interiors, while the present volume is distinctly of the impressionistic poster variety.

It is only natural that it should not be an accurate portrait of the country. Only a demigod could see a country accurately and correctly in six or seven weeks. Naturally, many isolated incidents seemed to him to point to national characteristics. Allowing entirely for the fact that the book is not descriptive of a country so much as an account of the adventures of a *Five Towns* mind seeing the United States, we may enjoy the keenness and brilliancy of the volume.

The book is brilliantly written. It is full of fine word-pictures, and if one can afford to be indifferent to the author's art criticism one can rely on his sense of fitness and comparative values. His wonder and delight at our railroad stations, our sky-scraping landscape, our beautiful streets, our leisurely suburban towns, are vivid and picturesque. It is instructive and edifying to set this volume beside Henry James's book of American cities, and from the two any reader might derive an excellent idea of how our civilization strikes the alien and the outsider.

The Task of Social Hygiene. By Havelock Ellis. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912.

In the *Task of Social Hygiene* Havelock Ellis has made one of the most important of modern contributions to the all-absorbing and ubiquitously discussed woman question. It is a book that cannot be too urgently recommended to the facile magazine-writers who are flooding current and evanescent literature with the opinions founded upon their family

life or their personal experience. To those who are likely to think seriously for a minute of such books as Ida Tarbell's *Business of Being a Woman,* or Jane Johnston Christie's *The Advance of Woman,* the book furnishes so excellent an introduction and so well-grounded an historic sense of the whole movement as to make these books entirely superfluous.

Havelock Ellis understands that the great field of woman's activity is to aid in the production of a finer race. He also knows that for the past two centuries we have been slowly moving toward the present crisis. He makes very clear that the woman movement is a much larger and more serious thing than a mere demand for political liberty; that the ballot in the hands of woman will never be as Frances Power Cobbe declared thirty years ago "the crown and completion" of progress, nor will it create, as the irrepressible Christobel Pankhurst says, "A new heaven and a new earth." It will merely be the means women have for furthering social legislation and contribute to the passing of laws for the protection and welfare of women and children.

Woman's political enfranchisement is the vestibule to woman's emancipation. "The vote," says Havelock Ellis, "is merely an act of justice and a reasonable condition of social hygiene." He makes it quite clear that the vote is not an end in itself, but a means to the most important of ends—namely, that "of creating human beings best fitted for modern life, the practical realization of sound eugenics."

That the woman movement is here inevitably and for good there is no question, and the only possible service of the conservative is that of perhaps guiding it into the right channels. The great service of free women will be the birth and care of a nobler race; a race that can neither be born nor nurtured of political slaves.

The chapter on the "Significance of the Falling Birth-rate" is an excellent corrective to the alarmists who cry out for quantity regardless of quality. Large families are the stigma of degeneration, and it is the very essence of civilization that with the growth of social stability the birth-rate as well as the death-rate should fall.

The chapters on "Eugenics and Love," "Immorality and the Law," "The War against War" may be recommended as the sanest and ablest contributions to these subjects that have found their way into print. The whole course of Havelock Ellis's activity and study, his monumental work on the *Psychology of Sex,* has prepared him to speak authoritatively on the subject of the significance and the historic value of the woman movement.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

NO. DCLXXXVIII

MARCH, 1913

JEFFERSON—WILSON

A RECORD AND A FORECAST

EXTRACTS FROM "A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE" BY

WOODROW WILSON

CLEARLY the Federalists had gone too far. The indictment of their enemies seemed proved,—they were the party of power, of autocratic power, and not the party of popular privilege. While the bad impression was at its height, moreover, a serious rift was disclosed in the counsels of the party itself. Mr. Adams broke with Mr. Hamilton. . . .

And Adams spoke the real preferences of the rank and file of the Federalist party itself,—the very party which, until that day of breach, Mr. Hamilton had led with an almost undisputed supremacy. It had doubted and been vaguely uneasy even while it obeyed. . . .

Mr. Adams was much nearer their spirit and temper than Mr. Hamilton and the group of masterful men whom he led; and his breach with Mr. Hamilton cut to the roots of the party itself. By the time another presidential election approached (1800) personal rivalries and antagonisms had robbed the party of coherence and leadership;

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it had lost its sense of unity; many who had voted with it felt their sympathies transferred to the other side; and the elections brought it humiliating defeat. Mr. Adams was personally popular enough, commended by his sturdy character, his manifest good faith and independence, his frankness and courage; but the section of his own party with which he had avowed himself out of sympathy was not loyal to him. Hamilton publicly argued that he was unfit for the office he held, egotistical, jealous, indiscreet, and of unsound views in matters of administration; Mr. Jefferson had at last imparted compactness and self-reliant vigor to the Democratic Republican ranks which he led; and Mr. Adams failed of re-election. . . .

The whole face of affairs, the very aspect of the government itself, seemed to change when Mr. Jefferson became President. For one thing, the seat of government was transferred from Philadelphia, the busy city and mart of trade, with its seventy thousand inhabitants, to the rural spaces of the new federal District of Columbia. The removal had been effected in the summer of 1800, during the closing months of Mr. Adams's administration, and had suitably marked the *exeunt* of the Federalists, the party whose rule had been planned to draw about the federal government the support of the merchants, the bankers, the property-owners, the chief men of means and influence in society and affairs, the men of the centers of trade, whose interests were larger than those of any single State or neighborhood. . . .

A noteworthy and momentous thing stood revealed in the simple ceremony. The democratic forces which had set the Revolution ablaze, and which had operated through seven years of war and reconstruction to work a radical change in the temper and practice of the whole country in public affairs, now once again reasserted themselves and took possession of the seats of government. . . .

Nothing could exceed the fine tact and gentleness with which Mr. Jefferson gave tone of order and patriotic purpose in his inaugural address to the new way of government his followers expected of him. "We are all Re-

publicans, we are all Federalists," he exclaimed; "we are not antagonists, but live by an absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics." "To preserve the peace of our fellow-citizens, promote their prosperity and happiness, reunite opinion, cultivate a spirit of candor, moderation, charity, and forbearance towards one another," are "objects calling for the efforts and sacrifices of every good man and patriot." "Let us unite with one mind," he urged, in tones so quiet, so sweet and sincere of accent as to calm every mind they touched; "let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions."

And what he did soon gave excellent proof of his sincerity. Mr. Jefferson was an interesting mixture of democrat, philosopher, and patrician. In taste and occupation and habit he touched and was familiar with the life of the cultured and moneyed classes, the aristocracy of the young nation, which constituted the Federalist strength. In creed and principle he was the comrade and work-fellow of the people. By gift of insight and genius for organization he was a leader of parties and of concerted action in affairs. An infinite sensibility taught him moderation, lent him tact, pointed out to him the practicable courses of persuasion and the certain prospects of popular support. His personal charm, his high breeding without arrogance or pretense, gave him hold upon every one with whom he came in contact. No other man could have so moderated, or so completed, a revolution in the spirit and conduct of the government.

For a revolution it was, profound and lasting. Undoubtedly the chief merchants, the chief men of parts and learning and social influence in the country were Federalists. They looked upon Mr. Jefferson as "an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics"; and they dreaded the

direct thrusts of democracy at the careful system they had reared, as likely to be little less than the throwing down of the very props of society itself. . . .

Mr. Jefferson's was an opposite school of thought. "I am persuaded," he said, "that the good sense of the people will always be found the best army. They may be led astray for the moment, but will soon correct themselves." His belief was wholly sincere, aristocrat though he was in life and breeding and in instinctive aptitude for power; and it was wholesome for the country that the forces he so moderately and graciously represented should thus early gain their inevitable ascendency. It was impossible that the ruling classes of the older days should continue to govern the young nation now springing into life. Mere growth and change of life had broken every bond of habit and restraint of form. . . .

No class or region or single school of politicians or thinkers could keep the mastery or determine the course of such a people, growing after such a fashion, on such a continent. Democracy, free force, an equal footing for all men in opinion, effort, and attainment were the very conditions of its being; there could be no leading-strings. Mr. Jefferson spoke the spirit of the day, its only acceptable principle in affairs. The government had passed into the hands of the people's party.

Its programme, as Mr. Jefferson spoke it, accorded with its origin: The restriction of federal powers within strait constitutional limits, an unembarrassed field for the powers of local self-government within the several States, the payment of the public debt, the reduction of the armed forces of the country, and consequently of the taxes, to the lowest practicable point, and as nearly as might be free trade at the ports; a government simple, inexpensive, unmeddlesome. Some of the latest and most partisan acts of the Federalists the new Congress, with its working majority of Republicans, proceeded to undo. The Judiciary Act, by which the Federalists had called new federal courts into existence to fill them with judges of their own party principles, was repealed, and the new courts were

abolished almost before they had been organized. The other officials whom Mr. Adams had put into office during the closing days of his term were dismissed, and Republicans were put in their places. . . .

The new Congress reduced the federal taxes, and the customs duties at the ports; cut down the army and navy establishments; retrenched expenses and lessened burdens, as had been promised and expected; but the despondent forebodings of those Federalists who had looked to see a fatal retrogression in the character of the government were not fulfilled. The people's men were not, after all, "Jacobins and miscreants," and Mr. Cabot was apparently not yet justified in considering "democracy to be the government of the worst." Mr. Jefferson called Mr. Madison to the Secretaryship of State, a man whom all the country knew to be a patriot and a statesman. He made Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury, and financiers soon learned to trust the clear-headed Swiss for judgment and capacity almost as much as they had trusted Mr. Hamilton himself. There was, at any rate, no revolution in the business methods of the government. . . .

Mr. Jefferson was too wise a politician to alienate the very men whose suffrages had brought him into office. He knew that many thoughtful men who had before always voted with the Federalists had in the last election voted for the Democratic Republican electors,—not because ready to see the government experimented with, but because they hated the taxes with which the Federalist Congresses loaded them, disliked the new tone and temper of the Federalist leaders, and believed that, for all they were so radical in their talk, the leaders of the opposition would simplify the government without weakening it or doing it damage. He knew that he was on trial to prove his conservatism as well as to prove his capacity for reform. He meant to prove himself no enemy of an efficient federal government, but only an enemy of extremes. . . .

It turned out that he had judged the temper of the country and the posture of affairs to a nicety, and had brought

in a new regime which was to give its opponents abundant time to assess its qualities. Mr. Jefferson remained eight years in office; and handed on the presidency to men of his own school of political principle, who kept it for sixteen years more. . . .

Mr. Jefferson had given the country its first taste of his real quality in action. He was a Democrat, a people's man, upon conviction, genuinely and with a certain touch of passion; but he was no lawyer. He stickled for a strict construction of the constitution only when he thought that a strict construction would safeguard the rights of common men and keep the old Federalist theories of government at arm's-length: not because he disliked to see the country have power as a nation, but because he dreaded to see it put in bondage to an autocratic government. He wanted as little governing from the federal capital as might be; but as much progress as might be, too, and as much access of power and of opportunity to the people as a body of free men, unshackled by any too meddling government. It was his weakness to think it safe for the friends of the people to make "a blank paper" of the constitution, but the very gate of revolution for those who were not Democrats. If only Democrats led, "the good sense of the country would correct the evil of construction when it should produce ill effects"! . . .

The Federalist leaders found, moreover, that their own partisans, upon whom they had thought that they could reckon, gave them no countenance. It was impossible to arouse or alarm them. Mr. Jefferson had proved no monster, after all, but an amiable and attractive gentleman, graceful in conciliation, and apparently honest in his desire to serve the whole country, spite of what was said against him.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN FRANCE

BY PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AT LE COLLÈGE DE FRANCE

THE question of Public Ownership, called in France the *étatisation* or the *municipalisation* of Public Utilities, has been to the fore in that country for the past quarter of a century. The Government, Parliament, and public opinion have been continually examining the subject, and in recent years interesting experiments have been made in this field.

In France, for more than a century, the State has had the monopoly of certain great industries. This monopoly was constituted either for fiscal reasons, in order to bring large sums of money into the public treasury, or for reasons of public safety, in order to strengthen the military position of the country. In this connection I will not take up the Post Office, which, under the ancient régime, was farmed to a company of financiers and which, since the end of the eighteenth century, has also been a Government monopoly—the system now adopted in most countries. To the Post Office was, later, united the telegraph, and, some twenty-five years ago, the telephone also. In addition to these, the French State also enjoys two other important fiscal monopolies—the manufacture and sale of tobacco and matches.

The first of these two monopolies, tobacco, is more than a century old, having been taken over by the State at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. In accordance with its stipulations French agriculturalists may not raise tobacco except in certain special cases and then in a very small number of departments. Furthermore, they must be provided with a Government permit, and the cultivation is supervised by the agents of the fisc, who enumerate the plants, count the leaves, and then buy the crop at a price fixed by the Government. The tobacco, whether raised in France or bought abroad, is manufactured in a limited number of factories owned by the State, whence it is sent to depots under Government directors, where it is finally dis-

tributed among the retail dealers, some 30,000 in number for the territory of France, who are appointed by the Government and who sell the different qualities of tobacco at prices authorized by the Government. As these prices are very high, the monopoly turns in a large sum to the national treasury. The gross receipts reach in round numbers 500,000,000 francs, netting 400,000,000, the total expenses being only about one-fifth of the sale price. The French people are now accustomed to this monopoly—in operation for over a hundred years—having been established in France at a moment when the consumption of tobacco was very small and the production still smaller, for nearly all the tobacco was imported. The enormous fiscal advantages derived from this monopoly also tend to render it less unpopular, though complaints are common concerning the bad quality of French Government tobacco, and because the retail dealers have not always in stock the exact kind of tobacco wanted by the purchaser, who, knowing that he will have to wait several days to get what he asks for, accepts what is offered. A graver inconvenience came out in 1910 and 1911. In addition to the monopoly of tobacco, the Government is also the only producer of nicotine. Now it so happens that nicotine is very efficacious in destroying insects harmful to certain plants and fruits. During the two years just mentioned, the Mediterranean portion of the French vineyards was attacked by a species of scale insect which would penetrate into the grape and devour all the juice. So the viticulturalists suddenly needed a large quantity of nicotine with which to fight this insect. But on account of the routine and lack of suppleness which always characterizes Government enterprises, the required amount of nicotine could not be furnished. The result was that the grape crop was very short and the viticulturalists lost several tens of millions of francs.

The Government match monopoly is less important. It has existed for only some thirty years and brings into the State Treasury about 40,000,000 francs gross, or about 30,000,000 net, the sale price being about quadruple the cost price. Every Frenchman and every foreigner visiting France knows the exceedingly bad quality of the French Government match. Sometimes you have to strike a half-dozen before one will light. In 1910 the Government tried to stop the making and the sale of vest-pocket tinder-boxes,

even taking legal proceedings against those who sold them or used them. The pressure of public opinion, however, stopped this, and the Government had to content itself with putting a high duty on them. Before the match industry became a monopoly several millions' worth of French matches were exported annually; but the business is now completely dead. The same thing is true of the tobacco industry; though the Government sells 500,000,000 francs' worth of tobacco to its own citizens, its export trade is next to nothing.

Powder for the army and navy, as well as for mining and sport, is another Government monopoly in France. The aim in this case is not financial; but a pretended military and national interest was given out as the reason for this monopoly when it was established at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The system has always been a cause of much complaint from the mining interests and sportsmen. Leaving the army and navy out of the account, the Government sells the French public from twenty-two to twenty-three millions' worth of powder a year. The terrible disasters in the French navy—when the ironclad *Jena* was blown up, and but a few years later the *Liberté*—are attributed by a deeply moved public to the bad quality of the powder in the ships' magazines. An official investigation has revealed the most crying abuses and the greatest negligence in the management of some of the Government powder depots. In fact, the pressure of public opinion has led the Cabinet and Parliament to examine the question of what restrictions can be placed on the Government manufacture of powder, and has brought about the authorization, under certain conditions, of the manufacture and sale of powder through private enterprise.

Though the French State has not made a monopoly of the building of war-ships and the furnishing of all the necessary supplies, still a large part of this work is done in the Government yards, which give permanent work to some 30,000 men. In 1908 Senator Poirier, of the Finance Committee of the Upper House, made a report on the working of these State arsenals.* These potent facts concerning

* In my volume *Collectivisme*, fifth edition, pages 673 to 685, I have examined this report in detail; but suffice it to give here one single sentence, a résumé of the whole: "In the military posts and arsenals the waste of the public funds is simply beyond imagination."

the French State industries have often been pointed out to Parliament, and especially to the Senate, by M. Antonin Dubost, now President of that distinguished body.

It is not superfluous to say here a few words about one of the most recent French State monopolies—the telephone. The complaints under this head are universal. In the first place, the tariff is very high—400 francs, or nearly $80 a year in Paris, the aim of the State being to get out of it as much as possible—40,000,000 francs gross. But this is not the only thing to criticize. The apparatus is antiquated and the employees incapable. As a rule, it takes many minutes to get a communication in Paris, and when you would converse with other cities, even when they are not far apart, the best plan is not to try.

As regards wireless telegraphy, the subject may be dismissed in very few words: it is *going to be* a State monopoly too, and so the French public does not yet enjoy the benefit of this new discovery.

Another and very striking example of the mediocre ability of the State in industrial matters is furnished by the Public Printing Office. This institution came under Government control before the Revolution of 1789 and at first was devoted exclusively to the printing of works in the Oriental languages for which private concerns had neither the type nor the knowledge, so there was ground for such a plant. But little by little during the nineteenth century the functions of the National Printing Office were extended until it became transformed into an ordinary printing establishment doing all sorts of work, and doing it in such a wasteful manner that the whole subject has been brought before Parliament. The height of the scandal was reached when it was decided to reconstruct a part of the building of the Printing Office, this work to cost, according to the original estimates, 2,700,000 francs. At the end of 1910, however, it was found that 12,000,000 had already been spent and 5,300,000 more would be required to complete the work, making a total of 17,300,000 instead of 2,700,000 as originally called for. That is to say, the work was going to cost more than six times what had been stated in the estimates. So an official investigation into the whole general management of the Public Printing Office was set on foot, when it was found that for the 1,300 printers employed, there were 172 officials and superintendents of one kind and another—

that is, one for every eight workmen. Among these officials, 135 belonged to the director's department alone, one for less than every ten workmen, whereas in a private establishment of the same importance there would be one for every thirty-four workmen—that is, four times less.*

If we take up the State railway system of France we find all these shortcomings on a still larger scale. Prior to 1875, there were no railways of this kind in France. The plan generally adopted in France has been a concession to a private company for a period of ninety-nine years. For some of these companies a little more than half of the concession has now expired, and for others nearly one-half. At the end of this period of ninety-nine years—that is, between 1950 and 1960 for the principal companies—the railways will revert to the State, which does not mean, however, that the State will have to take over their management. The State can then make a new concession on more advantageous terms for it and for the public, because if not all, at least the largest part of the capital used for the building of the roads will have been liquidated by the redemption, which the companies make every year, of a part of their shares and bonds. In France the State originally aided in the building of its railway system by moderate money subventions and by guaranteeing the payment of the interest on the capital used for the building of the secondary lines. The development of traffic and of net profits has generally made it unnecessary for the companies to have recourse to this plan of guaranteed interest, and the principal companies have already paid back, or will eventually be able to pay back, the sums advanced by the State for this purpose.

Thus, in the original plan of the French railway system the State took no part in the management. About the year 1875, circumstances threw into its hands a line which at first was not of very great importance; some small companies in the western part of France, between Bordeaux and Nantes, failed or got into financial difficulties, and the State, in order to preserve the shareholders from complete ruin, did what was not at all necessary—bought up the line belonging to these small companies, and instead of passing it on to a large and flourishing company decided to manage the line,

* *Journal Officiel,* November 25, 1910; *Journal des Débats,* November 26, 1910.

at least provisionally. But this temporary arrangement finally became a permanent one, and gradually the line was lengthened until it reached Paris, so that there came to be in western France a line linking the capital with Bordeaux and Nantes. This line, known as "the old State railway," is now about 3,000 kilometers in length, thus forming about a sixteenth part of the total length of the whole French railway system. The running of this road is very expensive. Its net revenues do not represent two per cent. on the invested capital. It has had some terrible accidents of late, costing the lives of scores of passengers. The last one was due to the bad condition of a bridge over the Loire; the weakness of this bridge had been common report for a long time.

In 1908 the State added to its small system a much larger network of railways by taking over the important Western Company, which controlled the roads of Brittany, Normandy, and some neighboring departments, and which, starting at Paris, had as termini the seaports of Havre, Cherbough, Brest, and Nantes. This system embraces about 6,000 kilometers and brings up the total of the State roads to 9,000 kilometers, or nearly a fifth of the whole French system of railways.

For a long time the Radical party, which has been in power in France from 1898 to 1911, inclusive, has favored the policy of taking over the railways and having them managed by the State. This was one of the planks of the Radical platform as far back as 1889. The Conservative party, on the contrary, has always opposed this idea. The Ministers of Finance of the Third Republic, who have left the best names—M. Léon Say and M. Maurice Rouvier—always combated the proposal, whose financial and economic consequences they held would prove to be most disastrous. In 1908 the Clémenceau Cabinet, in which M. Caillaux was Minister of Finance and M. Barthou, Minister of Public Works, took over the management of the Western Company in the name of the State, notwithstanding the almost unanimous disapproval of the measure by the representatives of the region directly affected and the protests of nearly all of the French Chambers of Commerce. The bill was carried through the Chamber of Deputies without much trouble, but in the Senate it required a threat of a Cabinet crisis to obtain the small majority finally secured;

and during the debate these ministers just mentioned repeatedly assured the recalcitrant senators that the transaction would cost the French Treasury nothing, that it would be an *opération blanche*, as the net receipts of the lines would cover the indemnity which had to be paid the company. Now, the State began its management in January, 1909—that is, four years ago, long enough for us to draw some conclusions. And what is the result?

The State management of the Western Railway has been from the very start, and continues to be, a great financial and technical disappointment. For the first two years the whole line was in absolutely chaotic condition. The trains were never on time and the worst possible accidents were continually happening, whereas under the old management not a single passenger had been killed in ten years. After many experiments, the new management was forced to reduce the number of trains and cut down the speed of the principal ones. To-day the technical side is better than it was at first, but not better than it was under the old company. The financial results, however, could not be much worse than they are, and are a great load on the State Treasury.

In the year 1908, the one preceding the operation of the road by the State, the old Western Company had a net deficit of 27,000,000 francs, and consequently, in accordance with the plan then in force, the company borrowed from the State this sum with which to pay the interest on its bonds and shares. In 1909, the first year that the State had control of the roads, this deficit rose to 38,500,000 francs, and continued to rise as follows during the succeeding years: 1910, 58,500,000; 1911, 71,250,000; 1912, estimated, 84,500,000; and 1913, estimated, 90,000,000 in round numbers. While I am writing these lines M. Chéron, Deputy and a former Assistant Secretary, publishes a report on the subject in the name of the Budget Committee of the Chamber of Deputies. He belongs to the Radical party, but has to admit that the figures of the estimated deficit for the year 1913 are "very disquieting," and adds that the estimated deficit for 1912, as well as that for 1913, is largely attributable to salaries of the employees, the increase under this head being 52,000,000 francs since the State took over the road. M. Chéron declares that he is "not accusing anybody," doubtless because he knows it would do no good. He says he might be

willing to accept an increase in salaries and wages, but points out that there is an excessive augmentation in the number of employees. Here are his exact words on this point: "As regards the increase of the personnel, it seems to me the administration has been rather large. But the same thing is true of all the departments." And then he concludes with these words: "In this matter of the augmentation of the personnel, I understand it has reached the maximum." This reflection of an out-and-out Radical Deputy is very characteristic. In the Government offices, at least in France, there is always a tendency to over-increase the number of the employed. But in this way more citizens are made happy, and the party in power fares better at the elections.

Thus, as we have seen, the trial of State ownership in France is directly against that system, and consequently public opinion is now completely opposed thereto, especially enlightened, as it now is, by the financial and other shortcomings which have followed the State operation of the Western Railway. It may be regarded as certain that, notwithstanding the seventy Socialist Deputies in the Chamber, it will be a good many years before another French Minister of Finance will venture to propose the State taking over another railway.

The municipalization of city public utilities, such as street-lighting, motive power, tramways, etc., has not gone far in France, though it has many supporters not only among our Socialists, but also among our Radicals. As most of the concessions for gas, electricity, water, and the street-passenger traffic expired in the early years of the twentieth century, it might have been thought for a moment that the Paris Municipal Council would have municipalized these different services. But nothing came of the very artificial movement in that direction set on foot by the Radical Socialist party. On the contrary, the Paris Municipal Council has, during the last fifteen years, made new concessions to private companies in different forms and for varying terms of years in the matter of all the services just mentioned. This is a notable fact, for it was done though municipalization was advocated by a large and influential group in the Council.

The concession which had been enjoyed for three-quarters of a century by the Paris Gas Company expired in 1905.

But the Paris Municipal Council declined to assume the responsibility of directing that industry. It preferred the system by which it became simply "an interested party"—that is, the gas-works belong to the municipality, but the making of the gas is done by a company which furnishes the working capital and which shares the profits with the city. In accordance with this arrangement, the city may end the concession every five years by giving the company two years' notice; that is to say, the city is bound for seven years. The first period of five years expired in 1910, without the city making use of this right, so that the present arrangement will last at least until 1915; and everything points to its continuing even longer, especially as the Municipal Council elected in 1912 for four years is friendly to the present arrangement. In fact, at the moment of writing, the city of Paris is negotiating a loan of 200,000,000 francs with which to enlarge its present gas-works and even to build new ones to be run under the present concession.

A similar arrangement—that of "an interested administration"—exists with the General Water Company, and in 1910 the city renewed this arrangement for a very long period.

Some thirty years ago concessions, beginning with a period running from 1882 to 1889, were granted to a half-dozen companies, each being given a fraction of the city, called a *secteur*. These concessions had to do with electricity, heating, lighting, and motive power, and all will expire in 1914. Five or six years ago the Paris Municipal Council united all the *secteurs* and conceded the city's electricity and motive power for a period of twenty-six years—that is, from 1914 to June 30, 1940—to a large financial group called the Paris Company for Electrical Distribution. In the matter of electric lighting and heating, this company has a monopoly; but as regards electric motive power the Municipal Council reserves the right to permit other companies to furnish electric power to the city. Within the last few months a grant of this kind has come up for consideration, so that in this matter of electric power it is highly probable that the city of Paris will adopt a competitive system.

In the matter of urban passenger traffic, the municipality has had recourse also to the concessionary system under different forms and conditions. There are in Paris two distinct subway companies, the older and more important

being the Metropolitan, whose concession is for forty years after the opening of the last portion of the road. The city assumes all the cost of tunneling, the company making the road-bed, building the stations, furnishing the rolling-stock, and running the road. It gives the city one-third of the gross receipts and a certain portion of the increased traffic when it surpasses a fixed figure. The second subway company, the North-South, has made a different arrangement with the city. The company does all the work of construction, the city simply approving and supervising the plans and their execution and sharing in the profits, this share being based on the number of passengers carried. This concession is for seventy-five years.

And lastly, the city renewed three or four years ago for periods of about fifty years, with large shares in the profits, its concessions to all the tramway, omnibus, and auto-bus companies.

Thus, from 1900 to 1910, inclusive, the Paris Municipal Council has been handing over to private companies under varying conditions for periods extending to 1943 and even to 1980, all the urban public utilities—electricity, water, and passenger traffic, as well as gas, on a somewhat different plan as explained above.

This system of concessions to private companies, producing a considerable reduction in the prices paid formerly by the public for its utilities and offering the city considerable participation in the profits, is now both favorably received by Parisians and very advantageous to the city treasury. In the case of long concessions, the municipality has reserved the right, on certain conditions, to take over the utility at the end of a fixed time, generally after a lapse of ten or fifteen years. But in the present state of mind of the municipality and Paris public opinion, it is not probable that the city will exercise this power. The public especially approves of the plan by which the city participates in the profits derived from the concessions. At the recent municipal election in May, 1912, the question of the municipalization of public utilities or of the city exercising its reserved right of taking over any of them was not brought up at all, and almost every one of the candidates for re-election who favored this system was successful at the polls. If one or two of these were defeated, it was due to quite other and personal reasons.

As I have already said, this system is very beneficial to the Paris treasury. For instance, during the year 1910 it brought in 83,000,000 francs, of which 34 to 35 millions were from gas, 27 to 28 from water, 18 from the subway, and the rest from electricity. The last item is sure to increase rapidly and considerably. It is true that these 83,000,000 francs must meet the interest on large loans which the city was forced to have recourse to in order to carry through some of these enterprises. But it is safe to say that interest and amortizement do not represent more than one-half of the sums which the city receives from these sources; and these sums are sure to increase gradually and notably. I estimate that, toward the middle of the present century, 150 or perhaps even 200 million francs will be the minimum sum which the city will derive from these urban utilities under the present arrangement, of which sum at least one-half, if not three-fifths or two-thirds, will be net profit.

In this matter of urban utilities, most of the cities of France have copied Paris more or less closely. The exceptions are those towns where the municipal council is Socialist or Collectivist; in which cases some of the utilities, especially that of lighting, have been municipalized. But these are rare exceptions in France, and the experiment has not, as a rule, been a success. The city of Elbeuf, for example, offers almost a tragic case. A few years ago the municipal council and the mayor decided to municipalize the gas, and announced their intention to extend this plan to various other industries. But their initial step proved most disastrous, and the municipal gas company was run at a marked loss to the city treasury. The mayor, who represented his town in the Chamber of Deputies, was so affected by the situation and the unpopularity in which he fell, that he actually committed suicide. His death was followed by a new election, when the victorious municipal council immediately leased the city gas interests to a private company.

As a result of all this, municipalization is not in good odor just now in France. A very striking proof of this has recently been furnished. In consequence of the wide-spread complaints over the increased cost of living, the Caillaux Cabinet brought in a bill authorizing the Paris municipality to establish butcher-shops and bakeries. But public opinion was so opposed to this project that the Poincaré Cabinet,

which succeeded the Caillaux Cabinet, promptly withdrew this bill.

It is true that the city of Paris has decided in principle to call for a loan of 200,000,000 francs for constructing or aiding by loans, the construction of cheap working-men's homes; and that the Government has introduced a bill to enable French towns in general to do this same thing. But the bill provides that the towns must, as a rule, come to an arrangement with some co-operative or ordinary stock company to whom will be loaned, at a low interest, the funds necessary to build these houses. So the general idea of the bill is that the municipalities will neither construct nor manage these houses. Even the Minister of Labor, M. Léon Bourgeois, who belongs to the advanced Democratic party, has concurred publicly in this view.

I repeat, therefore, that State ownership and operation of public utilities, that municipalization, that the participation of the departments or public authorities of any kind is in disgrace in France, the final blow to the system having been given by the lamentable failure, still in progress, of the Western Railway management. And I may add that a careful study of the nature and working of the modern State and public bodies to-day, especially in wholly democratic countries, shows that reasons of the highest theoretical gravity add their weight to those of a practical kind in favor of the rejection of the idea of State operation of public utilities of any sort. But my contradictors may point to Germany, and especially to Prussia, as a proof that the State can operate creditably great railway systems. My reply is that Germany and Prussia are in no respects democratic countries; that Prussia is not even a Parliamentary one, subject to electoral servitude and to the instability of elective administrations. The Prussian bureaucracy is very strongly organized, quite independent of Parliament, an autonomous body in no way influenced by the sudden changes of the outside world. Furthermore, we must take into account the German character, and particularly the Prussian character, full of discipline and deeply imbued with the military spirit and functionary pedantism. In other countries, where these conditions do not exist, State railways are far from being above criticism. In Belgium, for instance, which is, however, a very industrial and prosperous, as well as a very calm and sensible nation, the State

operation of the railways has given rise in Parliament to very severe and well-founded criticisms. In this connection I need simply call attention to the recent Parliamentary report of M. Hubert, who has been several times Minister. So strong is the blame in this document that it places the operation of the Belgian roads very much below that of private companies, and especially below that of the French Northern Company, which operates a system similar to those of Belgium. M. Hubert even goes so far as to suggest that it might be advantageous to lease the Belgian roads to one or more companies. Political reasons oppose such a radical change as that, but the mere fact of its being proposed condemns the State management of the Belgian railway system.*

The weakness of State administration in such matters springs from the very nature of our modern contemporary governmental forms. As a general thing, State functionaries advance by age, and even when promotion comes through special choice the fortunate officeholder owes his success largely to the fact that he has served faithfully for many years. It is safe to say that almost never does a State functionary get to the top before he is 50 or 55, often even 60, years old. In big private concerns, on the contrary, you often find important posts filled by men between 35 and 42 or 43 years of age, which is a great advantage to these companies, for energy, decision, and initiative are generally dulled toward 60, and especially so beyond that year. Again, the State officeholder is governed by very narrow rules from which he cannot escape; he has no initiative and is subject to a jealous control. Then there is State accounting, often very niggling; credits parsimoniously accorded which cannot be promptly increased, however necessary and however much such an increase would be to the public good. A State functionary is always hampered, and when the unexpected happens his position is not to be envied. There is much more red tape in State accounts than in those of private companies, with the result that every State enterprise is weighed down by routineism. Another cause of the inferiority of State functionaries arises from their not being able to share in the pecuniary success of the business which they direct. Their salary, which is

* I go into this report in detail in the fourth edition of my book *L'État Moderne et ses Fonctions,* pages 258 to 268. Paris: *Librairie; Félix Alcan.*

always very modest, remains stationary, whatever the profits of the business may be. A salary of from 25,000 to 35,000 francs is considered very high in the French official world. In a recent Parliamentary report the idea was put forward that no officeholder should be paid more than a deputy or senator—that is, 15,000 francs a year. But in big private concerns the managers come in for a large share in the profits. I know cases where engineers from 35 to 45 years old, and directors of insurances companies, receive regularly from 120,000 to 200,000 francs annually. Small salaries tend to produce inertness in those who receive them, while salaries that grow with the progress of the business have the contrary effect.

But this does not close the list of circumstances which oppose the operation of public utilities by the State or municipalities. In our modern democratic countries the Government and public men are beset by election considerations. Officeholders are always thinking of the elections, and are, furthermore, subjected to the whims of the politicians, who can either turn them out of office or prevent their advancement. The result is that State officials, whatever their grade may be, are not free agents in matters electoral. The Government in France does not hesitate, on the eve of an election, to send officials a circular letter ordering them to support the Government's candidates. The consequence is that the liberty of choice at the ballot-box, and, therefore, political liberty, is sadly infringed upon in a country and among a people where the central Government enjoys extensive powers. The transferring of officials to another post and their dismissal on account of political hostility or even lukewarmness is a common occurrence in France.

Germany furnished recently a striking example of Government pressure, though of a somewhat different character from those just mentioned. I refer to the Prussian Government stopping all orders of railway material from the Graffenstadten works in Alsace, for the openly declared reason that this concern had at its head a director who was unfriendly to Germany. The company was given clearly to understand that this policy would be continued so long as this objectionable person remained at his post. After some hesitation the board of directors removed him. This pressure from a Government operating an important railway

system is not always exercised in such a bold fashion, but it makes itself felt almost always either openly or secretly. The consequence is that here again the political liberty of the citizen is infringed upon.

There is an objection of still another sort, and a very grave one, against State ownership of public utilities. To meet the demands of one kind and another which they entail, the Government is obliged to be continually borrowing. But repeated loans depreciate public credit, so that in a grave crisis a Government finds it difficult to obtain loans necessary to the very life of the nation. Many examples of this might be given. Take Russia, for example. Before the outbreak in 1904 of the Russo-Japanese War the Tsar's Government took over the larger part of the railways and began operating them, which greatly increased the country's debt; for the Government, to meet this expense and make the necessary extensions, was obliged to negotiate a big loan almost every year, the result being that at the moment of the commencement of hostilities, the debt had attained 16 or 17 milliards of francs. The defeats came and then the credit of Russia collapsed. The public of England and France recalled that even in peace times the Russian Government was forced to borrow annually, but it was not remembered that this money was for the building of railways. So the Russian 5 per cents. fell below 80. There can be no doubt that if Russia had not squandered so many milliards in buying and building railways, but had left all this to private companies, her debt would have been less and the moral effect produced by this immense total would have been less harmful. It required four or five years after the peace for Russian credit to recover itself, and during that period the Government could borrow only on very hard terms and could not renew the rolling-stock of her railways or go on with their extension. But if the roads had been in the possession of companies with shareholders in France, Belgium, and Holland, for example, the money would have been easily found. In fact, the Russian Government has been compelled to hand back to private companies a large part of its roads in order not to be obliged each year to go abroad seeking money and thus weaken still further its foreign credit.

A similar but less pronounced example of this same thing is furnished by Germany. It cannot be denied that

Germany is a prosperous country, and its situation both at home and abroad, appears to be very solid. Yet the German public funds are relatively low, considerably below the French. The difference is relatively enormous, and there is a tendency for it to go on falling. In 1898 the German 3 per cents. were only 5 or 6 points below the French 3 per cents., the average figure of the first being 95 and the second 100½. But in June of the past year there was a difference of 14 points, the German 3 per cents. being quoted at 79 and the French 3 per cents. at 93½. Several reasons have been advanced to explain this difference, but it seems to me that the principal one has been overlooked. For twenty years France has asked no public loan, the French Government, until the taking over of the Western Railway in 1908, abstaining from any large scheme requiring a great amount of capital, whereas the German Government, and especially the Prussian Government, owning and operating the State railways, have been obliged and are still obliged to borrow every year in order to better the existing lines and to construct new ones. The result is that the French public funds have never been brought into competition with new loans, while the existing German public funds have to meet, and are still meeting every year, the competition and pressure occasioned by these new issues of Government bonds. In fact, this singular situation has come to pass: German public funds are now lower than those of Italy, Switzerland, and even Norway. At the end of last June, German 3½ per cents. were selling at 90, while Italian 3½, notwithstanding the war with Turkey, the uncertainty as to how it will end, and the expenses occasioned thereby, were worth 97.80; Swiss 3½, 91 and 92; and Norwegian 3½, 91 and 93. This depression in the public funds of Germany might also be partly attributed to the expenses of the navy, but the fact remains that if Prussia and the German States were not burdened with the construction and the operation of the railways of the country, the German Empire would not be asking at every moment for money and its credit would not stand so low as it does.

It is a source of unquestionable strength for a nation to have good credit, especially at the moment of some great crisis which may come at any hour. At such a time those who have money to lend, knowing that the French 3 per cents. have stood for more than a quarter of a century in

the neighborhood of par and even above, would be more disposed to subscribe to a public loan required by the circumstances of the moment and at a rate that would not be a burden to the country. Our fine position in this respect has, however, been somewhat marred since we took over and began operating the Western Railway. In order to extend its system, the Government this present year has had to borrow 300,000,000 francs, and this will have to be repeated in the immediate years to come; so this loan, with the 8 to 9 million to follow, will unquestionably have a weakening effect on French credit. Though these new bonds are of a different sort from our 3 per cents., the latter have already declined 2 per cent. and are now vacillating.

I need not dwell longer on this question of State ownership. From the point of view of pure political economy there can be no question that it is an evil. Nor is the conclusion less positive when the matter is considered from a sociological, a political, or a financial point of view.

PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU.

AMERICAN LIBRARIES AND THE INVESTIGATOR

BY HERBERT PUTNAM

THE characteristic development of American libraries during the past half-century has been in the "popularization" of their service. Induced by a sense of obligation to the more general public, this has implied a special attention to what is called "the general reader." It has involved not merely schemes for attracting him, simplification of the apparatus with which he must deal in reaching the books, and a greater diversity of personal service in interpreting the collections to his taste or need, but also, in the choice of the books to be acquired and emphasis upon those adapted to his taste or calculated to meet his need. As regards his taste, these may be the most ordinary editions, for he is not engaged in those studies which require comparison of texts; and in the literature of knowledge, his need being for a lucid and also interesting presentation of fact, it will, as a rule, be satisfied, and even best served, by those books which expound and interpret. It does not require those which are the "original sources."

But the scholar, the investigator, cannot be so satisfied. He must have, in pure literature, the variant editions from the earliest; and in the literature of science (including history), the original sources. What during the half-century has been done for him by our libraries? In what case is an American scholar to-day who wishes to pursue his researches without a trip abroad?

A recent publication of the Bureau of Education helps to answer this question. It is a list, grouped by subject, of the "special collections" in the libraries of the United States. It offers thus a conspectus of the literature available here to one pursuing research in any one of the numer-

ous fields of knowledge. It is based not on an examination of the libraries, but on reports from the authorities in charge of them. It is thus necessarily defective; for even assuming the response to have been painstaking, it will in the case of the larger research libraries limit its specifications to the groups which stand out from the general collection, assuming that if the latter is not already familiar, it is, at any rate, too large and too diversified to be described within the compass of such a report. Yet it may be this very general collection whose strength is important, for it will be the one which will be apt to contain that vast body of miscellanea, touching every department of knowledge, which is the fiber and backbone of a good "working library."

The "special collections" reported will, on the other hand, be apt to be merely those which, acquired *en bloc,* by gift or purchase, and for some reason kept distinct, are recorded and referred to by some special title, or the name of the collector or of the donor. Even thus the list is suggestive.

The two features which first strike the attention are, the geographical location of the research material in general, and the lack of concentration in any particular institution of the material in a particular field which might result from its situation, its constituency, or the specialization of its collections under some general agreement.

A map of the United States indicating the present distribution of population would show over two-thirds of it to lie west of the Alleghanies. The present center of population is a point in southern Indiana. But of the three hundred odd institutions reporting in this list only forty lie west of the Alleghanies, and of these ten—no less than a quarter—are in Chicago, or the neighboring burg of Evanston. Apart, indeed, from Chicago, the research collections in the Middle, the Western, and the Southern States are exceedingly few, cover but sparse areas in literature, and these, if we except the material local to the region, areas of little apparent importance or relevance to any distinctive need. A great "source" collection in Pacific-coast history (such as the H. H. Bancroft) is logically fitting and useful at Berkeley. A notable collection on Australia may render good service in seminar and thesis work at Palo Alto, since any interest in continents beyond the Pacific naturally affects the higher studies along the Pacific slope. But the

availability at the University of California of a notable collection on the French Revolution is due only to the fortunate accident of the presence in its faculty of an historian who has "collected" on that subject. Similarly the collection on ichthyology at Leland Stanford, due to the presence there of Dr. Jordan. Among other collections whose location is traceable especially to such personal contact or interest are the Hopkins (also at Stanford) on railways; the J. J. Hill (at Madison) on railway economics; the Stearns (at Ann Arbor) on musical instruments; or the Swante Palm (at Austin, Texas) on Swedish history; the last named a wide reach indeed from the natural site of material in this field, which is of course either Chicago, Minnesota, or Wisconsin. That Dutch history should be a prime concern of the libraries of New York is obvious; but one would not look for a special collection on early Amsterdam in a library at Chicago (the John Crerar), nor one on Arctic exploration in a library at Cleveland, especially not in one whose devotion is particularly to the history of the mid-West. And by what happy, if illogical, chance has Ann Arbor come to be possessed of a collection—worthy of emphasis—on the early history of Ireland, or De Pauw, in Indiana, of one on Martial, or, for that matter, a Wisconsin historical society of a collection of Dutch literature, or a theological seminary at Chicago of a collection of Egyptology, or another seminary at Atlanta of a collection on the Greek-Russian Church?

On the history and literature of the particular denominations which sustain them the seminaries of the West have collected considerable records, but it is as widely dissociate as they are scattered: the Wesley movement may be studied at Evanston (in the Garrett Institute), the Lutheran at Rock Island and Dubuque, the Methodist Episcopal (South) at St. Louis, the Unitarian at Berkeley; but a *comparative* study would require a visit to all of these places. For theology in general even the considerable collections in Chicago might not exempt the student from an examination of the sixteenth and seventeenth century material in the College of Mount St. Clement at De Soto, Missouri, or the texts or exegesis in St. Anselm's at St. Meinrad, Indiana. And if in Semitica he can get along without a trip to the preeminent collection in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he may still find one desirable to that of the

Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. The study of Mormonism may be pursued at Chicago, but may require recourse to Madison and to Lincoln, Nebraska.

In science there is but a note here and there of any special collection of significance outside of Chicago. In botany the most notable in the West is that of the Missouri Botanical Garden at St. Louis; but there is thought also worthy of report the collection in the Lloyd Library at Cincinnati—also stated to be strong in *materia medica* and pharmacy; while the State Laboratory of Natural History at Urbana, Illinois, boasts distinction in the literature of economic entomology, and especial attraction for those pursuing the fascinating themes of the "phylla vermes" and the "arthropoda." The anatomist may, however, need to examine the Wilhelmhis collection, and the ophthalmologist the Cohn collection, at the University of Minnesota, and the investigator into the theory of grain rusts the literature of mycology also there; just as the student of iron-ore deposits may have to familiarize himself with the Kimball collection at Seattle, and the ichthyologist, as already indicated, with the Jordan collection at Palo Alto, or the microscopist with the collection of the San Francisco Society deposited at Berkeley.

The purchases for a university library are, as a rule, determined by the several faculties. Naturally, then, the emphasis will vary according to the vigor and enterprise of the several department chiefs for the time being; but with also a recognition of the fact that in certain departments the library itself being the laboratory, and the books necessary apparatus, their claims are entitled to preference. Particularly will this be true in history, in literature, and in the social sciences. Yet it is chiefly in the classical literatures that special collections are reported: as the Schulze and the Scherer at Evanston, the Reifferschied at Lake Forest, the Dittenberger at Urbana, the Kirchoff at Reno. The titles of these indicate their origin—the private library of some German professor acquired *en bloc*. Plato Alto names the Hildebrand in Germanic and Ann Arbor the Walter in Romance, together with a distinction not to be overlooked in the literature of Julius Cæsar, Goethe, Shakespeare, and the early English drama.

In the social sciences and sociology the mention of distinctive collections is meager: the Rau at Madison, Masonry

at Cedar Rapids. But in the foregoing notes I have included practically all of the places and the institutions reporting located west of the Alleghanies, except those in Chicago itself. Chicago contains (besides the public library, whose chief responsibility is, however, the general reader, and the Northwestern University with its fine Gary collection of law) three powerful collections for research. They are those of the University, of the Newberry Library, and of the John Crerar. The latter two, endowed and having divided the field between them, insure the most efficient development within their respective areas: the Crerar devoting itself to the natural, physical, and social sciences (including medicine); the Newberry specializing in history, philosophy, arts, and letters. Philology and pure science are, naturally, for the most part left to the University pursuant to its service as an academic library.* The united collections of these three institutions now number over seven hundred volumes, and the resources which in the aggregate they present to the investigator are indeed not merely prospectively, but in fact, formidable. They are, however, be it observed, concentrated in a single city within this vast area (west and south of the Alleghanies) embracing over two million square miles and two-thirds of the population of the United States. They are at an average distance of perhaps a thousand miles from a given investigator within this area. And outside of them, though the libraries are numerous and many of them constitute good "working" collections, some of them specialized material for the study of the locality; few, indeed, of them possess material important for original research in outside fields.

East of the Alleghanies the situation is far more favorable. There are indeed discrepancies, for while the main concentration is in a metropolis (New York), some of the most highly specialized collections are scattered elsewhere. Three university libraries—at Cambridge, Ithaca, and New Haven —are indispensable to the investigation of certain fields;† the Boston Public Library contains the Barton collection

* Yet the Lucien Bonaparte collection is not in the University Library, but in the Newberry.

† The student of philology, of literature, and of European history must visit Harvard; the student of Dante, of Petrarch, of Icelandic literature, or of certain fields of history must have recourse to the Willard Fiske and Andrew White collections at Cornell; the student of Oriental literature cannot avoid a visit to New Haven.

(Shakespeariana) and the Ticknor (Spanish literature); Wellesley College has the Plimpton collection (Tasso, Ariosto, and other Italian contemporaries); while the most notable collection of early Americana (wherever published) is at Providence. The investigator in statistics may need to consult the library of the American Statistical Society at Boston, while the Orientalist seeking original texts as well as commentaries may have to oscillate between New Haven, New York, Princeton, Brunswick, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

Yet the distances thus to be traversed are not prohibitive; and if to the resources of the New England and mid-Atlantic States we add those of the District of Columbia, the aggregate may seem impressive. In mere bulk it is; and a map of the United States graphically representing it would show this territory east of the Alleghanies deeply shaded, while that to the south and west, with the exception of a dark block in northern Illinois, would be white or of the lightest gray.

But the relative smallness of the area suggests another question: how far is this near proximity of these collections inducing a subdivision of the field of literature, which, by concentrating the funds of a particular institution or group of institutions upon a specified subject, shall insure the greatest possible aggregate of research material in the institutions as a whole? Unhappily, the evidence of such a subdivision is small. Not merely does each institution accept without demur, even courts, collections having no relevance to its locality or immediate service, it even goes further and applies its unrestricted funds to an attempt at an independent " comprehensiveness " of its own. The explanation is in part, perhaps, an inconsiderate vanity; but it is also, doubtless, the lack thus far of a system of inter-library loans sufficiently general to enable the unusual books in one collection to respond to the unusual need addressed to another.

The disposition to lend such books is in certain libraries quite notable; and the practice—as at Harvard—conforms to it. It is indeed recognized by a present committee of the American Library Association charged to formulate rules and methods for such loans. But the adoption of a general system, and one applicable generally to all classes of research material, finds in this group of libraries two obstacles: one, the fact that the particular book desired may be part

of a collection which by the terms of some gift or bequest cannot "circulate" outside of the institution; the other, some administrative rule or policy which regards the utility of the collection as proportioned to its completeness on the shelves for the reference use of a resident or visiting investigator. Every one of the large research libraries of the East holds collections subject to one or the other of such limitations. The Astor and Lenox collections in the New York Public Library are instances, or the John Carter Brown, a collection exclusively for reference use. The legal limitation where it exists is, of course, a fact and conclusive, and the administrative policy has much in its favor. It is and has always been the policy of the British Museum; and it has been deliberately adopted as the policy of the John Crerar at Chicago. In the case of the British Museum it is the less of a hardship because the collection is in a great metropolis, within a few hours' travel from any point in the British Isles. New York City is also a great metropolis, and much might be urged in favor of the policy of reserve there.

Its result, however, together with the effect of limitations purely legal, is to tie up within narrow areas of the East great masses of material important for research. It is not, therefore, the libraries of the East from which the investigator residing in the West or South can expect loans.

There remain the governmental libraries at Washington. These, with collections subject to no such limitations either legal or the result of administrative policy, have also an apparent duty to the country as a whole, since they are Federal and maintained by the country as a whole.

They include collections comprehensive—certain of them pre-eminent—in particular fields of science—as the library of the Geographical Survey, that of the Department of Agriculture, and that of the Surgeon-General's Office; but also the Library of Congress, which, while deferring to the specialties of the others, undertakes *all* fields. Of these, the library of the Surgeon-General's office, with its incomparable collection in medicine, surgery, and hygiene, instituted years ago the policy of liberal loans to distant inquirers; and there is no one of them that would refuse a request based upon a serious need.

With the Library of Congress the policy of loan was adopted after its removal to the new building and, incidental-

ly, to the nationalization of its service there. Its disposition is complete and embraces all classes of material not within the duty of a local institution to supply, with the sole reservation of that which cannot at the moment be spared from Washington, or that which from its bulk or character cannot be risked in transportation. This latter does not exclude from the loans material that is costly, rare, or difficult to replace, for it may be exactly such that will be most urgently needed because unavailable elsewhere. The policy in vogue, therefore, makes actually available to an investigator in any part of the United States the resources represented by its two million printed books and pamphlets and a large portion of the million other items, including its collection of music, many scores from which (unique in this country) have from time to time been forwarded to distant points to convenience a serious investigator. Such an investigator has only to apply to his local library, which requests the loan in his behalf. He must, however, meet the expense of transportation. And it is this which at present prevents a large development in the volume of the service. The parcels post recently enacted does not include such material, and while ten pounds of butter may be conveyed on a rural free-delivery route for fourteen cents, ten pounds of books would cost eighty cents.

A book, or at least a library, post which would favor literature at least equally with the ordinary articles of commerce, is so obviously just that the demand for it ought to be pressed to success. Certainly as applied to interlibrary loans it ought to meet with no objection. It would not give undue advantage to the large department store in the great centers doing a mail-order business to the detriment of the local dealer. Its purpose would not be commercial at all, but educational and scientific; and to favor it would be quite consistent with the general policy of the mails.

Its effect in evening conditions over this huge expanse of country would be incalculable. For it is a mistake to assume that important research is carried on only at the centers of population, or even at the larger academic centers. In original research it is the man who counts. And in the smaller communities, especially, of course, in the smaller colleges all over this country, there are men competent for it, eager to undertake it, who are handicapped by the lack of

material. If it require a laboratory, the lack cannot be made good from elsewhere. But if it require merely a book it may be, and if it can be made good by the Federal Government, it ought to be. For the loan of a book is not a subsidy in the sense that it takes something substantial from other people for his benefit. His use draws nothing from the book which does not still remain there; and his use concluded, the book returns undiminished in its competence to render a similar service elsewhere.

It *does* return, for so secure is transportation to-day that since the inauguration of the system not a single item has been lost in transit. Abroad a similar experience; and in Germany, in Italy, and elsewhere masses of material, even precious and unique manuscripts, are sent from one end of the country to another without demur or apprehension.

The early purpose of these governmental collections at Washington was, of course, the service to the Government itself in its several departments—legislative, executive, and judicial. The creation, under the executive, of scientific bureaus necessarily widened their scope; for the work of these bureaus, while tending to some "practical" aim, in fact involves theoretic investigation in almost every branch of science. The amount annually expended in such investigation exceeds that of a number of other Governments put together. Its rapid enlargement in recent times is evidenced by the fact that in the Department of Agriculture alone the annual appropriations have increased during the past fifteen years from three to twenty-five millions of dollars. The collections have expanded correspondingly, so that outside of the Library of Congress itself these embrace now nearly a million and a half volumes. The strength of certain of these I have already indicated. For the scientist they are complemented by numerous items acquired by the Library of Congress with the deliberate aim of complementing them; and also by the great collection there of the publications of learned societies (exchanges of the Smithsonian) which, embodying the first communication of the results of scientific investigation, are the prime "source material" in the literature of science; and by the pre-eminent collection, also there, of the publications of foreign Governments received through international exchange.

This latter collection furnishes also essential resource for the investigator in history, in administration, in politics,

and in law; its 350,000 volumes recording not merely the enactments, but the legislative proceedings of most of the nations of the globe. Auxiliary to them are the files of miscellaneous serials—some fifteen thousand of which are currently received—and of representative newspapers. Years ago it was ascertained that of some 2,000 sets—mostly serial—requisite for the study of European history, only two-thirds were to be found in the libraries of the United States as a whole. The defect is, doubtless, receiving the attention of many libraries; at the Library of Congress it has induced the placing of orders for every item lacking.

In law, the richest single collection in the United States is still, doubtless, that at Harvard. But the collection at Washington is being developed rapidly, as becomes its proper future as the library of our highest tribunal and as the appropriate source of knowledge of the laws of all foreign countries; not merely those under which they have developed, but those under which they are living and acting to-day. For the student of comparative jurisprudence it is likely that this collection will offer the completest resources to be found in this country.

In history, the source material (except as it may be monuments) is manuscript; and the manuscript sources of foreign history are and will substantially remain, abroad. In the history of America, however, in which the interest of American historians largely lies and to which the duty of this national library particularly applies, a scheme of transcript and of facsimile is bringing to Washington exact *reproductions* of the important documents which will save to many an investigator a trip abroad.

The literature of sociology is itself chiefly secondary in form, and in printed sources reasonably procurable. While investigations highly specialized may, therefore, require recourse to such a collection as the Ely or the Gerritsen at Chicago (in which many a fugitive pamphlet has been preserved), the main body of it will in the ordinary course become available in the national collection.

Nor are these, though the natural, the only fields in which the Library of Congress offers, or will offer, material for investigation independent of local conditions. Its acquisitions have included certain collections *en bloc,* which represent distinctive strength in unexpected fields; the Albrecht Weber collection in Indology, for instance; the Huitfeldt-

Kaas in Scandinavian history and literature; the Yudin in Russian and Siberian history, institutions, and literature (the last named the richest, perhaps, outside of Russia). And if we add the collection of maps, of music, and of prints, the prospective acquisitions in the literature proper of the fine arts and architecture, and the department of Semitica recently founded by a notable gift and with assurances favorable to its future, it will be apparent that in theory, at least, the library eschews no department of the literature of knowledge.

Which is not to say that recourse to it could now, or will ever, exempt an investigator (particularly in history, in theology, or in language and literature) from a visit to the research libraries of the more northern East, or from drafts upon them.

The more reason, then, for the inauguration among them of a policy of differentiation among themselves that will insure the most efficient application of their own resources as a whole; the avoidance on the part of each of expenditure — either for acquisition or for administration — in specialized material either unnecessary for its immediate service or unnecessarily duplicating what is already or might be made sufficiently available elsewhere; and such a liberality in the treatment of it as shall promote research in general and not merely that of the immediate locality.

Included in this treatment should be not merely the actual loan of particular books, but a wide dissemination of information as to the contents of their collections that may have distinctive value. This may consist of prompt and generous response to any particular inquiry, but it ought to include a permanent exhibit at various points of at least portions of their catalogues. The present system of card catalogue, with the cards printed, offers opportunity for this. It enables the Library of Congress, for instance, to place at some fifty different institutions which are centers of investigations what will constitute such a complete exhibit of its printed books and pamphlets. And "union" catalogues, consolidating with these sets, cards which represent distinctive books or editions not in the Library of Congress but available in some other collection, ought to be available not merely at Boston, at New York, and at Chicago (where to some extent they are already in process), but at certain other places as well.

Should a differentiation in these fields be attempted, what should be its basis? A definition universally applicable would be impracticable, for within any particular area it must take account of the existing situation; and in proportion to the area it may have to be modified. An exhaustive collection on marriage at the John Crerar may well exempt other Chicago libraries from specializing in this particular topic, but a Dante collection at Ithaca may not render unnecessary a considerable Dante collection at Cambridge, for the faculties and students of Harvard also are engaged in original investigations which require the main source books as well as the commentaries for continuous service there. In this latter case it is only the rare and rarely needed volume, which—liberality in loan being assumed—should not be duplicated. Certain general principles may, however, be posited, among them these:

1. The functions of the particular library should be considered, its local constituency, or its choice of constituency, and its control of its own development. A municipal library, with a duty primarily to the diffusion rather than the advance of learning, is in a different case from an academic library which is looked to to promote the research work of its faculties; and both of these are in a different case from an endowed library, such as the Crerar, the Newberry, or the Lenox, which were free to select a field and, incidentally, a constituency; or from the Carter Brown, which, by the terms of its foundation, has both field and constituency determined for it.

2. A library already pre-eminent in a specialty should be allowed to pursue it, if its resources permit.

3. Research in any given subject tending to ramify into many fields of literature, the greatest practicable *concentration* of material in a few main centers, will tend to convenience it. Special collections—not merely local—proposed as gifts should, therefore, be directed to the libraries at such centers rather than to some outlying point where they will be ineffective in their isolation. The present main centers would, perhaps, be Boston, New York, Chicago, and Washington; the last named because, though not a center of population, it is the national capital. Its present collections are large and in some fields pre-eminent; they are already consulted by numerous investigators (and, incidentally, serve as an invigorating or cultivating influence

upon thousands of ordinary visitors); and being under a national authority, with a duty to the country as a whole, their service is made to reach out, where possible, to the entire country. The existence at Washington of a great museum and of scientific laboratories, such as those of the Bureau of Standards and that (in geophysics) of the Carnegie Institution, all freely hospitable to a visiting investigator, also insures there an effective use of the literature of science in connection with the concrete investigations if in science, just as the presence there of Congress, of the Federal Executive, and of the Supreme Court offers unique opportunity for observation in the field of law, politics, and administration, and the presence of the Carnegie Bureau of Historical Research promotes it in the study of history.

With a differentiation in effect, and the co-operation with interchange of service, which is a condition of it, we may see beyond the American zeal in acquisition which brings masses of precious material to this country, and then cumulates it in a few favored centers; we may see the American talent for efficiency applying itself to the diffusion of this material in a service to American scholarship as a whole.

HERBERT PUTNAM.

THE COMMERCIAL AWAKENING OF THE MORO AND PAGAN

BY MAJOR JOHN P. FINLEY, UNITED STATES ARMY

In the United States the army has been the forerunner of civilization throughout our great Western empire, preparing vast territories for Statehood and cementing an indissoluble union. It has helped the Cuban people to take all the successive steps necessary to the establishment of their own constitutional government and transferred that government to them amid universal expressions of friendship and good-will. It co-operated with the navy in breaking the power of Spain in the Pacific and in acquiring dominion therein, which suddenly elevated the United States to a world power and severed the bonds of provincialism. It has crushed and terminated a great insurrection, February 4, 1899, to July 4, 1902, in the vast Philippine Archipelago, with its 3,141 islands and islets and its total land and water area of 832,968 square miles. It reared a stable government upon the ashes of the Philippine insurrection and transferred the body politic intact and vigorous to the civil authorities on July 1, 1901.

Thus from a state of enervating peace the military forces of the country were suddenly mobilized, following the destruction of the *Maine* on February 15, 1898, and never ceased from incessant conflict until the proclamation of peace and amnesty in the Philippines, issued by the President on July 4, 1902. The dual process by which the military power had steadily and consistently acquired control, and exercised the authority of government over the various provinces of the Archipelago and, at the same time, had been superseded progressively by civil administration, was then terminated, and a complete system of civil government, constructed under the President's instructions of April 7, 1900,

was in operation ready to proceed under the authority of Congress as expressed in the Philippine Government Act of July 1, 1902.

The establishment of civil government in the Christian provinces of the Philippines did not separate the army from another function devolving upon it, in the control and development of the Moros and Pagans of the southern islands of the Archipelago.

The instructions of the President to the Philippine Commission of April 7, 1900, contained the following reference to these people:

"In dealing with the uncivilized tribes of the Islands the Commission should adopt the same course followed by Congress in permitting the tribes of our North-American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government, and under which many of those tribes are now living in peace and contentment, surrounded by a civilization to which they are unable or unwilling to conform. Such tribal governments should, however, be subjected to wise and firm regulation, and without undue or petty interference constant and active effort should be exercised to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs."

These instructions also provide that the military forces in the Philippines shall be at all times subject, under the orders of the military commander, to the call of the civil authorities for the maintenance of law and order and for the enforcement of their authority.

The above instructions were approved and adopted by Congress on July 1, 1902, and the Secretary of War directed that they would continue to guide the civil and military authorities in the Philippines in their dealings with the Moros and Pagans.

In regard to the control of the non-Christian tribes, Mr. Root as Secretary of War, said:

"The questions to be worked out in that process are altogether apart from the general questions of government in the Philippines, and such measures of force as are necessary to control the various Moro tribes have no more relation to the recent Philippine insurrection than our troubles with the Sioux or the Apaches had to do with the suppression of the Southern Rebellion."

Thus we have presented a distinct announcement of the Moro problem, and of its general relation to the other problems in the Philippines, before the Government of the United States.

After the inauguration of Judge Taft (President of the Philippine Commission) as the first American Civil Gov-

ernor of the Philippines on July 4, 1901, he early gave consideration to the Moro problem and said, in his annual report for 1901:

> "It is evident that if we are not to fail in our duty toward the savage or half-civilized people of these islands, active measures must be taken for the gathering of reliable information concerning them as a basis for legislation."

This view of the matter resulted in the enactment of a law providing for the organization and operation of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, which was later absorbed, by further legislation, into the Bureau of Science, now the home of the principal scientific divisions of the Insular Government.

From the study thus engaged in Governor Taft proceeded, by his usual thorough and conservative methods, to the development of a special form of government to deal with the complex and peculiar questions confronting the civil and military authorities in the Moro country. It was a deep and perplexing study, for no precedent existed in the United States that fully measured up to the requirements of the situation. Our Indian problems were somewhat similar, but the details of administration and the powerful influences of caste and religion had to be worked out on a different basis. The final result of this absorbing application to the essentials of a new subject was the enactment by the Philippine Commission on June 1, 1903, of Act No. 787 as the organic law of the Moro Province. Its law-making body was styled the legislative council, and the enacting clause of its laws required the form, "by authority of the Philippine Commission, be it enacted by the legislative council of the Moro Province." The semi-independent character of this new government can be seen by comparing its law-enacting clause with that required of the Commission, as "by authority of the United States, be it enacted by the Philippine Commission." An examination of the organic act shows that the Commission granted to the legislative council a very large measure of discretion in dealing with the Moros (Mohammedans) and in preserving, as far as possible, consistent with the fundamental act, the customs of the Moros, the authority of the Datus, and a system of justice in which Moros and Pagans could take part.

Having thus provided for a rational system of administering justice among the non-Christians, attention was directed to their industrial development. Both of these fields of

social and physical betterment had been neglected under Spanish dominion. The main idea with the Spanish conquerors was the spread of Catholicism and the establishment of the authority of the Papal Church. The various orders of the Church engaged in considerable conflict over the assignment of territory, methods of administration, and the accumulation of property. Both Moros and Pagans resisted with violence the proselytism of these orders. Dogmatic frontal attacks upon their systems of religion were not calculated to gain their confidence and co-operation. All attempts at conversion to Christianity among the Moros resulted in complete failure. The natives stood in dire need of industrial and educational betterment and would have welcomed such assistance. A very large measure of the three hundred years of irritation, conflict, rapine and degradation could have been avoided by the more rational line of approach. For centuries the hill people (Pagans and farmers) and the coast people (Mohammedans and traders) had been and were still in serious conflict, because at variance in matters of religion and trade. The Spanish Missionaries, with a combination of Church and State, widened the breach of discord between the Moros and Pagans by forcibly introducing another system of religion, opposed to each class of natives, and ignoring entirely the only feasible plan of amalgamation, through harmonizing the trade relations of the factional races. With the advent of American control, involving a separation of Church and State, the irritating element of a new religion, imposed as part of the system of government, was avoided at the outset. When this fact was made clear to the Moros and Pagans by Governor Finley, through numerous public meetings *(bicharas)* held with them, a bond of sympathy and a basis of co-operation began to be established, which has steadily grown in strength and influence. Taking advantage of this favorable situation, Governor Finley sought to remove the animosities in trade relations, between the hill people and the coast people, a matter of vast importance to each of the two races and of vital import to the Government in establishing a successful system of control over these people. Similar conditions gave rise in 1904–1907 to the great Pulajan insurrection in the island of Samar between the Pulajans (hill people) and the Dagattaus (coast people), finally terminated by the provisions of Act 1,759, Philippine

Commission, of October 10, 1907, establishing proper trade relations between these factions. The hill people crave salt, sea foods, and manufactured articles, whereas the coast people demand for food, vegetables, cereals and tobacco; and for trade a large variety of forest products only gathered by the hill people. These articles are the products of totally different occupations among Moros and Pagans, and so maintained with much scrupulosity between hill tribes and coast tribes, as, for example, between the Yakans and the Samals, and between the Subanuns and Kalibugans.

In the matter of manufactured articles, such as cloth, beads, steel, gambier, wire, and so forth, the hill people have traded at coast towns with Chinese, Europeans and Filipinos, and have generally suffered seriously through graft and extortion. The exchange would be made in kind and the ignorant farmer from the hills, not informed as to the current market prices, would be swindled unmercifully. This form of imposition, in addition to the *pamuka* system of enforced taxation, carried out by the native chiefs, reduced the *taus* (common people) to a state of cruel bondage, deprived them of everything but scanty subsistence, and accumulated debts which were deliberately employed to enslave the debtor and his family.

In his annual report for 1904 General Wood wrote on this subject:

> "There has been much said about the paternal form of Moro slavery, but after a year of almost continuous contact with the Moros, in all of the principal districts of the Moro Province, it can be stated that it would be difficult to imagine a worse form of slavery. The slave had absolutely no rights. His wife, his daughters, and his property were entirely subject to the will of his owner, and he himself could be sold or even killed with impunity."

From the inception of the Moro problem, under American control, to the present time the slavery question has received the earnest attention and the most humane consideration due it, by the successive commanding generals of the Department of Mindanao and Jolo, from the days of General Bates to the present régime of General Pershing. The slave Act No. 8 of the Moro Province was prepared by General Wood and enacted by the legislative council September 24, 1903.

In October and November, 1903, Governor Finley called at Zamboanga the first durbars or conferences ever held

among the Moros and Pagans, and which were attended by several thousand people. At these meetings slavery, the prohibition of the possession and use of firearms and cutting weapons, the opening of markets and other public questions were discussed, and, as far as practicable, the purpose and policy of the American Government were announced. Following the meetings, Governor Finley spent much time in visiting the principal Moro *rancherias,* looking into the surroundings and needs of the people and selecting locations for markets and trading-places, ascertaining native products and their values, and pointing the way for better trading and more profitable methods of agriculture. The natives were also instructed regarding the introduction and use of the standard currency of the Philippines and how to exchange debased coins for the new standard. In all of this work the Moros and Pagans took deep interest, especially the common people. Too often it was apparent that the chiefs were not in favor of a change that meant the independence of their ignorant followers. But the leaven soon began to work and the real producers of the country were eager to learn from Governor Finley his plans for their industrial emancipation. Then began a series of meetings at which the plans and purposes of the Moro Exchange system were unfolded to the anxious and earnest tillers of the soil, who longed for freedom from the terrors of slavery and the crushing burdens of the *pamuka* system of taxation. These long-suffering people eagerly subscribed their mites (offering stock, products or money, according to their possessions) to aid in the construction of the parent Moro Exchange at Zamboanga, which was completed and opened with a great celebration and fiesta on September 1, 1904. All classes of people joined with the government officials in making the occasion a notable event. The Moros and Pagans crowded the big market-place with their products and wares, which by nightfall were almost entirely disposed of. In that unique emporium of wild men, the first of its kind ever gathered under the tropical sun of Moro land, slaves jostled masters and felt the first thrills of freedom and the quickening impulse of self-control, in the possession of that which was lawfully and rightfully theirs, as the product of their own ingenuity and labor. Thus opened the first (parent) exchange and trading store in the history of Moro land, formally and lawfully established under the

provisions of Act No. 55 of the legislative council of the Moro Province, enacted June 14, 1904.

Since then to June 30, 1911, branch exchanges and trading stores have been established at thirty other Moro *rancherias* in the District of Zamboanga and at several *rancherias* in the other districts of the Moro Province.

As a consequence the volume of business has steadily increased as has also the general prosperity among the Moros and Pagans. More of the standard money of the Islands is in circulation among these people than ever before in their history. Through the association made possible by these exchanges a much better feeling of sympathy and helpfulness has arisen between the Mohammedans and Pagans. The former have become more tolerant in their religious views and more willing to seek co-operation for mutual benefit along the lines of commercial and agricultural development. The Moros are now disposed to look upon the despised and hated Pagan hill people as worthy of consideration, because, through the influence of commercial association, developed by the Moro Exchange system, these natural and long-time enemies have found a common ground on which they can get together, and profit more by friendly association and business ventures than by the process of slavery and extermination.

The Moros and Pagans in Spanish times never took kindly to direct taxation, as made necessary through the imposition of the *cedula,* or poll tax, and the requirements for service on public works. Although accustomed to such a system of imposts as part of their feudal form of government yet the common people always resented the collection of this form of revenue, whether obtained in kind or in legal tender. The chiefs and their *sakopes* (immediate followers) maintained the system as their only means of support, and it was so regulated that it never failed to bring returns, either in money or kind, or in human flesh.

When the American system replaced the feudal one and generally subjected all classes of people to the same imposts, and applied the provisions of law impartially, the chiefs and *sakopes* protested for their immunity, because of class distinction and inability to labor. But they were told that the Moro Exchange system opened the way for them to engage in profitable trade, and that, under the supervision of the government, every man would have an equal chance,

and all participants would soon find a satisfactory return from the results of honest and efficient labor. Thus the Moro Exchange system has become the active agent for awakening the commercial spirit of the uncivilized tribes of the southern islands of the Philippines, has become a powerful instrument for peace and unity among Moros and Pagans, and is serving the public by materially aiding in the collection of public revenues, and thus providing for the general progress of the community.

Since 1907 the Moro Exchange system, first organized in 1903 by Governor Finley in the Moro Province, has been carried into other provinces of the Philippines by the Department of the Interior. In his annual report for 1910 Commissioner Worcester, Secretary of the Interior, says:

"In my opinion, the next important step we should take in stimulating the development of the hill tribes of northern Luzon is to develop trade among them as actively as possible. With this end in view, government exchanges have been started at various places in the Mountain Province and in Nueva Vizcaya. An effort is made to keep these trading stores supplied with the things the people in their vicinity most need. Sales are made at twenty per cent. above cost to defray expenses of maintenance. The exchanges also buy basket-work, wood carvings, weapons and articles of dress which can readily be sold as curios, paying a good price for them in cash. The vender is free to spend his money as he prefers.

"In the Province of Agusan, Mindanao, the exchanges for the use of Pagans are known collectively as the Manobo Stores. In the Province of Palawan the exchanges for the benefit of the Tagbanuas and Moros promise considerable business in the near future."

Commercial development through the Moro Exchange system has opened the way for agricultural development through the agency of the tribal-ward farm system.

In 1907 Governor Finley began to develop the idea of the tribal-ward farm, with a view to encourage the Moros and Pagans to understand, appreciate, and benefit by the homestead provisions of the Philippine Public Land Act. The homestead of sixteen *hectares* (forty acres) is open to every adult non-Christian who is a native of the Philippines, and the cadastral system of surveys and titles inaugurated by Governor-General Forbes and earnestly applied by General Pershing has made it easy and safe for the Moros and Pagans to become landholders under the law.

The tribal-ward farm is established at each tribal-ward headquarters in the District of Zamboanga and consists of the forty acres of homestead authorized by law. The proper

cultivation of this little farm, under the supervision of government officials, enables the natives of each tribe to observe modern methods of agriculture, their effect in the production of good crops, and in overcoming natural difficulties in plant growth. The tribal-ward farm can be so conducted as to distribute seeds, cuttings and plants, to improve poultry and stock, and to materially aid in defraying the expenses of tribal-ward administration. Thus the Moros and Pagans will be led by daily example, encouragement and incentive to adopt the homestead method and become sources of permanent production in place of parasitic nomads.

Lord Roberts during his long service in India sometimes established and maintained chains of public markets in order to get in touch with the wild tribesmen and lay the foundation for peaceful trade, agricultural development and self-government. He said that these markets

"aided the army in maintaining a useful line of communication and provided for friendly intercourse among tribes who for generations had been at feud with one another. They found in these markets a common ground on which they could meet without cutting throats. These markets by stimulating trade with the troops and with neighboring people resulted in opening the country by means of roads, thus facilitating intercommunication."

It has been clearly evident to the army during its occupation of the southern islands that the regeneration of the uncivilized tribes of that region must be accomplished along industrial lines. That to break the hold of piracy, slavery and degrading peonage, and to substitute therefor the foundation of first principles in popular self-government, among the Moros and Pagans, will require an indefinite period of military control, in accordance with the accepted methods of dual authority, as exemplified in the politico-military system devised by Governor Taft, authorized by the Philippine Commission, and now being worked out by the provincial government at Zamboanga.

In this connection it is well to keep in mind the fact that the Moros and Pagans have informed the Secretary of War and the Governor-General of the Philippines, in public meetings at Zamboanga, that they will not submit to Filipino*

* Filipinos (eight tribes) are Roman Catholic Christians. Moros (twelve tribes) are Mohammedan non-Christians. Pagans (forty-three tribes) are nature-worshiping non-Christians. These are the three native religious classes of the Philippines.

control but resort to arms against it should political change result in removing American authority in the southern islands. The Moros desire a continuance of the American military control under which they have existed and progressed since May 19, 1899. They feel that frequent change in authority is not conducive to their well-being, and as they have learned to regard the American army as being strict but just, true to its promises, honest in its dealings with them, impartial in its judgments, and wholly tolerant in religion, it is to the interest of all Mohammedans that such military control should remain undisturbed in the Moro Province. The continued exercise of such authority will avoid serious outbreaks, due to racial animosities, that have been rampant and very destructive in the Philippines, between Mohammedans and Christians, for more than three hundred years. And it will develop a form of administration that will secure a more perfect knowledge of their human nature and therefore a deeper insight into, and greater sympathy with, the feelings and prejudices of these Malayans.

JOHN P. FINLEY.

THE PRESIDENCY OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

BY JAMES W. GARNER, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE election in January of this year * of the presidents of the two greatest republics of the world, France and the United States, is a coincidence not without popular interest and one which naturally suggests to many minds a comparison of the two offices from the standpoint of the actual power and influence wielded by their incumbents.

The Presidency of the United States is now generally recognized to be the greatest political office in the world (Mr. Bryce excepts only the Papacy, which, however, is not a political office). President-elect Woodrow Wilson has called attention, with singular clearness of understanding, to the power of the office as it is and as it may become in the hands of a strong man unafraid of responsibility. He conceives the President of the United States to be not merely the legal executive of the country, but the leader of his political party, responsible for the fulfilment of the party pledges, and the guide of the nation in legislation, with a very positive share in the determination and formulation of legislative programmes.

When we turn to the Presidency of the French Republic we find an entirely different type of organization, a different traditional attitude concerning the rôle of the executive, and, consequently, an office which is chiefly decorative in character and without influence—a mere "symbol to please the people," as a distinguished French publicist has characterized it. For a republic it is a singular creation,

* In the United States, January 13th, by the Electoral Colleges assembled in the several States; in France by the National Assembly at Versailles, January 17th.

representing, as it does, an attempt to combine, rather incongruously, the elective tenure with the position of a constitutional king — that is, a position of irresponsibility, impartiality, and indifference.

Sir Henry Maine, comparing the position of the French President with that of the former kings of France and with that of the President of the United States, once remarked: "There is no living functionary who occupies a more pitiable position than a French President. The old kings of France reigned and governed. The constitutional king, according to M. Thiers, reigns, but does not govern. The President of the United States governs, but he does not reign. It has been reserved for the President of the French neither to reign nor yet to govern."

Viewed in its ceremonial aspects, the office is certainly more imposing than that of the United States, for it has many characteristics which are associated with the royal office in monarchial countries. The honors, military and civil, due the Chief Magistrate are carefully regulated by decree of the Government; *de luxe* trains are placed at his disposal when he travels; when he crosses the boundary of a department he must be met at the frontier by the prefect; when he arrives at his destination the mayor and council of the city are required to greet him; one hundred artillery salutes must be fired in his honor; and the decree contains many detailed regulations regarding escorts of honor, what the bands shall play, what military formations shall be executed in his presence, etc. He is housed in the Palace of the Elysée, and has a summer château at Rambouillet, he is provided with a loge at the opera, he is expressly charged by the Constitution with presiding at national solemnities, he attends inaugurations of many kinds, opens expositions, confers decorations, awards the Grand Prix, and attends the races and the annual military review at Longchamp on July 14th. To enable him to live in a manner befitting a Chief Magistrate whose ceremonial functions are more or less regal in character, he is paid a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars a year and is allowed an equal sum for the maintenance of his household and for traveling expenses.

The impression which one receives from the newspaper accounts of the stately dinners and receptions at the Elysée, of the honors that are accorded the President

when he travels, and the respect shown him by the crowned heads of neighboring States when he journeys abroad is that he is a very exalted functionary, and such he is in outward appearance. If we turn to the text of the Constitution and examine the powers which it confers upon him, we also gain the impression that as regards actual governmental authority the President is one of the most powerful executives in any constitutional State. First of all, it vests him in full measure with the usual powers attributed to the chief executives of republican States. Thus he is given the power to appoint, practically without limitation, all civil and military officers and, subject to a few restrictions, the power to remove them—a power the extent of which can only be fully appreciated when we remember that France is a highly centralized State in which almost no public officers, central or local, are popularly elected. He is authorized to convene the Parliament in extraordinary session; to compel it to reconsider measures which he disapproves (a sort of suspensive veto); to recommend measures for its consideration; to oversee the execution of the laws—a power which, according to French interpretation and practice, includes also not only the right to make the ordinances necessary to their execution, but to supplement and to supply many details, for the statutes in France and on the Continent generally rarely descend to details as they do in America; to dispose of the military and naval forces and, by implication, the right to wage defensive war; to receive diplomatic representatives and to negotiate and ratify (with certain exceptions) treaties with foreign powers; to constitute the Senate as a high court of justice for the trial of offenses against the safety of the State; and to grant pardons (though not amnesties) for any and all offenses against the laws and the ordinances.

In addition to this very generous bestowal of authority which in itself would seem to make the French President quite the equal of the President of the United States, the Constitution confers upon him a group of semi-regal powers such as commonly belong only to crowned heads of monarchial States. Thus he is given the power to convoke the two Houses of Parliament and to prorogue their sessions at will (though the power cannot be exercised more than twice during the year); to dissolve, with the consent of the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies; to initiate legislative

projects equally with the members of Parliament and to appoint *Commissaires* to appear in the two Houses and represent him in the discussions; to promulgate the laws; to create public offices (for example, ministerial departments); and to appropriate money from the public treasury during the parliamentary recess for the purpose of meeting new and unforeseen expenses unprovided for in the budget, or in case the legislative appropriations for services created by the budget are insufficient.

Taken in their totality, these two categories of functions give the President of France more the character of a constitutional king (minus, of course, the hereditary tenure) than that of an elective executive of a republican State. Indeed, the debates in the National Assembly (1873–1875) on the question of the organization of the executive power show unmistakably that this was the deliberate intention of the authors of the Constitution. A majority of the members of the National Assembly were avowed monarchists, but, being unable to agree among themselves upon the choice of a dynasty, they established the republic very largely upon a monarchial basis and organized the Presidency upon the model of a constitutional king, Louis Philippe being the type most prominently before their eyes.

The republican régime was regarded by the majority of the National Assembly as merely transitory, and they expected that as soon as the royalist factions could agree upon the choice of a king it would give way to the restored monarchy. Meantime the President upon whom the Assembly had conferred all the attributes of an uncrowned king was expected to keep alive monarchial traditions, and as soon as the time became ripe he would be an effective instrument in bringing about the transition from republic to monarchy. In keeping with this idea, the Assembly intrusted the executive power to McMahon, one of the marshals of France and a representative of the reactionary element, rather than to a political leader who believed in republican principles.

The republican members of the Assembly protested against the creation of an executive with such vast powers; he would, they said, be a more powerful magistrate than the President of the Republic of 1848 or the President of the United States; his authority, in fact, would be scarcely less than that of the Emperor under the régime of 1804. Gambetta, addressing the Right in the Assembly, expressed

the view of the republicans when he said: "We have consented to give you the strongest executive power ever constituted in an elective democratic country." It is clear, therefore, from the affirmations of the monarchists themselves, as well as from the protests of their adversaries, that the National Assembly intended to create and believed that it was creating an executive of real power co-ordinate with the legislative department—a President who was to be the representative of the national sovereignty, and not merely an agent of the Parliament under the absolute control of his ministers.

The fears of the republicans, however, were groundless and their protests unnecessary, for after conferring upon him a group of formidable powers the National Assembly proceeded to paralyze him by decreeing his irresponsibility and by requiring all his official acts to be countersigned by ministers who thereby become responsible to the Parliament for his acts.

It is now the unanimous opinion of the commentators on the French Constitution that the only official act of the President which does not require the signature of a minister is his letter of resignation. The purpose of putting the President under the guardianship of ministers was to prevent him from abusing his authority, from doing arbitrary or illegal acts—that is, from doing what he ought not to do; but the effect has been to prevent him from doing what he is authorized or required by the Constitution to do.

In establishing the irresponsibility of the President the National Assembly violated all republican traditions in France, for under the two earlier republics the principle of executive responsibility was affirmed, and most of the political writers from De Tocqueville to the present have affirmed that the principle of irresponsibility is inconsistent with the very idea of a republican régime.

Under the conditions of a parliamentary system it is impossible for the President to exercise the powers which the Constitution has conferred upon him; and, as a matter of fact, he no longer attempts to do so. No President since McMahon has ever made use of the power to send messages to the Parliament except to express thanks for his election or to announce his resignation. Any other communications would need to be countersigned by a minister, and therefore whatever the President might have to say to the Cham-

bers would be nothing more than a ministerial declaration. Likewise, the right of the President to demand of the Chambers a reconsideration of measures to which he objects has not been exercised a single time since 1875, and therefore may be regarded as a dead letter.

In the course of the debates on the new military service law of 1905 General Billot, who was strongly opposed to a reduction of the term of military service from three to two years, addressing the Senate, stated that even if the law passed both Chambers, there was still hope of defeating it because the President of the Republic had the power to compel a reconsideration of the law by the Chambers, and the General ventured to express the hope that the President would exercise this power. Thereupon the President of the Senate, M. Fallières, loudly applauded by the Left, interrupted the speaker and informed him that his remarks were out of order and could not be permitted. No member of the Senate, he said, could invoke the authority of the Chief of State against the will of the Chambers; he was entirely irresponsible, and his name could not be pronounced in the course of the debates.

When it was proposed in the National Assembly to give the French executive a veto power similar to that of the President of the United States the proposal was objected to on the ground that, whereas the American President needed it as an arm of defense against the encroachments of the legislative department, the French executive was so strongly armed that he would have no need of it, and to vest him with such a power would give him the preponderating influence in the Government.

One of the most important powers of the President of France—one which is not possessed by the President of any other republic—is the power to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies with the consent of the Senate. It is a power ordinarily belonging to monarchs, and it was strongly opposed in the National Assembly by both moderate and radical republicans as a dangerous weapon in the hands of the President. It was thought, however, to be a necessary part of the parliamentary system, since in case of conflicts between the legislative and the executive powers it could be employed for the purpose of appealing to the nation to decide who was right.

The only instance in which this power has ever been

exercised was at the time of the crisis known as the *Seize-Mai,* in 1877, when President McMahon compelled the resignation of a ministry which had the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies and followed it up by a dissolution of the Chamber. The elections which followed returned a republican majority which refused to give its confidence to the ministry of reactionaries which McMahon had constituted, and the republicans, under the lead of Gambetta, demanded that the President should submit or resign. He decided to submit; but a few months later, finding his position intolerable, he resigned; and the Chambers elected a republican who was willing to play an impersonal rôle and allow the Parliament to govern. The circumstances and manner under which the right of dissolution was employed in this instance brought it into great discredit. Legally exercised in form, it was not so in spirit, and was contrary to the principles of the parliamentary régime. Like the other powers of the President, it may now be regarded as a dead letter, and there is little likelihood that another attempt will ever be made to resurrect it.

The practically unlimited power of appointment which the Constitution gives the President has, like his other constitutional prerogatives, passed to the ministry, and so far as he is concerned it is a mere fiction. Nominations, as a matter of form, are laid before him for an approval which he cannot withhold. He may recommend certain candidates to the favorable consideration of the ministry, but he cannot himself choose even a sub-prefect or a justice of the peace. McMahon was often called upon to remove reactionaries whom he desired to retain and to consent to the appointment of republicans who were distasteful to him. Casimir-Perier sometimes read in the newspapers announcements of important appointments which he was supposed to have signed, but which in fact had never been brought to his attention. In regard to the choice of his ministers, or, rather, the chief minister, the President has a little more freedom, for in France the parliamentary system is not perfectly developed, political parties are not well organized or disciplined, and there is rarely a majority with its recognized chiefs whom the nation has in fact designated for its governors. Often in France, therefore, several men have equal claims to leadership; under such circumstances the President may exercise a certain liberty of choice, though

this independence has been abridged by the precedent set by Grévy of taking the advice of the presidents of the Chambers and even of the presidents of the various parliamentary groups. Moreover, it was settled at the time of the *Seize-Mai* crisis when McMahon vainly pleaded to be allowed to appoint the ministers of war, marine, and foreign affairs that the power of the President ends with the appointment of the ministerial chief to whom alone the right belongs to select his colleagues.

The method by which the President of the Republic is chosen is likewise partly responsible for the annihilation of his independence. The President of the Republic of 1848 was elected by the people, but the ease with which Napoleon III. employed the plebiscite to overthrow the Republic discredited the system of popular election; and aside from the small group of imperialists it had few advocates in the National Assembly of 1875. It was feared that the system of popular election would make the President too powerful a magistrate, enable him to dominate the legislature, and open the way through appeals to the people for *coups d'état* and dictatorships. Moreover, it was inconsistent with the parliamentary system, and also with the French theory of the arbitral and neutral character of the President. Finally, it would result in the choice of ambitious men of popular gifts who would not consent to play the negative rôle which parliamentary government assigns to the chief executive.

The actual procedure by which the French President is chosen is, when compared with the long and complicated process by which the President of the United States is nominated and elected, a very quiet and simple affair. A month before the expiration of the Presidential term the members of the two Chambers of Parliament are convoked in National Assembly at Versailles, away from the exciting and overawing influences of Paris, and, without nominating speeches or debates, the President is elected by secret ballot. The election is rarely preceded by any announcement of candidacies (the recent election was an exception in this respect), no electioneering, no campaign, and but comparatively little newspaper discussion or manifestation of popular interest. Since the first election of Grévy it has been the custom for the members of the different party groups in Parliament to assemble in their caucuses a few days be-

fore the election and to agree upon the candidates whom they expect to support. Then the groups constituting the republican majority meet in a general caucus and decide upon the candidate for whom they will all give their votes in the National Assembly. The system is not very different from the method by which Presidential candidates in the United States were nominated from 1801 to 1824. In recent years there has been an increasing dissatisfaction with the existing method of electing the French President, which, coupled with the principle of irresponsibility, has reduced the Presidency to a mere dependency of Parliament, and numerous proposals have been made for an enlargement of the electoral body by joining to it other classes of electors; for example, delegates chosen by the councils-general of the departments, or delegates representing such bodies as the academies, universities, chambers of commerce, trade-unions, etc. Even proposals for popular elections have not been lacking, though they have not received serious consideration. The unfortunate experience with the system of popular election under the Republic of 1848 has created in France a distrust, not to say fear, of popularly elected Presidents —a fear from which they are but slowly recovering. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that universal suffrage was a new thing in France in 1848; the voters are more intelligent and independent to-day, and there is no reason to believe that they would abdicate their power into the hands of an Emperor with the same willingness which they showed in 1851.

The history of the French Presidency has not been favorable to the development of a strong executive power. Carnot and Faure died while in office, the former at the hands of an assassin. Four Presidents resigned before the expiration of their terms, Thiers and McMahon being virtually forced out of office by the hostile attitude of Parliament. Grévy's resignation was positively demanded by the Parliament when it was discovered that his son-in-law was using the Elysée as a center for carrying on a scandalous traffic in decorations. Casimir-Perier resigned in disgust after having occupied the office less than six months, giving as a reason his unwillingness to remain in a position in which he was little more than an automaton. Only Loubet and Fallières served out the full terms for which they were elected.

The Constitution establishes the principle of re-eligibility, and therefore a President may be re-elected indefinitely. This was a scheme of the monarchial majority in the National Assembly of 1875 to leave the door open for a life President who might use the office as a stepping-stone to the throne. As a matter of fact, only one President (Grévy) has ever been accorded the honor of a re-election, and he was forced to relinquish the office before his second term was well under way. No other Presidents have been candidates for re-election; in fact, all of them since Grévy have either announced in their messages of thanks at the beginning of their terms or made known their intentions in other ways of not seeking a re-election. Indeed, there has been no apparent desire among the Presidents themselves for more than one term. It may, therefore, be asserted that the single-term tradition has become a fixed part of the working Constitution.

A final source of weakness in the Presidential office lies in the character of the men who have been chosen to occupy it. Since Thiers, whose occupancy antedated the adoption of the Constitution, all the Presidents of France, with possibly one or two exceptions, have been men of very mediocre ability and for the most part without force or initiative. All had served a number of years in one or the other of the Chambers, all had held cabinet positions for brief periods (which does not necessarily mean much in France), and three of them—Casimir-Perier, Loubet, and Fallières—had risen to the position of ministerial chiefs. Grévy had served as president of the Chamber of Deputies, while both Loubet and Fallières were presidents of the Senate at the time of their election—a circumstance which it is feared by some may result in the creation of a precedent in favor of the presiding officers of the Upper Chamber.

Heretofore it has been a rule that the President must be a " safe " man—that is, one who is known for his lack of aggressiveness and his readiness to efface himself and leave to Parliament the government of the country. This explains why the really great republican leaders like Dufaure, Gambetta, Jules Ferry, Charles Dupuy, and Waldeck-Rousseau have been passed over for comparatively unknown men from whom the Parliament had nothing to fear.

The issue of McMahon's unfortunate struggle with the Chamber of Deputies, his complete subjection by Parlia-

ment, and his resignation as an escape from an intolerable situation left the Presidency greatly enfeebled in influence and in popular esteem. The Parliament was now determined that the President should play only an impersonal rôle, and it found in Jules Grévy a docile instrument of its will. He had begun his political career in 1848 by demanding the abolition of the Presidential office, and now when he had been called by a singular fortune to fill the office which he had opposed as a useless organ he proceeded to put it in harmony with his early views by effacing himself and resigning his functions to Parliament. He announced in his message of thanks to the Parliament for his election that he proposed to submit strictly to the great law of the parliamentary régime and that he would never oppose the national will as expressed by its constitutional organs. Essentially negative in character, he considered that the duty of the President was to give advice and not to act. The Presidency, he said, afforded an honorable retirement for weary veterans of long political struggles, whose counsels the country needed, and that his position was rather that of a retired Chief Magistrate than that of an active executive. Shutting himself up in his palace, from which he rarely emerged, unknown to and unseen by the people, and apparently indifferent to public affairs, Grévy's official life coincided entirely with his theory of the Presidential office; and when at the end of his nine years of inaction the Parliament demanded his resignation the tradition of Presidential effacement was complete and the constitutional principle was established that, although the term of the President is fixed at seven years, his tenure is practically dependent upon the will of Parliament.

Casimir-Perier was by temperament and habit a man of action, and to some extent he possessed masterful qualities. He belonged to a distinguished family and possessed a classical education. Like McMahon, he desired to have a personal policy and play an active rôle as President of the Republic, but he soon found that his position was one of impotence and without influence. His ministers often did not seek his advice nor even inform him of the decisions which they had taken in his name. In a few months his position became intolerable, and, refusing to be longer treated as a valet of the Parliament and ministers, he resigned an office to which it was impossible for a man of

his character to adapt himself. He would probably have made a good prime minister, but he was unfitted to play the inactive rôle of President of the Republic. He took his duties as President rather more seriously than other French Presidents have done, and he announced at the time of his election that it was not his intention to neglect the exercise of the powers that the Constitution had conferred upon him. Other Presidents have given similar assurances, but they have all been unable to make good their promises. In his letter of resignation Casimir-Perier declared that the President was deprived of all means of action and of control without which his moral influence was nothing, and that he was condemned to a position of impuissance. Years afterward, in 1905, he wrote a letter to the *Temps* in which he described the rôle of the President as it actually is under the régime of irresponsibility. The President, he said, can do nothing except through his ministers; he must attach his name to whatever the ministers lay before him, and hence the record of his official acts is nothing but an autograph collection. Among the powers which are conferred upon the President by the Constitution, he concluded, there is only one that he can exercise personally and with freedom from ministerial control—namely, the right to preside at national solemnities. Carnot and Faure were both popular Presidents, both traveled much, showed themselves to the people, took part in the national fêtes, delivered discourses, and represented the country in its relation with other powers in a dignified and creditable manner, but neither added anything to the power and influence of the office.

Essentially the same thing may be said of Loubet and Fallières. Both were descended from peasant stock, both had long and honorable though not brilliant parliamentary careers, and both rose to the Presidency of the Senate. They were both excellent types of the kind of men we have come to expect the Parliament to choose as Presidents. Both willingly effaced themselves and played an impersonal rôle. Loubet, in his message of thanks to the Parliament for his election, described the President as an "arbiter" who must listen to the advice and counsels of Parliament before taking any step involving the supreme interests of the nation; Fallières at his first cabinet meeting outlined the negative rôle which he played throughout his term: "I shall advise

you," he said, " and at times criticize, but there will be no Elysée policy." And there was not.

Such is the President of France to-day. " The less we say of him," says Professor Moreau, one of the most distinguished writers on French public law, " the better; he is a pompous, expensive, and perfectly useless functionary. The parliamentary system has literally deprived him of all authority and reduced him to the position of a mere signer of papers of the contents of which he is often ignorant." " He is," continues Professor Moreau, " a mere dummy, a *soliveau* dressed sometimes in a royal mantle, sometimes in a black suit; but always he is a nullity, almost ridiculous, incapable of action, without any will of his own, condemned to parade at public ceremonies and to exhibit himself from afar to the people." Other French writers have described him as a " useless machine which costs money but produces nothing," an " emaciated shadow of a *roi fainèant,*" a " phantom," a " king without a crown," etc. His time is occupied chiefly in attending cabinet meetings at which he is largely a silent spectator, in approving acts which he cannot disapprove, in traveling about France and occasionally abroad, in giving receptions, dinners, and balls, in opening expositions of many kinds from dog shows to the annual *Salon,* and in giving " chases " several times a week in honor of prominent political men and distinguished visitors. J. J. Weiss, a well-known French writer, parodizing Thiers's definition of the rôle of a constitutional king, once remarked that " the fundamental principle of the Constitution is or ought to be that the President chases rabbits and does not govern," to which M. Leyret adds the opinion that a President who does not hunt rabbits would be disesteemed in France.

To many Frenchmen such an office is useless and without *raison d'être.* There may be some excuse, they say, for a hereditary figurehead, because royalty exerts a certain influence not without value upon the masses, and even upon the Government itself, but an elective figurehead commands no such respect. For a long time the abolition of the Presidency was regularly inscribed on the programmes of the Radical party, Clemenceau being one of its chief advocates, though of late the party seems to have abandoned its early hostility. Since 1902 it has been vigorously demanded by the Socialists. In the National Assembly of 1894, which

elected Casimir-Perier, a member demanded recognition to present a motion for the suppression of the Presidency, and he was loudly applauded by the extreme Left, but his proposal was declared out of order. In the same year Goblet, chief of the Radical party, proposed a constitutional amendment for this purpose.

Whatever may be the merits of the question, there is no doubt that the office could be abolished to-morrow without serious inconvenience if only some provision were made for the appointment of the ministers. This function might be intrusted to a special delegation chosen by Parliament, as has been proposed. The vast majority of Frenchmen, however, do not desire the abolition of the Presidency; they feel that there is a real place in the state organism for a chief executive even though the office is little more than a "magistracy of influence" and the occupant only a *surveillant générale,* as Prevost-Paradol once described the Presidential function. Many thinking Frenchmen are of the opinion that if stronger men were elected they would at least be able to exert an effective moral influence upon the government of the country and serve as a "guide to the nation"—one of the three rôles which Woodrow Wilson attributes to the President of the United States. While this is not unlikely, it is difficult to see how the President of France can ever exercise any real political authority until the present attitude of the Parliament toward the executive has been modified. It has refused to regard the President as a collaborator or to recognize the executive organ as a co-ordinate department. It has insisted upon controlling his acts; it has reduced him to submission whenever there has been a conflict between the two departments; and those who refused to submit have been forced to abandon the Presidential office. Moreover, the legislative department has not been content with keeping in its own hands the government of the country, but it has largely usurped the right of administration, interfering in the execution of the laws and dictating appointments to office, so that it may now be truthfully said that the Parliament of France legislates, governs, controls, and administers. Monsieur Faguet, of the French Academy, observes that never has a nation been more completely governed by its legislature than has France since 1871. And the legislature has shown no disposition to surrender one particle of the authority that it has

usurped; indeed, all the signs indicate that a further extension of its sphere of control may be expected.

In electing M. Poincaré President since the above was written, the National Assembly has broken the custom heretofore followed of choosing only respectable and obscure politicians. He is the strong man of France to-day and the only real statesman and leader to reach the Elysée since Thiers's retirement in 1873. He is a distinguished scholar, orator, and lawyer, and his conduct of the foreign policy of France during the past year has been characterized by a high order of statesmanship which has won for him wide popularity at home and general respect abroad. Unquestionably the feeling is spreading in France that the President should be allowed to exercise more real power in the government of the country, and, now that a man of action and leadership has been elected in whom France has entire confidence, the opinion is being expressed that he will not be content to be a mere master of ceremonies. Until, however, there has been a radical change in the existing attitude of Parliament toward the President it is difficult to see how even M. Poincaré, strong man as he is, can play anything more than the ceremonial rôle just described.

James W. Garner.

TRUST REGULATION

THE SOLUTION

BY ALBERT FINK

III

As no disease can be successfully treated until properly diagnosed, no ailment to the body politic can be adequately dealt with before its cause and nature shall have been fully understood. To this end a brief examination of the causes of the present political unrest becomes necessary. It is believed that any analysis of the indictment against modern civilization, or, as the Socialists are pleased to call it, the "Capitalistic System," will result in a demonstration that the fundamental evil complained of is the unequal division of labor and its fruits. Said Adam Smith in his opening paragraph of *The Wealth of Nations:*

> "The annual labor of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that labor or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations."

The objection is not that the "necessaries and conveniences of life" purchased with the produce of the annual labor of the nation are inadequate to its legitimate consumption. On the contrary, it is commonly believed that the sum total of the prosperity of our people is equal to, if it does not exceed, that of any other. The complaint is that these necessaries and conveniences are not equitably distributed, that under our industrial system the "Capitalistic Class" receive more and Labor less than each is legitimately entitled to expect, and inasmuch as the price of all commodities, labor included, is measured in money, the fundamental basis of complaint is that there is an unjust division of this commodity. Too much individual wealth, too much

poverty. That this is an evil very justly to be complained of no one may doubt. It is world old. That the equalization of property exercises an influence on political society was clearly understood even by some of the old legislators. Aristotle said:

"*Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime.* In the opinion of some, the regulation of property is the chief point of all, that being the question upon which *all revolutions turn.*"

That the foregoing diagnosis, the unequal distribution of wealth, is the principal cause of the present unrest a moment's reflection will demonstrate. Government ownership of insurance is advocated to prevent the use of enormous accumulations of capital in the further acquisition of individual wealth. Government ownership of railroads, telegraph and telephone systems, State and municipal ownership of gas, water, power, and transportation are contended for not because it is believed that they can be administered more economically or efficiently (in fact, the contrary is frankly admitted), but solely because it is believed that by taking from the "Capitalistic Class" what are said to be the instrumentalities of the accumulation of wealth the result will be its more equal distribution. Though often veiled, the same underlying motive may be easily traced in almost every species of political agitation occurring during the last decade. "Capital too powerfully controls our courts," it is said; "it secures unjust decisions in its own favor." Hence the recall of judges. *The Class Privilege,* as it is called, "has seized upon all the machinery of our government; they control our conventions and prevent nomination of honest men." Hence the direct primaries. "So corrupt have become our legislatures through the malign influence of the power of money we can no longer secure just and wholesome laws." The initiative and referendum is the result. The objection to further combination has its tap root deep in the same soil. Few thoughtful people either believe or affirm that combinations, no matter how large, are *mala in se.* On the contrary, it is well known that they are not only useful, but essential requirements of modern civilization. If they could be more universally owned by the public at large there would be no legitimate objection. The opposition comes from the dread that by reason of exploitation through the tightening of their grip upon government, the trusts will further accelerate the acquisition of individual

wealth and its attendant poverty of the masses. Thus every attack upon existing conditions, as well as every suggested remedy, is predicted upon the dread of further concentration. Even the proposed Commodity Court, with power to fix maximum prices for trust-controlled commodities, has its origin in the feeling, at least on the part of some of its advocates, that further exploitations will thus be curtailed and the accumulation of private fortunes made less facile. If now the ultimate cause of the unrest is the concentration of wealth in the hands of individuals, what is the reason of this unequal distribution? Obviously no remedy for the disease can be intelligently suggested until its cause is understood.

The primary factor of the concentration of wealth which suggests itself to the thoughtful observer is the natural and inherent inequality of man. That man is and ought to be politically equal, free, and independent, no one will deny. That man is, in fact, equal either mentally, morally, or physically, no one will assert. By one of the inevitable laws of nature, inflexible in its operation, only the fittest survive. As in war, government, science, art, and the professions the ablest claim the highest prize, so in finance, commerce, and industry, where the ultimate goal is wealth, the greatest reward comes to him who is most fit. How can it be otherwise? If ability be unequal, must not he who is possessed of the greatest skill win in any game of life which the ingenuity of man may devise?

The factor, second in importance to the natural inequality of man, is the very foundation stone upon which our government is constructed—*individual liberty.* When this country first cast off its allegiance to Great Britain and became an independent member of the family of nations all that was thought necessary in government was *personal freedom.* Man had just come to realize that by natural law he was and ought to be free and independent. It is true that such a conception had in a desultory manner existed in the mother country since the days of Magna Charta, but its application had been spasmodic and confined more to the landed aristocracy and great barons than to the people at large. It was theoretic rather than actual. On the Continent it was unknown.

With this principle in mind the " Fathers " constructed a government whose ideal was individual liberty. If only

mankind could secure and retain that which it had never had—*personal freedom*—all would be well, it was thought. No longer were there to be castes. There was to be no aristocracy other than that of merit, no orders of nobility other than those of worth. Every man was to be free to rise just as high as his native talents would permit in any field he might choose to enter. What he might lawfully acquire was his to dispose of as he willed, nor was it to be taken from him except for some public purpose and then only upon just compensation. It was a noble conception nobly executed. Recognizing that the organic law they were framing might not prove in all respects adaptable and expedient to the purposes of the generations yet to come, a constitutional method was incorporated for its amendment. But individual freedom, the right to aspire, to climb to any summit, to hold, dispose of and acquire property without limit is but the rule of *unrestricted competition.* Unequal men, unrestricted competition for the necessaries and conveniences of life; could there be but one result? It has often been said that the great inventions, improved transportation facilities, combinations, have been the great factors in the concentration of wealth, but this is not a correct statement of the case. That the great inventions have enormously increased the labor efficiency of the country, which translated into money means greater wealth for acquisition, may be admitted. Rapid and cheap transportation have made available additional markets and combinations have rendered attainable that which would otherwise have been impossible. But all these conditions have been at all times open to every one. *There has been equal opportunity for all.* So it is said that the banking system, the unlimited credits, the manipulation of the money of others, has been an important factor. Here, too, each has had equal opportunity, and if one was able to secure a greater credit and hire larger sums it was because he was able to inspire his fellow-man with greater confidence. These conditions have but widened the field of operation. They have been instruments equally available to all. The fundamental cause lies deeper—*unrestricted competition between unequal men.*

Paradoxical as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that the great industrial trusts and combinations of capital have fed and grown fat upon that which was designed to destroy them, the rule of free and unrestricted competition. Two

great competing carriers engaged in a death struggle for freight and passenger traffic, two or more individuals or corporations occupied in an effort to undersell, and thus secure the markets of a rival, present much more the appearance of contending armies bent on mutual extermination than gentle handmaids distributing the products of labor. In war, though one conquer and the other be vanquished, the net result is waste to both. Yet in the national Congress, the State legislatures, on the stump and from the press has been heard the cry: "Let competition be free and untrammeled! Whatever restricts competition restrains trade. Each is necessary to the onward march of civilization." The error is fatal and must of necessity result in the very conditions which are now deemed so objectionable. It was the relentless struggle between competing carriers to secure more than their just proportions of business which enabled the industrial corporations to impose upon the former that system of rebates which in turn enabled the latter to undersell all competitors in any given market and thus force them to abandon the field. So far from being one of the essentials, unrestricted competition is one of the great obstacles, in spite of which civilization yet moves on. As no rational human being would employ two engines to perform a function which could with equal efficiency and economy be obtained from one, so no one can successfully contend for any true economy in a system which encourages two or more groups of men to perform those labors which can with equal efficiency be performed by one. Wherever a surplus is found engaged in any field of industry over and above that required for economic production and distribution there is to that extent waste of human energy. Were this proposition not self-evident, no more convincing proof of its inherent truth would be needed than a casual comparison of the prosperity of the carriers to-day as compared with their condition prior to the time when a wholesome enforcement of the law by an Interstate Commerce Commission forbade discriminatory rates and rebates, thus rendering unnecessary those violent rate wars which proved so disastrous. In other words, the restriction of a theretofore unbridled competition.

It is not to be assumed that competition is without its place in economics, for, as pointed out in a previous article, it forms a very necessary balance-wheel to commerce, pre-

venting, as it does, any excessive or extortionate charge by monopoly and insuring a superior article at a minimum price. But it is the right to compete rather than the actual competition itself which preserves the desired equilibrium. So long as the former exists there is no cause for alarm at the absence of the latter. All that is necessary is to preserve the right itself intact; self-interest, the natural laws of trade, supply and demand, will do the rest. But though the right is thus useful by reason of its moral effect, it by no means follows that there must be legislative enactment for its actual employment. There is no sanction in the true science of economics for government command, "Still must you trample, crush, corrupt, and kill!" If, then, the cause of the political social unrest be the concentration and unequal distribution of the products of labor, *wealth,* and if this condition be the inevitable result of a free and unrestricted competition between unequal men or groups of men, *personal liberty,* what is the solution? As the primary cause, the natural inequality of man, can in no wise be remedied by legislation, we come at once to the consideration of the secondary factor—individual freedom—to acquire, hold, and dispose of property without limit and without restraint. Are the American people now prepared to curtail that personal freedom, individual liberty, which has been so eagerly sought after by the master minds of all ages and which heretofore has been so universally thought essential to the welfare and development of mankind? It would indeed seem a pity. The period of absolute personal individual freedom has as yet been of such short duration, by comparison with the long ages of servitude and oppression, that the mind revolts at an experiment so radical in its nature until every other possible solution has been tried and found unavailing.

If, however, the nation is now ready for this fundamental change, the remedy is simple. A constitutional amendment, for such it must be, authorizing a graduated and unlimited Income and Inheritance Tax, followed by Congressional legislation establishing a scale which will confiscate in its operation all incomes after they have reached a certain agreed-upon figure, will simply and surely accomplish the purpose, and limit the further acquisition of individual wealth beyond a certain definite standard. But surely there must be some middle ground, which, while preserving that

personal freedom and independence so much to be desired and conserving all the great stimulants and motives for individual initiative and effort, will nevertheless, by rendering concentration of wealth more difficult, sufficiently curb the centripetal forces of modern society. If these forces can but be stayed in their baneful operation there need be no particular concern for those colossal fortunes which have already been amassed. Rarely has the second generation held intact the acquisitions of the first, to say nothing of adding thereto, and in the absence of entailment the undesirable conditions of to-day will soon pass away in the ever-shifting sands of human industry. The purpose of the nation, then, should be the utmost conservation of human energy, to the end that in the world's competition the purchasing power of our own labor will reach its highest efficiency, thus creating a maximum surplus profit the more equal distribution of which is desired. *No more useless and unnecessary waste. Let us have no two men performing the labor of one.* The enactment of such laws as will render individual accumulation more difficult, though placing no prohibition or limit upon the reward of individual effort and initiative.

First and foremost, the further immigration of foreign labor should for a definite period be altogether prohibited. Not only have we at present all the foreign elements which the nation can conveniently assimilate with any degree of safety for the perpetuation of the American type and characteristics, but the continued influx bears too heavily upon our own labor and is one of the chief factors in preventing a more equitable adjustment of the differences between labor and capital. As our manufacturing industries have been built up by a protective tariff, so our labor, by prohibition of further immigration and the consequent limitation of the supply, should be given an opportunity for recuperation and readjustment, thus placing it in a position to exact a more equitable wage, shorter hours, and better working conditions. With a limitation of supply there will be a corresponding increase in demand. The attitude of our country in the past upon this important question, saying, as it has, to the afflicted and oppressed of all nations, "Here you may come and by your individual effort better your condition," has been a noble one, but in our effort to benefit mankind we must not jeopardize our own preservation, for

with the overthrow of popular government in America would vanish the last hope of the world.

Next in importance would seem to be an absolute and utter severance of "big business" from government. Though there has been a marked improvement in this respect in the last few years, there is ample room for more. Of this point the people of the United States have become most justly jealous and will brook no further interference with their will. To this end any use of corporate funds by their officers or trustees for political purposes should by law be made embezzlement. Individual campaign contributions should be limited in amount and published prior to the election to which they are devoted, any violation of the law being punished as a felony. Above all, tampering with or corruption of the administration of justice, the enactment of laws, or the granting of public franchises, should be more severely dealt with than at present. To this end the criminal procedure should be so amended as to prevent unnecessary delays. After the introduction of all its other evidence in chief, the prosecution should have the right to call the defendant to the stand for the purpose of cross-examination upon the whole case, and in this connection the right to compel the production of all papers and documents. The constitutional prohibitions against compelling one to bear witness against himself had its first origin in the inhibition of physical torture as a means of eliciting confessions. The reason for the rule having long since become obsolete, the rule itself has served all useful purposes and should be abandoned. The instances are rare indeed when an innocent man can be kept from taking the stand in his own behalf and society has no interest in protecting the guilty. The penalty for perjury should be largely increased. Eight-to-four verdicts in criminal cases should be sufficient to convict. Ample protection is given a defendant in the right of the court to grant new trials for any miscarriage of justice. An appeal should be allowed government upon all questions of law. The rule against a conviction based upon the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice should be relaxed in cases where the latter has been neither given nor promised immunity. The parole system should be generally adopted and more liberally applied to first offenders who upon full confession indicate sincere repentance. In all criminal prosecutions the process of one State court should

run to all others for the purpose of compelling the attendance of witnesses.

Direct primaries and the short ballot are steps in the right direction. The executive and administrative officers of the State governments should be appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the State legislatures to the end that responsibility may be more definitely fixed. There is no objection in principle to a preferential presidential primary, though it would seem a useless cost and will tend probably more or less strongly to the disruption of parties. Nor is there any inherent objection to the direct election of United States Senators. The question was much debated in the convention that framed our Constitution, and opinion upon the whole was very evenly divided. With these changes in our present system and an already strong current of healthy public sentiment in the same direction, it is believed that the combination between "big business" and government so bitterly complained of will soon be a matter of history.

The State courts should be lifted to the same dignity now enjoyed by those of the nation. To this end the compensation of the judges should be increased to an extent sufficient to attract the ablest lawyers in the profession. The plan would prove economical in the end. The judges should be appointed by the Governor upon the nomination of the bar of their respective counties and confirmed by the legislature. They should hold office during good behavior and be subject to removal only upon impeachment for improper conduct. Their recall by popular will is violative of every principle of a republican form of government. They should be subject to retirement upon full pay by the Governor upon petition of a majority of the members of their respective bars when they have reached a prescribed age. The Supreme Court of the nation should have jurisdiction to review by *certiorari* any judgment of the Supreme Court of a State interpreting the Federal Constitution in like manner as it now reviews the judgments of the several Circuit Courts of Appeal.

Child labor in all its forms and phases should be strictly prohibited and the inhibition rigidly enforced. Women should be given the ballot. It is theirs by natural right and their further disfranchisement can be justified by no pretense. Their influence upon politics will be helpful. If

they do not desire it, they should nevertheless be compelled to assume their just proportion of the burdens of government. They will soon appreciate the wisdom of the policy. Their employment in the trades should be most jealously guarded and discouraged as far as compatible with their individual liberty. Their place is in the home, not the factory. Education should be compulsory and the laws in this respect strictly enforced. A child reared in ignorance is a menace to the community. And it is upon the ultimate education of the masses that the destiny of the nation depends. More liberal working-men's compensation acts should be passed and each industry compelled to bear the expenses of its accidents and casualties, in the form of an immediate indemnity to the employee and a continuing pension to him or his dependents. That a human being should be thrown upon the scrap-heap and his dependents left helpless as soon as he becomes injured and unfit for further service is intolerable, even though his death or injury be the result of his own inadvertent carelessness.

There should be a national as well as State graduated income and inheritance tax. This tax, while not confiscatory in its operation, should materially increase with the increase of income, to the end of not only raising a large revenue for public use, but enforcing upon every one a payment according to his real interest in government. If government permits man to acquire and hold property without limit, the recipients of this bounty should be willing to pay in an increased ratio according to the benefits derived. Those who are unwilling should be compelled. Such a tax would not only obviate the necessity of raising a revenue from tariff upon articles which are no longer in the need of protection, but would directly tend to the more equal distribution of wealth by relieving the poorer classes of a taxation they can ill afford and placing the burden where it justly belongs, upon those who have the largest interest at stake. The more a man receives, the more he should be willing to give, and as the tax would never absorb the entire income the incentive to individual initiative and effort would remain unimpaired. There will be no lack of opportunity for profitable and wise investment of the increased revenues resulting from such tax. The conservation of moisture and the consequent redemption of the great arid regions of the West, the reclamation of swamp and overflow lands, the

further improvement of rivers and harbors, the acquisition of telegraph and telephone systems, a more efficient navy and State militia, together with many other useful and necessary products, will easily absorb all the available revenues. So there should be established a system of national pensions in addition to those already paid survivors of our wars. Not only should every employee of government, who by reason of his age or ill health has lost his efficiency, be subject to retirement upon a livable pension, but every citizen of the country who has become old and decrepit and is no longer able to adequately care for himself, is a direct charge upon the nation and should be the recipient of its bounty. Such a system, in addition to the imperative demands of morality, decency, and justice, has the further advantage of directly tending in a most legitimate manner to the more equal distribution of wealth by taking from those who can well afford and giving to those who are in the sorest need.

Unpopular as the suggestion will no doubt prove, and notwithstanding the deep suspicion with which it will be viewed, nevertheless the Sherman Anti-Trust Act should be forthwith repealed. As pointed out, it is wrong in principle, unnecessary for the purpose for which it was invoked, and has brought about the very conditions which it was designed to hinder. It is without place in sound economics. Its net result is the waste of human energy, and by commanding the eternal warfare " of each against all " the inevitable consequences of its operative effect is to destroy that which it was calculated to conserve. In its place should be enacted such a Federal Incorporation Law as will compel not only all the great industrials, but also all others who are engaged in interstate commerce, to abandon their State charters and accept in lieu thereof those offered by the National Government. Space will not admit any detailed discussion of the separate provisions of this law. Suffice it here to say that two at least of its underlying principles should be a maximum amount of publicity as to all corporate manipulation, including the actual physical valuation of the property and assets back of securities and a complete and absolute prohibition under severe penalties of any ownership of the stock or security of other corporations. The ownership by one corporation of the stock control of another is wholly unnecessary for any of the legitimate purposes of commerce

and has conduced as much as, if not more than, any other one factor in corporate management, to the centralization and unequal distribution of power in the hands of individuals. The incalculable benefits which would be derived from such legislation will be readily observed.

Inasmuch as some of the foregoing suggestions are clearly without the present powers of the Federal Congress and the adoption of others would be attended with grave constitutional doubt, there should be assembled a convention under the Fifth Article of the Constitution for the purpose of proposing amendments. Since the adoption of our organic law, nearly a century and a quarter ago, there has been no such assembly. Such convention would no doubt be attended by the best and ablest that the nation can produce. If the same wise veil of secrecy as was adopted by the Fathers in the draft of the original instrument were thrown over its deliberations until its conclusions were reduced to final form, there can be little doubt that many able and wise suggestions would be made and adopted. In any event, the time has clearly arrived when the nation should again take counsel in the solemn deliberate and conservative manner pointed out by the Constitution itself.

Above all, there should be that spirit of toleration for the views of others and willingness for just compromise without which so little can ever be accomplished. Labor should ever remember that "He tires betimes who spurs too fast betimes," that great and permanent reforms are not the product of a day and often not even of a generation, that in any ultimate clash of force victory will not necessarily lie with a disorganized numerical majority, powerful as it may appear, and that the overthrow of the great principle of "equal opportunity for all" might in the end, as it has done in the past ages, bear most heavily upon the masses. Capital, on the other hand, or individual wealth, should remember that "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad," that they have a large stake in a government which permits unlimited competition and acquisition between unequal men, and that conditions which produce such unbounded individual wealth in the midst of such squalor, poverty, and human misery in a land where the total products of labor are far beyond the required necessaries and conveniences of life, are not only morally unjust, but *wholly intolerable.*

ALBERT FINK.

THE CASCADE

BY LOUISE MORGAN SILL

For centuries, gray olden centuries have I flung
Myself o'er this abyss, and rung
  The challenge of my music on the rocks.
  Ancient I am, yet can withstand the shocks
Of seasons bitter and sweet, and the corroding years
  Pass over me as harmless as the clouds
That add their passing tears
  To my swift torrent. And though I am so old,
So old that trees of mighty strength have died,
  And warm-blooded men grown cold,
Father and son and grandchild, and the bride,
The wife, the widow; conquerors, kings, and slaves;
  Dynasties and the prophecies of sages,
  Tomes of philosophers—the toil of ages—
Brimming with man's insistent thought that rolls
  From cycle to cycle, changing as the year,
  Fashioning life anew as needs appear,—
Yea, though all these have passed,
Yet I through age-long watches keep my tryst
With God's command, and down the mountain's height
My flood of foam and crystal liquid cast.

For I am old and sure; I know my way
Through Alpine wildernesses where no foot
  May tread, nor chamois dare a rushing leap.
  I know not rest, nor the strong lure of sleep,
But here eternally I charm the stars,
  And in my caverns deep
Sing madrigals that none may hear and live,
For who would follow my mid-earthly flight
Must die in an unending night.

I am the testimony of the Law.
I witness Things unseen.
Who looks on me must know that God hath been,
And is, and ever shall be. For I saw
  The wonders of great deeds . . . and man must feel,
When over me he leans, that influence,
Secret and holy; and, when he goes hence
  Back to the world of men whose trouble steals
His peace away, his thoughts will turn to me
  In my green solitude, and soul to soul
We shall commune till Spirit, pure and free,
  Shall have its way his sorrow to console—
As if a Hand, by father-feeling led,
Had drifted down from Heaven upon his head.

LOUISE MORGAN SILL.

BERGSON:

A CRITICISM OF HIS PHILOSOPHY

BY C. DELISLE BURNS

It is always ungracious to attack a great man. The critic may be regarded as a prejudiced opponent of anything new when he refuses to admit that the statements of an original genius are true, for men are so eager to be in the forefront of progress that they are not ready to believe that what is new may be also false. And yet when the world is taken by storm at the appearance of a brilliant and attractive writer some criticism must be offered. If it is a case of literary criticism the critic may be expected to be cautious, for only the experience of some years, perhaps of some generations, can be sufficient ground for the approval or condemnation of an artist. But the case of a scientist is different. We demand from him at once the complete verification of his statements; and we are rightly governed by our received and admitted knowledge until he can prove either that that knowledge is false or that his new doctrine does not contradict it.

Bergson may be criticized as a biologist or as a physicist, but it is as a philosopher that I propose to criticize him here. He has advanced views both as to the *method* and as to the *results* of philosophy which would transform, if not destroy, most of what is now believed in philosophy to be true; and, although there is no reason why he should not be right and all former philosophers wrong, we cannot admit so startling a proposition until, at least, he has made his own system seem more consistent.

The philosopher is one who is concerned with the discussion of what is "real." He is to tell us whether or not color, for example, is as "real" as "substance," whether the table of our ordinary sight is the "real" table, and

so on; and since we cannot believe him without reasons, he must show us at least by what method he has arrived at his conclusions. Thus I put aside in this criticism of Bergson his discussion of Instinct or his psychological doctrine as to the different intensity of states of mind. I am concerned primarily with the general view that he takes of the world in which we live and of ourselves. He says, in effect, that it and we are not what we seem to be, and he says, further, what we are. And again he says that he has discovered what we are and what the world is by a process called "intuition."

Now as to the method which Bergson calls intuitive, it is, in the first place, distinguished from the logical process of reasoning. For whereas reasoning involves a looking back upon what has occurred, and, therefore, implies that the subject-matter is past and dead, intuition is an entering into the flux of life, a giving ourselves over to the impulse or stream which is reality. Thus reasoning cannot grasp life, and intuition can; and since life is the only reality, intuition alone can give us a view of reality. Reasoning describes the dead body when life is flown; it touches only the outer shell of things.

The vast body of our science and history has been built up by reasoning, and therefore we do not find in such knowledge anything but a superficial view of the real world or of our real selves. To say that this view is superficial implies that some other and deeper view is possible, as Bergson indeed deliberately states. The deeper view is that obtained in *intuition*.

But what in fact is this intuition? Bergson, the psychologist, has described it admirably, but Bergson, the philosopher, seems to have valued it wrongly. For, to put it plainly, this Bergsonian intuition, if it can be separated from reasoning at all, is only the bare *awareness of fact* out of which reasoning takes its rise. Bergson says that intuition takes us a step above reasoning, but from all his argument and metaphor one concludes that it really takes us a step below. Intuition is described as an entering into the current of life, as a non-analytical appreciation of the undivided flow of life or consciousness; and, of course, in so far as life is really one process and not a mechanical addition of parts, we "understand" it better when we appreciate it as one. But in the first place reasoning does not

deny the unity of that which it may for special purposes divide or analyze, and in the next place life is not understood at all if it is supposed to be a homogeneous flow of activity. It is not our purpose here to defend real reasoning against Bergson. It is sufficient to say that the reasoning he describes is a mere shadow of the process which has built up science and history. He has taken the scaffolding for the building. He misrepresents reasoning, and then, naturally, condemns it. But let that pass. The "intuition" which he exalts by contrast with reasoning is what must be criticized here, for not only is it a philosophical mistake to value it as Bergson does, it is also a most pernicious doctrine to preach such admiration for it.

We should not hold a philosopher responsible for those who adopt his doctrine, but we may, perhaps, understand the tendency of his doctrine by observing the use which may be made of it. The Syndicalists claim that Bergson expresses their view of social movements. And how? In his doctrine of intuition they find precisely that justification of blind, unreasoned violence which will destroy but need not build up. We are told that we must not ask for mere "reasons" why the "general strike" or the destruction of the present social order should be advocated. "Reason" is too mean a thing. "Intuition" indicates that the flow of life must do away with the forms in which life is now expressed, and therefore we must give ourselves over to the destructive force. This may, of course, be a misrepresentation of Bergson's teaching, and he has given us so far no pronouncement on ethical or social problems, but it shows how readily the attack on reason and the exaltation of intuition may be made to support what is, in plain prose, a return to savagery.

Bergsonian "intuition" is very much welcomed by all who want to be saved the trouble of thinking, and by all who desire to justify by disdain their entire ignorance of science or history. It is an easy and comforting doctrine that what you lack is not worth having, that the long labor of the scientist or the historian gives him no greater knowledge of the "real" world than any fool can have who indulges in a momentary "intuition"; but if that is so it makes Bergson's work as useless as that of the most analytical philosopher and puts us back for truth to the barest and more primitive vision of reality which precedes all sci-

ence and all history. Bergson himself is aware of this dilemma. He knows that to decry reasoning too much might well result in the refusal to read his books, for " intuition " by his own confession he cannot give, and, in fact, reasoning of some sort is the best he has to offer. Therefore, he is insistent that he is *not opposed* to science. He even goes so far as to say that the scientist has a *higher* intuition of reality than the ordinary man; but he is not consistent. He seems to imply that the scientist has this higher knowledge by some other process than his reasoning, and yet his *reasoning* is all that distinguishes him from the ordinary man.

In fact, Bergson seems to have made the old mistake of taking the two *elements* of one thing for two different *kinds* of things. What he calls " reasoning " and what he calls " Intuition " are really two elements in *one process,* which process is that by which we understand reality. To divide the process is to kill it, as to suppose that man consists of two separate and independent entities, body and spirit, is to make the understanding of what man is an impossibility. The whole may be analyzed; it cannot be divided and yet remain the same. The parts may be distinguished, but if considered as distinct they remain unintelligible. Thus man may be considered now as body and now as spirit, but body without spirit is nothing and spirit without body is nothing. And thus, in Bergson's use of the words, " intuition " without " reasoning " is nothing and " reasoning " without " intuition " is nothing. Thus also the more reasoning the more real intuition; and this is why the scientist and the historian have a truer view of the real world than the ordinary man has.

What, indeed, is Bergson's own personal " intuition," in so far as it has given him that grasp of real development and of life which has been his best contribution to modern thought? That intuition is itself nothing but the very life-blood of his scientific reasoning; it is that which he has developed in the laborious process of thought in the *Creative Evolution.* And to separate the process of thought from the insight which is in a sense a component part of it is to misrepresent the whole situation. The intuition which Bergson describes, if it is not the mere awareness of fact, is the insight of the scientist and the reasoning philosopher. If I may quote a modern novel, Mr. H. G. Wells has described precisely this attitude and insight in his *Marriage.*

"In these particular directions [in scientific thought] the human mind has achieved a new and higher quality of attitude and gesture, a veracity, self-detachment, and self-abnegating vigor of criticism that tend to spread out and must ultimately spread out to every other human affair."

So much may be said as regards Bergson's *method,* and now I turn to the *result.* What view has he reached of the real world? What has resulted from the application of this method to the evidence of experience? The result is variously described as an appreciation of the growth or development of the world or as the perception of an "*élan*" which cannot be described in scientific language.

Now, it is undeniable that philosophy should indicate the fundamental truth of change, growth, and development; but this is not specially new. Hegel certainly thought that he had expressed the nature of reality as development; and, though we may justly quarrel with his statement, the meaning of Herbert Spencer was the same. Bergson, however, neglecting Hegel and Heracleitus, the philosophers of change, conceives himself to have stated the true nature of that reality which changes. Again, I shall not discuss his psychology, although I cannot avoid acknowledging here the excellence of Bergson's remarks on the continuity of mental process. He has put an end to the old atomism of ideas and mental states and shown us consciousness as a whole.

But in his philosophy he has a different problem to encounter. It may be that life, or even conscious life, is a "stream," but is the whole of reality or are all the things we call real only phases in this stream? Bergson seems to say that they are, and if that is what he means he is wrong. For in the first place, and from the old idealist point of view, Bergson has not explained how "matter" or material things are parts of the stream. He calls his philosophy "Creative Evolution" and he sets out to show that all that is is only modification of one initial impulse. But in the development of that impulse, in explaining how the impulse goes now in this direction, now in that, how it becomes now a man, now a flower, he brings in a brute matter which *does not originate in the initial impulse.* That is to say, matter acts on life in developing it, but matter itself does not develop. Therefore, the world as a whole is not developing, and the whole cannot be "Creative Evolution."

The increate, resisting, negative "matter" is there before the evolution begins to create.

And yet in some sentences of the *Creative Evolution* Bergson seems to imply that matter itself is the same impulse, but turned in a direction opposing that of life. There is then no brute, negative, immobile "thing"; but all is impulse, all is force moving either forward or backward. Now, whatever be the intention of these metaphors, we must be careful. A philosopher should not substitute metaphor for argument. That is the art of the special pleader, not of the candid investigator of facts. And when I come to ask what it means to say that the table and the stone, as well as myself and Bergson, are all modifications of "one reality" I cannot find any answer. I know that such a question is as much leveled at the old idealism as at Bergson; and indeed I confess that, except for beauty of language and skill of metaphor, I do not find anything very different in the doctrine of Bergson's "*élan*" and Hegel's "Absolute." But the ordinary man of common sense feels, and correctly feels, as I think, with those philosophers who object to a hasty assimilation of all the variety of the world and the reduction of all "real things" to a porridge or a soup which is called "impulse" or "Absolute." For to say that the infinite variety of things is all illusion or the result of a merely practical view of life is not to explain; it is to explain away the problem.

Bergson seems to believe that the distinction we make between things is a result of a subjective desire to do something; and so, of course, it must be, since all our thought is "for the sake of life." But Bergson seems to mean more than this. He seems to imply that the distinctions *do not give us reality* and that the only reality is an indistinct and continuous flux. And yet surely if, having made the distinction between things, the things are then usable and comprehensible, there must be something *in* the things which gives us a valid ground for making our distinctions. This surely means that the distinction between things is there independently of us; that is to say, *reality is plural.*

I shall not labor the point; but in this the ordinary man sees with the realist philosopher, for he thinks the table "real" and himself "real," and he does not, therefore, suppose that he and the table are made of the same stuff. For "real" means "existing," and does not imply any

material or substance which alone *is*. The table exists and the thinking man exists and many other things exist, but they retain each its distinction from every other.

What Bergson has given us in his flux or "*élan*" is a poetic phrase such as is Shelley's when he calls a lark a "blithe spirit." The lark remains for ornithology a bird, as the world remains for the philosopher a complex of different real things; and, although the value of the metaphor is undeniable, it should not be made the basis for a view of the universe. The poet with the inspiration of the moment sees the world in a new and not altogether false light, but it is the light of a mood or of a temperament; it is not the light of universal truth.

It will be seen, then, that I rank Bergson among the poets. At least as a literary man his position is unassailable and his work will live, as Nietzsche will live or Plotinus; but although the boundaries of philosophy and poetry are in dispute, it is clear that the philosopher must depend upon intellectual and the poet upon emotional sympathy. If any distinction can be made—and I confess Bergson may say it cannot—the philosopher should give us a consistent view of the universe which is applicable in our normal moments. The poet appeals to us by transforming our life into some exceptional ecstasy. As a philosopher, therefore, Bergson fails, but as a poet he may prove to be valuable to us and to generations yet unborn.

C. Delisle Burns.

THE VIRGINIANS AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

BY THOMAS NELSON PAGE

When Thackeray put his finishing-touch to the portrait of Esmond—the character which he is said to have loved the best of all his creation—the finest gentleman, perhaps, ever painted, he sent him overseas at last, to spend the evening of his life in Virginia. And later, in his sequel to that novel—almost the only successful sequel to a novel of first rank ever written, he throws his portrait on the screen in a fine sentence which sets the blood to tingling. It is in the scene in *The Virginians,* when young Harry Warrington returns to England and becomes a guest in the house of Lord Castlewood, whose title had rightfully belonged to his grandfather, Colonel Esmond, of Virginia. The Baroness Bernstein—once the beautiful Beatrix Esmond, was in the company, and she directed young Warrington's attention to the portrait of Colonel Esmond, hanging on the Castlewood wall, and spoke of him warmly, as well she might. None can forget the scene when Colonel Esmond, rode down to Castlewood after Beatrix's lover, and finding him to be Prince James himself, for whom he was imperiling his life, broke his sword and turned his back on him.

Now with Esmond in his grave in Virginia, Beatrix pointed Warrington to his portrait on the Castlewood wall and spoke her admiration which had come too late. To give it in Thackeray's own words:

> "The Virginian? What's he good for? I always thought he was good for nothing but to cultivate tobacco and my grandmother," says my Lord, laughing. She struck her hand on the table with an energy that made the glasses dance. "I say he was the best of you all."

Virginia was the oldest of the American colonies. She extended once from the French colonies along the St. Law-

rence far toward the Spanish colonies of Florida. Inland, she stretched to the furthest sea and she took in all islands along the coast. Later, New England was cut off from her territory; yet later, Maryland and the Middle States and part of the Carolinas were taken from her. In a great crisis she gave up to the Union the Northwest Territory, and Kentucky likewise; and finally West Virginia was cut from her remaining territory.

Virginia is scarcely a territorial term—at least not simply this. Like the term, "The South," she is only in part territorial; in part, she is a state of mind. She is in the hearts of her sons and her sons' sons, if they be loyal to her principles, wherever they go, and she has sent them forth filled with her spirit so long and so far that she is greater to-day than when she bordered the Great Lakes to the northward, and to the eastward, took in the isles of the sea.

Was this spirit in any way distinctive; and if so whence got it this distinction? What were its sources? What its scope? What its direction and effect? The answer to all is—Patriotism.

And first of its distinction. Can any one believe that it was a mere accident that Washington and the men who surrounded him and made this country what it became—giving it its peculiar frame and form of government and stamping in its Constitution the essence of Liberty, were Virginians? Can any one believe it was an accident that Washington and Jefferson; Henry and Mason; the Randolphs; the Lees; Thomas Nelson; Cary; Edmund Pendleton; the Harrisons; and a score of others—their equals in virtue and patriotism and force, if less noted, all appeared in the same region, in the same crisis? Can we believe that it was mere chance that Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Wythe, Lewis, Giles and Herndon, and a score more of their kind followed hard on the heels of the others, all from the same workshop? Was it mere fortune that Henry Clay and Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor, and Benjamin Harrison; Rives and Tyler all sprang together from the same soil? Or coming on down a generation, was it an accident that Lee and Stonewall Jackson, and Joseph E. Johnston, and J. E. B. Stuart, and Matthew Fontaine Maury, all came from Virginia, together with a not inconsiderable fraction of that soldiery, who according to some high authorities were the most notable fighting force that the world has ever known?

Was it mere chance that in that little corner of the world which we call Greece,—but which was only a part of Greece —during the Periclean age, such light burst forth that it has continued to shine throughout the world from that day to this, and has given mankind ever since, the models of beauty in its indestructible forms of liberty and of classic art? Or when Rome suddenly evolved, in a few short generations, law and order from the previous chaos of Barbarism, and gave us the models of virtue whom Plutarch has left in his immortal pages—Was that chance?

To hold this, would indeed be to offer on the altar of Fortune, the rich sacrifice of Reason. There must be some firmer ground than this for all these extraordinary developments. When a new star shines, it does not come by chance; but in accordance with laws, and when a galaxy shall appear, there too, the light is poured in obedience to laws often so silent in their operation as to be known only through their effects; but none the less laws.

In Virginia, in one chamber of an old country house were born two signers of the Declaration of Independence, and General Robert E. Lee—while from within little more than a day's ride of that mansion, came five Presidents of the United States, with Washington at their head. Chancellor Wythe, signer of the Declaration of Independence as he was, is probably hardly known to the present generation save as a name and a vague memory. Yet in his day he was so highly esteemed, even among those contemporaries whose names are known the world over, that men eagerly sought the privilege of placing their sons in his law-office or under his charge. Among his pupils were four young men: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Marshall, and Henry Clay. Now, could it have been a mere freak of fortune, that those four young men were pupils of the simple Virginia Chancellor—or did, sitting at the feet of that Gamaliel, have some bearing on the development and future destinies of the author of the Declaration of Independence; of the father of the Constitution; of the great Chief Justice, and of the great Commoner, Henry Clay?

And now let us pass to the consideration of the influences that produced such a result.

To summarize them: The people of Virginia were originally almost purely English or Scotch, into which came later, a small infusion of Huguenot and a larger infusion of Scotch-

Irish—all of sterling stock. The element of transported persons, of which so much has been attempted to be made of late by some, was so small as to be negligible. The Virginians were composed of a strong and adventurous element of the people from whence they came, and the weak among them perished in the "seasoning," leaving only the stronger and more vigorous portion. They possessed and brought over with them the firm belief of the English in representative government and individual liberty, as conquered by their forefathers in the old country and guaranteed to them in their charters. They believed absolutely in the tenets of the Christian religion as held in England; they believed in the administration of the law as practised there, and in the liberties of the people as achieved and maintained there. They did not believe in these fundamentals half-heartedly; but believed in them with all their heart and soul. For their beliefs they were ever ready to fight, and at need to die.

The conditions in the New Country broadened and strengthened them immeasurably. Facing the wilderness and the savage, the feeble acquired strength; the timid acquired courage. The fittest survived. The frontier life gave them strength, courage, endurance, breadth, and independence. It was a stern school and they either learned its lessons or perished. In the organization of their society every man was a soldier; most men were rulers over some part of the earth. As they evinced ability, wisdom, and thrift, they were admitted to take part in the government. If they obtained wealth it was spent in enlarging the things over which they ruled, and this increased their responsibilities; strengthened their fiber and broadened their scope. Money, as such, they cared little for, and they were equally ready to borrow or lend it—if they had it. At least, they spent it and never amassed it.

The life tended to reflection, and the reflection was directed mainly to matters of government—to the relation between man and men. Liberty was their passion. Thus, they became trained political philosophers, as steeped in the theories of government as the Athenians of Plato's day. And thus, when the great exigencies came at the time of the Revolution and afterward, Virginia was full of men who could, at an hour's notice, propound and debate the basic principles of government, with a knowledge and an insight

never excelled in any period known to history. The pole-star of their lives was Liberty: Liberty as defined in their charters: Liberty as conceived in their enlarged minds. For all the rest they cared not.

They set up an elective representative Assembly before any other colony had landed on American shores. When James undertook to subvert their liberties and vacate their charters, they refused to give up their books to the King's Commissioners, and when the Clerk of their Assembly gave up copies, they stood him in the pillory and clipped his ear. In the religious war that was waged in England, they sided with the Crown and Episcopacy. They offered a kingdom to the exiled Charles. "Whole for Monarchy," wrote of them one at this time. Virginia was always whole for everything she was for at all. She so withstood Cromwell's ships that they were fain to make a treaty with her, as if she had been an independent power. Yet, when later Charles invaded her rights and granted the "Northern Neck" to his favorites —Culpeper and Arlington, she flamed—and when Sir William Berkeley refused to commission her leaders to defend her borders against Indian ravages, she burst into revolution with Nat Bacon, the rebel, at her head. The gallant young leader died, and the revolution was quenched in blood by Sir William Berkeley—in so much blood that Charles removed the doughty old Governor, with the fleer that the old fool had "hanged more men in that naked country for his little Rebellion," than he himself had hanged for the murder of his father. But though suppressed, the seeds of liberty remained alive, and a hundred years after, the Revolution came again; the Royal Governors in Virginia and the other Colonies as well, were driven out and Liberty was the reward.

When the Stamp Act was put into execution, Virginia was ready for the work in hand, her leaders trained: Patrick Henry, of Hanover, a County Court lawyer, wrote on the fly-leaf of a copy of Coke—upon—Littleton, which he had in his saddle-bags, and which constituted a considerable fraction of his Law Library, his famous resolutions. They were debated at Williamsburg with an ability which would not have been excelled in Westminster Hall. Later on, George Mason, a Virginia planter, drew the Virginia Bill of Rights, esteemed by some the greatest of State papers, and the Resolutions in the Virginia Convention, under which her dele-

gates, in the Continental Congress, were instructed to act and declare the Colonies Free and Independent States, were offered by Thomas Nelson, a young planter, and were seconded and debated by Pendleton and Henry. And acting in pursuance of their instruction, Richard Henry Lee, who offered the Resolution in Congress, was first chosen, and in his absence, Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence. They were all capable of doing it. The only question was, who could do it best.

Posterity has rendered its verdict and declared with John Adams, that the best man to do it was the Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, the most elegant pen in America—the man who as a youth had declared of Henry that he "spoke, as Homer wrote."

So it was in the generations that followed, even down to the time of our war. In every crisis, Virginians were among the leaders. The Virginia idea was ever apparent if not prevalent. It crossed the mountains to Kentucky; it crossed the rivers to Ohio and what was termed, the West. Lincoln and Grant were the product of this transmission.

Now why was this? What were the principles which gave them this abiding quality of leadership?

Allusion has already been made to some of the causes. I think that the others resolve themselves into the fact that they were founded on the basic virtues of both public and domestic life. On this anvil was forged the character that produced Constitutional Liberty in this land.

The writer asked once a great New Englander what he considered the chief distinguishing trait of the Puritan Fathers, and he answered, "Their Character." It was a wise answer. Their sense of duty to God was the foundation of the Puritan's character. God-fearing men who lived as in the sight of God and strove to obey what they understood to be His law, grew, of necessity, to be men who feared none else and naught else.

Yet my New England friend was wholly wrong in one assumption. He knew New England but not Virginia, nor the rest of the country. He thought that this firm character and the cause of its setting in such form, were the sole possession of the Puritans. This appears to have been long the general impression.

Until just now, there has been an apparent impression which somehow became quite general out of the South, that

nearly everything that has counted for much in the history of this country, either sprang from or took its color from New England. Much of the history which has been written of later years, teaches this—inferentially, perhaps; but quite distinctly.

For example, the New England Puritans have been declared by those who have undertaken to set up as teachers, to have been the only section of the population inspired by high ethical principles. While, on the other hand, the population of the South, particularly of Virginia, have been assumed to have been a roystering, hell-raking lot of adventurers who, ready enough maybe to fight in any cause, good or bad, yet wanted the essential principle of serious character, from which alone great achievement could spring. As I have elsewhere pointed out, no characterization could be further from the truth. The precious prize of Constitutional Liberty, which our fathers so largely secured and transmitted to us, could have been won only by long suffering, goodness, righteousness, and truth—by the fruits of the Spirit. A tree is known by its fruits.

Now what shall we do to preserve the precious heritage left us? Over a century and a quarter has gone by since our forefathers, by their character, created a new Nation, and founded it forever on the principles of liberty. The little nation which they created has spread, until it numbers nearly one hundred million people. It covers nearly a whole continent and its influences have extended to every shore of Christendom.

The conditions that have arisen are so novel that the thoughtful man is often called to consider whether our fathers could have contemplated such strange conditions, and whether their governmental theories are well adapted to the solution of the new questions which have arisen.

Where they had poverty, we have wealth, beyond the dreams of avarice and even of the imagination; where they had weakness, we have power—a wealth and power that is affecting the entire civilization of the world.

We see new conditions springing up about us on all sides and the question is how shall we adapt ourselves to them? It behooves all thoughtful men to consider with all their powers the steps which we shall take in the solution of these vital problems which confront us.

Out of our wealth and power have sprung the greatest

dangers to our welfare as a people, as is the history of all republics. Well may we pray, as in the old Liturgy, "In all times of our tribulation and in all times of our wealth, Good Lord, deliver us." The road by which republics rise is the road of self-denial and unselfishness; the road by which republics fall is the road of ease and personal indulgence. These are the perils which sap the forces of freemen.

I do not believe that we as a people or a nation are going to ruin; because I believe that there is enough patriotism and high principle—enough character left in our people to preserve us, at need, in every extremity. When a great moral principle is involved they can be counted on. But there is even now enough peril to cause a grave disquietude among thoughtful men. We have approached a point from which many republics have hastened to decay. We have attained to conditions which sap character and weaken the forces of a people. We have reached a point where we are reckoned by the outside world as among the wealthiest, if not the wealthiest of the nations of the earth; but also as the most commercial-minded people of the earth and, possibly, as the most selfish. We are charged with having less regard for the common principles of commercial honor and less reverence for law, than any other people. Are these charges true? Have they any foundation whatever to rest on? If they are true, even measurably true, then it behooves every man in America to pause and consider how we may so rectify our conduct, private and national, as to relieve us from the stigma, and once more recover the old foundation of upright conduct and righteous dealing. Never at any period of her history, has the country needed the aid and devotion of her sons more. That eternal vigilance is the price of liberty is an eternal truth, and it is never more true than, when lapped in luxurious ease, we begin to dream that the established order must always prevail. "Is not this great Babylon that I have builded?" exclaimed the mightiest monarch of the earth. But that night God weighed him and finding him wanting cast him by and Darius the Median took the kingdom.

We have problems to solve, of which our forefathers in their furthest vision of the future, never dreamed.

All sorts of problems—new problems, are before us. Race problems, economic problems, governmental problems. For years Virginia and the rest of the South have faced one

of the greatest race problems that has existed in the World. A problem which in some form has dominated the course of this country for a hundred years. Its influence is not confined to the South alone, for it permeates the whole course of our national life. At length it has appeared to be settled, at least it has been relegated to the background by other problems more pressing. But it is not settled, it is there, and it will require all the courage, all the patience, and all the wisdom of all the people to settle it, or even to control it along proper lines of moderation, justice, and righteousness. Other race problems, hardly less imminent and important, have come up of late years, mainly in other parts of the country than the South, yet their influence also, like that of the Southern race problem, reaches in every direction to the farthest confines of the country and affects the vital spirit of this Government.

Besides these race problems there are internal problems which are influencing beyond compute, the spirit of our people and affecting the very structure of our government. Among these problems is one which may be said to have its central office in our great metropolitan city. It is the great economic problem of the acquirement, application, and control of Wealth. This problem permeates the very being of this Government, and like the others, it stares us in the face with a challenge for its solution which will not be silenced. The problem of wealth is no new problem. A profound student of government has said that, "The two great perils to ancient Democracy were Ignorance and Wealth." As you always have the poor with you, so you always have the rich with you; but the problem of wealth beyond the dream of avarice, gained through the manipulation of governmental machinery, so that it finally controls the operation of the government, is at least sufficiently new in our own country to be still regarded with reasonable surprise and alarm. Every man of sense must recognize the fact that wealth cannot be equalized, and every thoughtful man equally recognizes the fact that there are limits beyond which wealth cannot be properly acquired or held for private or selfish ends.

This problem is new, at least in its aspect of a governmental problem. There was, as I have said, wealth in past periods of the Government; but men then used their wealth for the country, and they did not use the country to amass

riches and pile them up only to acquire more riches. Why, there are men to-day who, through using the country, using the organization of the governmental machinery for their private ends, have engrossed in their hands riches beyond compute. They refer this condition to power of organization. The power of organization is a priceless gift, but when its possessors appraise it at hundreds of millions the people begin to think. They know who pay for it.

But not content with possessing all this wealth, they have employed it in subsidizing the public machinery of government to amass more. They or some of them have, in some parts of the land, secured control of the representatives of the people in their legislative assemblies; they have even dared to reach out and lay their unholy hands, at times, on the sacred tribunals of justice, until a grave question has arisen whether the people will longer abide by the present system of representative government—that is, in plain language, whether they will trust their own representatives and their own judges. It is no longer a question of mere property, of mere wealth. It has come to be a question that reaches to the foundations of our government—to be the question: Shall this Government endure? A committee of Congress, which has been investigating the matter, has, according to the reports in the press, stated that, through a vast system of interlocking directorates—a few men, with a sort of central office in one great city, control some forty billions of the property-values of this country—that is, about half of the wealth of this nation. They control the great railways; the great steamship lines; the great coal-fields; all the great semi-public arteries of the country.

At the head of this mighty system of property control are but a few men—fewer perhaps than two hundred. They have their personal virtues—they are men of standing in every city of the land—they are large givers—of late very large givers—though they give only to a small number what they sap from the hearts of all. But they are a privileged class, and Democracy cannot tolerate a privileged class save as character and other personal endowments exalt one man above another.

This great system of interlocking directorates, with its Briarian arms, is strangling the old ideas on which this Government is founded. Does any one outside of that coterie believe that the people will stand this much longer?

They will not. The peril is that in their determination to overthrow this system of greed and avarice—this system of tampering with our governmental machinery, they may destroy the principles themselves on which this government rests—the principle of the independence of the judiciary, and possibly the principle of representative government itself. Owing to the action of that privileged class, both are imperiled now.

Formerly the men of wealth, holding high position, were scrupulous in all matters that related to the public, and held themselves as representatives, and in some sort as trustees of the public. Could even flattery say that these later representatives of vast wealth have been scrupulous in their dealing with the public? What is the general judgment of Wall Street throughout the country? We know that these men are for the most part scrupulous in their private dealings with each other; we know that on the stock-boards, millions of dollars pass by the wave of the hand, often without so much as the scratch of a pen. Millions are the counters in their game! But who pays for these millions which so pass? The public. Who pays for the million-dollar houses which they build, and for the four-hundred-thousand-dollar pictures with which they furnish them? The public. And they pay it none the less that the money is drained from them without their knowledge, as the blood flows, all unknown, from internal wounds until the wounded man drops. Can we think, as these good gentlemen appear to think, that the people are going to stand this forever? The people are becoming informed, and when they are fully informed, no one knows what may happen. There are other revolutions than those which blossom with barricades and blush with the blood-red flags of anarchy. There is a revolution now in progress, and though, please God, it will not come to a revolution of barricades, no one can tell quite what the end will be. The whole system of representative government may be revolutionized by it.

If Wall Street be the beneficent agency which these gentlemen who conduct matters there hold it to be, then they should enlighten the people. If, on the other hand, it be what the people hold it to be, then these gentlemen who conduct it should mend their ways. Before Heaven! I sometimes wonder that these men, when they commemorate, at their Belshazzar feasts, the Babylon which they have built, do not

hear sometimes, in the pauses, the sound of the picks of the ditchers digging under their walls.

Of diplomacy, the same view is taken that is taken in other commercial matters by these captains of finance. The diplomacy which once was so ably represented by the Virginians: Jefferson, Monroe, Marshall, Clay, James Barbour, Andrew Stevenson, and by the great men of other States—by Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Morris, the Adamses, three generations of them; by Gallatin, the Pinckneys; by Buchanan, Phelps, Bayard, and Lowell; what is it called now? It has come to be called "dollar diplomacy." And what is the result of it? That on this continent we are the most universally hated people between the two Poles; that across the seas we are held in what often appears to be little less than detestation. I recognize the fact that it is of great importance that we should extend our markets throughout the world. But I feel that it is of greater importance that we should make it clear throughout the world that this Republic stands for liberty, for amity, for justice.

"Dollar diplomacy" is but a poor substitute for that diplomacy which made the seas safe for American ships; which has delimited the boundaries of our country and saved, through the patience, the patriotism, the far-sightedness, and the wisdom of that great Virginian, Henry Clay, the Great Northwest; which helped to bring into being, the Republics of the South-American Continent and bound them to us in friendship through generations, until the modern diplomacy alienated them and turned their affection into hate. Have we gained by the exchange? Go to South America and ask. Go north to Canada and inquire. The old diplomacy which looked to friendship as its basis and its object has given place to a diplomacy formulated to suit the fancy of conductors of finance. If an Ambassador or Minister does not suit them, a little trip is taken to Washington and out goes a minister; in goes a new one more satisfactory to them. Has any question ever been raised that these ambassadors who have thus been given their congé were not acceptable to the countries to which they were accredited, or were failing in any respect to perform their duties faithfully? No! It has been simply a question of dollar diplomacy.

This sort of thing is not likely to last; but it may last long enough to widen the breach between us and other nations until we shall stand alone in what a noted, but short-sighted

statesman of England once spoke of as "splendid isolation." No isolation is splendid any more.

The one way to solve these problems is along the lines which our fathers blazed for us; by putting the public good before private interests; by consecrating ourselves soul and body to this great end: the service of the commonwealth.

For, most disquieting of all our perils, to those who have studied the history of government and known how difficult, laborious, and slow has been the growth of liberty, how delicate and fragile is the strongest republic, how easily it is injured, and how insensibly it sinks into decay, is the tendency on the part of the people to yield to change: their readiness to applaud whatever promises a new order. It has taken generations—yes, centuries of suffering and aspiration to secure the liberty which we enjoy; generations of our forefathers fought and suffered and died to leave us this birthright. And we are in danger of selling it—for what? For a mess of that same red pottage for which liberty has ever been bartered.

Now, what is the principal gift which our fathers have left to us, wherever we may be, intrusted with the responsibility of preserving their teachings? The prime gift with which they have blessed us is liberty. All agree as to that. The prime gift of Virginia and the old States to their sons was not wealth, nor the capacity to obtain wealth, though many of them have it in full measure. The gift was liberty. Our fathers, so far from reckoning wealth as the chief aim of life, placed it far down in the scale. They possessed wealth prior to the two great revolutions which have swept over the country, in which they were the leaders. They were the wealthiest class on this continent, possibly in the world, yet they sacrificed it without hesitation to secure liberty. When George Mason of Gunston Hall wrote that if he could leave as a patrimony to his children a crust of bread with liberty, he would be content, he was using no mere idle phrase. He and his like, the great landowners of the South, threw all into the scale for liberty. And so they did in the later Revolution.

They left us not only liberty; but they left us a chart by which to maintain that supreme blessing which God bestows on His people. They left us a government and a Constitution—complex, it is true, but so arranged that it can be reasonably, lawfully, and wisely adjusted to meet

whatever situation may arise. They left us, as the fundamental principle of that government and that Constitution, the principle of representation. The one new principle which they struck out and handed down to us is representative government as applied to a republic. All the rest had been tried. This alone was their new creation which distinguished this Republic from all other Governments then existent on the earth or which had been existent in times past.

If one wishes to fortify his arguments from the armory of experience and reason, all he has to do is to study the debates, which grew out of the Constitutional Convention, by which the Constitution of the United States was ordained. If he wishes an illustration of its value, of the imperative and supreme value of our Constitution, all he has to do is to study the history of jurisprudence covering the period, extending from the time of the war, to the close of the period of Reconstruction in the South. As the United States of America came into being through the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, so, through the protection afforded by the Constitution of the United States, the State of Virginia, together with the other Southern States, owed her preservation, as did the people of those States. By the Constitution they were preserved from a destruction, the like of which has not been known on the earth, since the Constitution of the United States was adopted.

Now we are told that this is all outworn. That the methods of procedure provided by the Constitution are antiquated and inefficient, and that the methods of amending the Constitution and meeting the new conditions are outworn and unequal to the occasion. We are told that under this very palladium of our liberties the people have been trodden down, their representatives have been debauched, legislation has been corrupted, and the Bench itself has become the hired enginery of the enemies of the people. We have been told that a New Nationalism has come into existence, and that not only all the old methods, the old procedure, but the principles themselves, for the exercise of which they were provided, are antiquated, outworn, and antagonistic to the principles which called them into being.

But one name is given to all who will not subscribe to this new teaching; but one name is provided for all who do subscribe thereto. Neither name is in the least distinctive,

neither name contains the slightest suggestion of the aims, of the motives, the ends, or the principles of the adherents of those who espouse the one side or the other. All who oppose the New Nationalism, whether they be old "stand-patters" who have stood as the bulwark of privilege, or whether they be the sane, sound, reasonable defenders of the rights of the Constitution, and of the rights of the people against privilege—have been classed together in this new vocabulary, as Reactionaries; while those who would pull down the entire structure of Government about our ears, whether they be the most eager advocates of centralization of unlimited power, or whether they be the most arrogant representatives of trusts in the land, are classed together as Progressives. At need, they take up the wildest theories that have ever been propounded, and if there be a wilder one propounded to-morrow, they will be prompt to adopt that likewise. Whoever does not subscribe to their views is told that he has no confidence in the people.

Whence came this sudden revulsion; this strange and unlooked-for uprising against that which every generation of Americans to the present time has been ready to die for? It comes from two classes and from two classes alone. The one that small class, which, availing itself of the opportunities that have been presented, have sequestered in their hands, if not all the power, at least an undue proportion of the power in this country, whether it be the power vested in organization or whether it be the power incident to material wealth. The class which, having its central office in one of the great centers of this country, has, through its selfishness, its arrogance, its assurance, its ability, monopolized in its hands a great part of that which belongs of right to the public, that is, to the people—the class who have covered it up with the guise of law, and under the guise of law, are pursuing their selfish and perilous ends.

The other class is a large one. It is not selfish like the first; but it is more ignorant. It is a class which largely has been admitted to this country within our own generation. It has not had time yet to become fully steeped in the spirit of this free land. Unused to freedom, it has a tendency to break over the line that divides freedom from license. It is readily played upon, especially by designing leaders who rise out of their own body. It has the excuse which the other class has not, that it has found it necessary to

organize, and organize in very narrow ways, for self-preservation. Unaccustomed to power, where it has found itself possessed of power, it has been unable to use it with moderation. Thus, with their energies directed in other lines than those which lead to the contemplation of the principles of this government, they have been led in a direction hostile to the old forms under which this government has achieved its success. They have seen with a clear vision, as the rest of us have seen, that the first class to which I have referred have monopolized in their hands the wealth and the rights of the people, and they have seen that they have done this under the color of the law. They have seen the greatest examples of their rapacity upheld in instances by courts subservient to their power, and in the first flush of indignation at this betrayal of what they recognize as their rights they have been led to denounce not only its particular acts of coercion and rapacity—not only the agents guilty of these particular acts, but the whole system under which these agents and their agencies have come into being. It is not unnatural that they should take this view of the case.

But what may be natural enough to an element new to our country, unversed in its history, ignorant of its traditions, knowing only the pinch of present conditions as they exist in regions which have unhappily fallen under the dominance of the selfish monopolistic class, would be most unnatural in those Americans who are the heirs of all the traditions which brought this Government into being out of the maelstrom of revolution, who have inherited with our blood the knowledge of what constitutional government has been able to accomplish, even in the short period in which it has had its exercise. On us rests a responsibility which we can never evade, of applying every energy with which God has endowed us to preserve constitutional government and adapt it to present needs. If faults which may be mended discover themselves in a great structure, do we cast it down in order to remedy them? If the roof leaks, do we pull the walls down and tear up the foundations and turn the place into a wilderness? Had our fathers taken this view, we should never have been the free country which we are, and those who are now assailing the integrity of our institutions would never have found an asylum where they would have liberty of speech, liberty of conscience, and

liberty of action. Liberty would have perished at its birth and freedom would never have been known.

The fundamental principles on which this Government is founded have been attacked by these new doctrinaires, who have substituted for those foundations of living rock, the ever-shifting sands of popular expediency. One of their chief points of attack is the independence of the judiciary. The great Virginia Convention of 1829–30 was a body which contained possibly as much intellect and wisdom as any assemblage ever gathered together in this land, or for that matter in any land under the sun. It included, among other great men, James Madison; James Monroe; John Marshall; Littleton Waller Tazewell; Philip Pendleton Barbour; John Randolph of Roanoke; Chapman Johnson; John Tyler; William B. Giles; Alexander Campbell; and Benjamin Watkins Leigh.

In that Convention all these questions relating to government were discussed and considered by the ablest men of their day. Among these questions was that of the tenure of office of the judiciary. The question might have appeared a local one, confined to Virginia alone; but the discussion, as ever, in that body went down to the basic principles of government for all time. In this discussion, the independence of the judiciary as a fundamental principle of all government was assumed, and the debate was only as to the best method of securing that independence. When the debate upon the tenure of office of the judiciary was drawing to an end an old man arose, whose name is received with veneration wherever the principles of Justice are known, and made an appeal for the absolute independence of the judiciary from every influence, even the most indirect. His name was John Marshall and he closed his argument in these words, referring to the Judges of every court:

"If they may be removed at pleasure, will any lawyer of distinction come upon your Bench? No, sir! I have always thought, from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest scourge that an angry Heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful and a sinning people, was an ignorant, a corrupt, or a dependent judiciary. Will you draw down this curse upon Virginia? Our ancestors thought so, we thought so until very lately, and I trust that the vote of this day will show that we think so still."

The vote upon the resolution under consideration touching the independent tenure of office of the judiciary of Virginia proved overwhelmingly that the Virginians of that

day did think so still. Are we profounder students of the science of government than they were? Have any new conditions arisen which require the tearing up of the foundations of this Government? Is our population better able to supersede *en masse* their freely chosen and selected representatives, selected because of their assumed knowledge, character, sympathy, and experience, subject to their direction and responsible to them for re-election at short intervals? If not, then let us remedy such defects as may become apparent; but let us not destroy the whole fabric of our Government.

We have seen within a very brief time a return to power of a party which proclaims itself and has a right to proclaim itself the party of government by the people, the party of democracy—as opposed to the party of privilege. For the first time in more than a generation a man of Virginia birth, of Southern rearing, and of experience covering both the South and the North, and therefore of a knowledge of the conditions of both sections, has been elected President of the United States, Chief Magistrate of this Nation. He is the leader of the democracy, neither of the progressive wing of that democracy, nor of the conservative wing; but leader of the whole of the democracy—leader for the first time, of a united democracy—standing out boldly, courageously for the preservation and maintenance of the rights of the people—clearly bound by their direction, to preserve all that has been tried and found true in the experience of this Government heretofore, and to discard whatever has been found impracticable and unsound, in that period. To his aid, he has the right to summon all the wisdom and all the experience of his party; nay, all the wisdom, all the experience of every party, for when he shall have taken his oath of office, he will become President, not of any wing of a party, not of any one party; but of all parties and of all the people of the United States, and his oath of office will be to protect the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully perform the duties of the President.

So far as may be seen and foretold at this time, no stronger character has been called to the Chief Magistracy of the nation in its history, or one who, on his entrance upon his duties has given promise of being more independent of improper influences or more devoted to the fundamental principles of the Republic. A profound student of compara-

tive politics from his youth, deeply read in the science of government, on which he has been a thoughtful commentator; absolutely familiar with the history of this country, he brings to the exercise of his exalted office as great promise of soundness of view, loftiness of purpose, and steadfastness of principle as any man has done since the days of Washington. It has been the custom of late years for the fraction of the people of this country, intrenched by privilege which they have paid for of the people's money, and which has been secured to them by that payment, to proclaim with wearisome insistence that the triumph of democracy meant the overturning of everything in our life worth holding on to; that in its train would follow panic and poverty and destruction of all that our fathers revered. They have proclaimed that the reduction of the expenses of the united establishments of the army and the navy would bring disaster in its train; that commerce would be imperiled and business be destroyed. They have been more than puzzled by the quiet, dignified, self-contained attitude of him who has been called to the leadership of the democracy. Where he has spoken, he has laid down principles with clearness and confidence. No clamor has moved him to announce his intentions in the details of his administration. Like Grant, he has listened and been silent, as to his proposed appointments. Like Jefferson, when he has spoken, it is to declare only the soundest principles of governmental policy. Without undertaking to press the parallel too far, for the natural change of conditions ever prevents historic parallels being absolute, there is a somewhat singular resemblance in the situation now to the situation when Jefferson was called by the democracy to assume the reins of government. There was the same overthrow of the party of centralization, the same jeremiads issued incessantly from the adherents of that party, the same forecast of absolute overthrow and destruction. Let us see what a thoughtful student and historian of that time has said of it:

"No class or region or single school of politicians or thinkers could keep the mastery or determine the course of such a people, growing after such a fashion, on such a continent. Democracy, free force, an equal footing for all men in opinion, effort, and attainment were the very conditions of its being: there could be no leading-strings. Mr. Jefferson spoke the spirit of the day, its only acceptable principle in affairs. The Government had passed into the people's party."

"Its programme, as Mr. Jefferson spoke it, accorded with its origin: The restriction of Federal powers within straight constitutional limits, an unembarrassed field for the powers of local self-government within the several States, the payment of the public debt, the reduction of the armed forces of the country, and consequently of the taxes, to the lowest practicable point, and as nearly as might be free trade at the ports: a government simple, inexpensive, unmeddlesome. Some of the latest and most partisan acts of the Federalists in the new Congress, with its working majority of Republicans, proceeded to undo. . . . The Federalist Naturalization Law of June, 1798, which required a residence of fourteen years as a condition precedent to the acquisition of citizenship by a foreigner, was repealed, and the old period of five years restored.

"But there the reaction stopped. The new Congress reduced the Federal taxes and the customs duties at the ports; cut down the army and navy establishments; retrenched expenses and lessened burdens, as had been promised and expected; but the despondent forebodings of those Federalists who had looked to see a fatal retrogression in the character of the government were not fulfilled. The people's men were not, after all, 'Jacobins and miscreants,' and Mr. Cabot was apparently not yet justified in considering 'democracy to be the government of the worst.' Mr. Jefferson called Mr. Madison to the Secretaryship of the State, a man whom all the country knew to be a patriot and a statesman. He made Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury, and financiers soon learned to trust the clear-headed Swiss for judgment and capacity almost as much as they had trusted Mr. Hamilton himself. There was, at any rate, no revolution in the business methods of the government.

"Mr. Jefferson was too wise a politician to alienate the very men whose suffrages had brought him into office. He knew that many thoughtful men who had before always voted with the Federalists had in the last election voted for the Democratic-Republican electors—not because ready to see the government experimented with, but because they hated the taxes with which the Federalist Congress loaded them, disliked the new tone and temper of the Federalist leaders, and believed that, for all they were so radical in their talk, the leaders of the opposition would simplify the government without weakening it or doing it damage. He knew that he was on trial to prove his conservatism as well as to prove his capacity for reform. He meant to prove himself no enemy of an efficient Federal government, but only an enemy of extremes.

"It turned out that he had judged the temper of the country and the posture of affairs to a nicety, and had brought in a new régime which was to give its opponents abundant time to assess its qualities. Mr. Jefferson remained eight years in office; and handed on the Presidency to men of his own school of political principle, who kept it for sixteen years more." *

Thus has spoken the present head of the democracy, in whose hands have been reposed by the democracy the responsibilities of the *administration of the Presidency.*

* *History of the American People* by Woodrow Wilson, vol. iii., pp. 173-4, 176-8.

On us devolve the responsibilities of upholding his hands in whatever relates to the perpetuation of this Government and the welfare of the people. On us will devolve equally the responsibility of withstanding, no matter by whom advocated, whatever tends to impair the foundations of this Government and injure the people. I do not know how we may accomplish this better than by consecrating ourselves anew to the principle to which our fathers consecrated themselves —to the principle that patriotism is above place; that liberty is above wealth or power, and that whatever tends to imperil liberty is at war with patriotism and with liberty.

Old Virginia is doing her part in the new movement. She has of late years been coming to the fore and resuming her position of primacy in the National Counsels.

Happily, the moral sense of the people of the country is beginning to be awakened. Let it be once fully aroused and nothing on earth can stand against it.

The first step in this sound direction is the casting out of our life of the false ideal of Commercialism; the setting up once more of the old ideals. If we but do this we need have no fear for this Republic.

Let us set before ourselves the old ideals and follow them as our fathers followed them, through evil report and good report, to the end that Freedom may never perish out of the land, and that Peace and Happiness, Truth and Justice, Religion and Piety, may be established among us to all generations.

THOMAS NELSON PAGE.

HOBBLED

BY ADA CAMBRIDGE

MELBOURNE, where I have had my home for eighteen years and which is the metropolis of a State to which I have belonged for more than twice that length of time, is a great city. I make bold to say that in the March of Progress she is well abreast of the foremost cities of the British Empire, if not of the world. And this is not to disparage the other Australasian capitals, most of which (by nature's favor) are more beautiful, and one, to my thinking, incomparable. All are little mirrors kept bright and ready to reflect the face of civilization, every chop and change in social fashion caught and reproduced within a few weeks of its appearance upon the horizons of Europe. I focus on Melbourne because here I am, and my subject under my nose, merely desiring to make it clear to the reader that it is not a local subject, nor its local character and equipment any different from what they are in London, Paris, or New York. As showing that I do not understate the case let me quote the opinion of a great and traveled actress who recently visited us (an actress is above royalty as an authority on such matters). She said—nay, she published it in an English newspaper as a notable discovery—that we were the best-dressed women she had seen in any country.

Dress, however, is not my subject, but only a natural introduction to my subject. It was the hobble-skirt suggested it.

Not the original of a year or two ago, the bag with the draw-string round the ankles, the literal hobble such as we use to restrain the wanderings of our bush horse; it would be unfair to the subject to make a text of that. Because, as soon as it appeared, one recognized that it was not a serious proposition, but just a stroke of saturnine humor on the part of some sartorial dictator, who bet somebody

that he could make the little fools do anything and was dared to try. Certainly he won his wager in a way, thanks to the force of habit, but he also learned, probably for the first time, that his powers were not quite absolute. The offense was so flagrant, so violently resented, and so soon put down that many even of those who think they know everything do not know, and now never will, what the true hobble-skirt looked like in the open street.

But if the inverted bag is gone, the pillow-slip—the bolster-case, rather—remains, and that is almost as lamentable a sight when it presents the height of fashion. Its effect behind, and especially its effect when the wearer is pressed for time, is so incontestably funny that one marvels at the sustained and defiant courage wasted in its support (for if she cannot see her own back she can always see its counterpart). Just enough stuff to let the skirt hang free, to free the legs within, would convert the monstrosity into a thing of grace; yet she will not have it. And then regard the correlative hat—literally the crowning insult. In nine cases out of ten that hat of late years has been a thing to make angels weep. Its worst extravagances have abated, but one fears this only means that the time limit for a pronounced fashion is nearing expiration, and the votaries of fashion casually lapsing into sanity until the next wave of madness comes along. Strange phenomenon to the philosophic eye! The great argument for dress, as so dominant an element in woman's life, is that it is her duty to make herself as beautiful as she can; but here she is and here she will be next year, if it be thus decreed, deliberately using it to make herself ugly—knowing she is so using it, knowing that everybody else knows it, and particularly that man knows it, for whom ultimately all is done. How is one to explain such lunacy?

I am a woman's woman; I am even—although I detest the term—a woman's rights woman: but I wish sometimes that tyrant man would exercise his brute power in this matter. That he does not "turn" under the provocation of such frocks and hats as have lately been brought into his family and at least refuse to pay for them argues him but an imitation tyrant, after all, without the brutality of a worm.

Individually and behind the scenes one knows he has his say. A significant little tale came to me from a dressmaker at the time when the tube-skirt was the season's novelty and

the "rage"; I cannot think of it without wanting (disloyally, I know) to pat the unmentioned hero on the back. A lady ordered of this dressmaker a costume of the latest mode; the correct skirt measurement had been promulgated and was duly adhered to; fitted on when completed, it gave perfect satisfaction. It was sent home. Three days later it was returned, the skirt ripped (very roughly with a knife) from hem to waist, and a note from the victim of the outrage requested the dressmaker to repair the damage with a new back width "somewhat fuller than the last."

But such sporadic demonstrations are of small avail as checks to a movement so organized and wide-spread. What one would like to see in the circumstances—the second decade of the twentieth century on its way and vandalism recrudescent, flouting an enlightened age—is an equally organized and wide-spread male public opinion, healthy and temperate, showing its sense that the thing, being socially retrogressive, was worth attention and attack; instead of the cynical and unintelligent "it-pleases-them-and-don't-hurt-us" attitude, a brotherly concern for a sister's frailty, a knightly solicitude for Beauty in distress. How powerfully these would work to steady the feather-heads so easily led by the nose! It should not be needed and it is a humiliation to invoke it, but some such aid seems called for and might legitimately be exercised to save silly women from themselves and incidentally to buttress the hardly won repute and status of those who are not silly—or perhaps I should say not *so* silly. For alas and alas! I am afraid that in this matter of the surrender of the female will and conscience to the hypnotic force of fashion there is scarcely one of us that is without sin.

And here comes in the subject—not without a sad dignity of its own despite its clothes: Corporate Woman and her place in the line of march—why it is not alongside her mate and recognized to be so; why her standing and standards are different from his in the ways that make one inferior to the other; why their "rating," as we may call it, is not one and the same.

It ought to be the same. A million times has the fact been proclaimed, a million times disputed; but there it is—an axiom of nature, her plain intention—it ought to be the same. And it is not.

Why not? Sickening as the reiteration of the question

may be, it would be foolish to give it up. Not only that, but criminal, because, being the unnatural situation that it is, it must be ourselves that created it and by the same token we who have the responsibility of putting it right. Nature is the common scapegoat and appearances are often against her, but with all her so-called favoritisms, her sex differentiations, the unsophisticated tigress holds her own, while the hen ostrich and the mother stickleback do more than hold their own. It would be absurd to argue that we are the only animals in the world of which male and female did not get a fair and equal start.

We must have had a fair start, we women. And although history records that we have lived up to it from time to time, in ancient Rome and elsewhere, it is indisputable that we have been losing way for ages and that we are disgracefully behindhand still. Here are the hobble-skirt and cart-wheel hat to prove it.

How did it happen?

The ultimate cause of anything is beyond sight, but as far back as eyes can see there looms the form of that disastrous sinner who invented war with his own kind. We take for granted it was a he whose dawning human nature prompted his animal intelligence to the initial crime, although it might as easily have been a she; one reasons from results which support the settled theory of all shes that he began it. And the first engagement would certainly have taken place at the convenient domestic hearth—or whatever answered for a hearth; perhaps he wanted her bone, or it may have been her nut. So our primal misfortune befell us. Given a contest, there must be a winner and a loser, and by the chance of fate, or because she was taken unawares, and not necessarily because she deserved it, the prehistoric wife got the worst of the encounter. This would unduly elevate the prehistoric husband in his own esteem, and the moral advantage to him must have been incalculable. Nothing succeeds like success, and chivalry in that morning twilight of the world was a thing undreamed of. Next time they tried conclusions it was not on equal terms, he with his new-born confidence in himself and she discouraged and cowed. Consequently she was beaten again—and so on until she was subdued, forcibly inhibited from exercising as of yore what may be called her virile faculties. And there you are.

Behold her presently grown accustomed to her abject state—out of the running—taken up with the lighter pursuits to which she is confined. Behold him without the natural check and balance of her equal will and his respect for it indulging, over-indulging his male propensities at her expense. The relation of the sexes is indicated, if not established—the fashion of the future set.

I am not blaming him for a moment any more than I would blame water for running down-hill instead of up. He was the victim of circumstances. So was she. So, in the natural sequence of events, are we, their descendants, in this present year of grace. But theirs were circumstances over which they had no control and ours are not. That is the point. They knew no better and we do.

How well we do! Yes, women as well as men. We laboriously manufacture an appearance of immaturity which deceives ourselves as well as them, but when we really want to show that we are grown up we can always do it. I suppose the women of America have done it most effectually; I think their sisters in Australia are not far behind. The records of our Australian universities prove that, number for number, the women students gain more academic distinctions than the men.

But here is another point: It was not so long ago that our lord and master was doing precisely what we are doing now—giving his attention to fine clothes and petty follies—with precisely the same result. No miracles of discovery and achievement, such as have transformed the world in later times, were wrought or thought of when dress with him, as now with us, was a serious business of life. Only think of the creatures, belaced and bewigged, strutting about in all the colors of the rainbow, with their gamblings and flirtations and miscellaneous frivolities! If a few of our modern university girls could have been turned loose among them then, they would have made those dandies look just as silly as their descendants, who have put away childish things in order to do the work of men, make us look now.

So, after all, it is not necessary to go the whole way back to account for things. Doubtless Mrs. Pepys was a more efficient human being than her spouse. An entry in the immortal diary (such a "feminine" production!) clearly points that way: "To my great sorrow, find myself £43 worse than I was the last month, which was then £760 and

now it is but £717. But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings out in clothes for myself and wife: *viz.*, for her about £12 and for myself £55 or thereabouts." Her mind must have been far more at leisure for impersonal concerns. For the matter of that, we may substitute our own so very late Queen Victoria for Mrs. Pepys, not to speak of the Roman matron of whom we have such flattering reports—still less of the prehistoric ancestress before her fall. Queen Victoria used no cosmetics for the enhancement of a far from fine complexion; she wore no wig over her graying hair, even when it became so thin that you could see through it; she stuck to her old fashions of dress when she liked them, too busy with more important things to change for the sake of change. And no king of them all surpassed her.

I love to believe that everything in its own nature is sound and good, that nothing but tampering ignorance has set matters wrong, and that growing knowledge will gradually put all right. I am indeed quite sure that the case is so. Why, what jeremiads are poured forth about this and that "cancer" of social life! And now I learn on scientific authority that physical cancer, with its awful potentialities, comes from no malignancy inherent in itself, but simply from a loss of equilibrium in the interplay of certain molecules that are perfectly healthy when their natural action is undisturbed — the "disproportionate preponderance" artificially produced of some elements of our being over others to which John Stuart Mill ascribes one of the most intractable of our social diseases and which we may take to be more or less the source of them all.

And if the whole "principle of evil" in the world is no more than this—good mismanaged—how simple a matter to deal with it! Here is a fine machine put out of gear by inadvertent ignorance, and all we have to do is to readjust and repair it—having, of course, first learned how. "That all?" you query, and I know it looks the same "large order" that it ever was; but it is not so, being from this view a hopeful task and not a hopeless, which makes all the difference. And no reasonable being, divine or mortal, asks to have everything done at once or that one laborer at the job should undertake the various duties of the rest. For example, it is not our duty to clear the gap between ourselves and the leaders of the expedition at a flying jump and start as full-blown Marconis to-morrow.

Small beginnings that are the roots of all great endings are decidedly indicated in our case. Not only can we clear no gap at all, not even a street gutter, we cannot even jump for it until the back width is slit up with a knife or a tenderer hand puts in a new one "somewhat fuller than the last." That is where we must begin. It is all very well to talk of the suffrage and the laws—they represent the pounds that can take care of themselves; the pennies are the first consideration. We shall have our equality with man recognized all right when we are equal, but that is not yet —while we are tangled up in chiffons and he goes free. I am very sure we did not aid him in his escape from the same toils, and he will not aid us—or so it seems. But why should he? We too are quite capable of emancipating ourselves. We are not shut up. The road is open before us. Nothing prevents us, I am convinced, but the immense network of material trifles that we have spent our lives in spinning until it has smothered us, body and spirit, in its folds; and that we can get out of any day we like just as easily as we got in.

The only difficulty—the main difficulty of any undertaking —is to begin. But how difficulties do melt away (excuse the platitude) when you stand up to them! This Moloch of fashion—where is he? Who is he? Put out a hand to feel him and you touch air. Moreover, we *have* demonstrated to ourselves that he is a bogy of our own creation. We *did* make a beginning when we refused his ankle-strap skirt, intimating (for the first time within my recollection) that a line must be drawn somewhere. That was really a remarkable revolt—if only we had followed it up instead of weakly compromising on the bolster-case! But after such ages of body-and-soul subjection it could not reasonably be expected of us that we should cease to be cowards all at once. It was a beginning, anyway.

Now how to go on—for go on we must, belated as we are. Well, there is the men's example. If you prefer not to be beholden to them, there are our grandmothers and great-grandmothers to give us useful hints. Those admirable women, not having time and brain power to waste, held to one fashion of costume for years and years. Under that system they had a far better chance of being always well dressed than we who change it every season; their stuffs were sound and lasting, the workmanship fine and finished,

conscientious like all their work; the cost, compared with our expenses, next to nothing. For you see those were the days of importance for the housewife and mother, whose economic usefulness to the family and the community was equal to that of her husband. She ran so many industries in their joint business that he could no more have prospered in life without her than she without him. It was impossible for her to be continually thinking about clothes, although I am sure she loved her few gowns, old friends as they were, far more than we our multitudinous and perennially new ones. And I know that some of them were beautiful because I have seen them.

Times have changed, you say. Those productive processes to which she gave her mind are now otherwise carried on. Where would be the sense of doing yourself what machines are made to do better and cheaper? And what about the thousands and millions of poor things whose livelihood depends on the present volume and ceaseless mutations of the trade in dress? The same answer fits both questions. There is inexhaustible occupation waiting for us still, untouched, undreamed of—better uses for heads and hands than they were ever put to or are put to now. And not men's work, either. They and we are at the beginnings of knowledge, not the end; there is plenty of room for us both side by side without overlapping. As for the countless and accumulating multitudes who sew and sell and have their being in our clothes, the waste and sacrifice of human material that they represent are the worst features of the whole business. They are our victims, those slaves of fashion, whom we, slaves ourselves, have dragged at our heels, and whom, on the fallacious good-for-trade theory, we have supposed benefited by our follies to an extent justifying their excess and continuance. We have not benefited them. We have tied them down with our laces and fallals when they might have soared.

"The brains these fragile webs enmesh!
The wings of thought they tie!
The energies of soul and flesh
They still or stultify!
God! what world-wealth in unsown seeds,
What all-potential dreams and deeds,
In women's workshops die,
While spacious realms of life are stored
With such vast mysteries unexplored!"

Those poor girls whom we should speak of as being "thrown out of employment" would not lose it so suddenly as that; they would retire by degrees, and by concurrent degrees be drawn into the worthier pursuits that their employers would have to take to. So huge a reform would go slow for a long time. It would need wise and temperate leaders, not headlong cranks. Heavens! if the wise and temperate (in other things), the more intelligent and highly educated and influential among us, would only awake to the responsibility that lies upon them—responsibility to an upward struggling world, and especially at the present crisis in its affairs, which calls for all its stock of common sense—the thing would virtually be done.

They have but to set an example—an example of mere sobriety. Is that much to do? Our grandmothers did it without effort or thought, and the money they saved upon intoxicating liquors, so to speak, provided excellent nourishment for the body politic of their day. Queen Victoria was a more efficient queen and no less dignified a lady for her unconcealed gray hair and furrowed face and sometimes dowdy garments. Not that we want dowdiness—emphatically not. Beauty, beauty all the time! That is just what the hobble-skirt set us crying for. But what *is* beauty when reduced to its elements? Surely first of all sincerity, then simplicity, then harmony, appropriateness—in short, most of the ingredients at present conspicuous by their absence from the creations of fashion and which the creators only use by accident, apparently, from time to time. Finally, the thing we have grown accustomed to.

Now see how accustomed we have grown to the masculine coat and trousers. Times without number have we been told how hideous they are, but the fact remains that our finest taste is satisfied when a gentleman "as is a gentleman" appears dressed for dinner or a garden-party or a shoot in the long-established manner. The occasional suggestions, said to have emanated from poor King Edward (fine man that he was, he *did* have a few feminine proclivities), that his sex should introduce more change and gaiety and color into its clothes—suggestions calculated to send cold chills adown the spine of the most elementary sociologist—passed by ears attuned to higher calls like the idle wind. The powers be praised! Had one man whose social influence was greater than his sense acted upon the hint others

would have followed him, and the clock might have been put back for generations. But no; I fancy it would have been a case of hobble-skirt again and that *we* should have nipped his enterprise in the bud. Think how we should feel if a man, hitherto " correctly " tailored, walked into our drawing-room with so much as a frill of lace on his shirt-front—how we *do* feel when he sports loud checks and diamond rings. Too disgusted and contemptuous for words. One is always more quick to see what is ridiculous in others than what is so in oneself.

Very well. Then here is our first step indicated. So soon as we find ourselves furnished with an agreeable fashion, to hold on to it like grim death for just as long as it suits us so to do; never minding about the disorganization of trade, which is bound to readjust itself and share the common gain in the end.

By the rule of averages the sheath-skirt and extinguisher-hat should be succeeded by something pretty, although we must be prepared for an attempt at seven widths over a crinoline. Intermediately our bonds, already loosening, will be loosened a little more—we can stop at the happy mean. The straight-hanging skirt within which legs can move freely and which clears the ground is the most comfortable one we know and the most graceful; and our Moloch could not take that garment from us if we had the resolution to keep it. Witness his difficulty in depriving us of those chief treasures of our wardrobe, the blouse and the " tailor-made "; assuredly he never meant us to keep anything so useful and economical for such a length of time. The short, round bodice might stay too; it does not correlate corsets or nipping belts; it is charming in its adaptation to the figure of youth, and, appropriately modified, it would be of great advantage to the appearance of those of us who are not young—incipient mothers and ladies developing embonpoint in the wrong place—who have not been allowed to try it; at any rate, not in modern times. Oh, rapture of comfort to have no waist to think of! One would go about feeling more like an angel than a woman. That one thing alone would lift life up enormously. As for the head—a (reasonably) wide-leaved hat to sit right down on it, as a man's hat on his, for summer; a cozy toque with alternate hood for winter; no heating pads, no hurting pins, no more trouble of sun and wind than of constricted waists and bedrabbled

petticoats: that could be arranged with little difficulty when the main elements of costume were standardized.

These are mere hints offered for what they are worth. No uniform is suggested, no more extremes of one fashion or another, no more dictation save by conscience and common sense; simply a recognition of the destructively "disproportionate predominance" that the passion for dress has gained over the better passions of womenkind, and the resolution and the means taken to get it back where it belongs. And the very first step of all in the way of practical endeavor is to have fewer clothes and no constant call to think about them.

Between the rich who dress for dinner and the poor who are thankful for any decent covering lies the great world of women to whom this matter is of vital moment. To many of them a system that our grandmothers practised would have its points—three of everything—hats, frocks, boots, what not: a best, a second best, and an ordinary—Hightem, Tightem, and Scrub, to use terms once common in my own family. The beautiful best garment was for high-days and holidays, always ready for a party, a trip to town, a thoroughly fine Sunday; betweenwhiles it reposed in a lavender-scented drawer tenderly folded in tissue-paper; and it sometimes lasted without palling on its owners' or the public taste to the third generation. The second best, of a specially serviceable character, was for shopping and ordinary visiting and doubtful church weather; the third was the comfortable wear of every day. For a whole season, at the *very* least, a middle-class lady thus equipped could dress almost mechanically, satisfied that she was "all right" without taking a moment's thought about it. In our day we should need more stuff for the wash-tub, but even so consider what some such simple and so easily practicable a system would do for the poor things who now spend night and day and all their little hard-earned income in the struggle to keep up with the ever-changing mode—in many classes a matter of necessity and not of choice. Automatically they would become leisurely, large-minded, well-to-do. They would have money to buy books and time to read them and thought to give to them; they would have chances to see the world, to learn life, to grow up, to spread out, to develop in every direction. In such light marching order they would rapidly overhaul the advance column which has had the

labor of clearing the trail and opening up the (to us) undiscovered country. . . .

But stay. . . .

My mind's eye has been filled with the pleasing vision of a family circle engaged in reading aloud and listening to and drinking wisdom from these words. Materfamilias in her arm-chair knitting socks for a grandchild, perhaps, as I might be doing myself; seeing things from her and my standpoint of life and murmuring to herself at intervals: "How just! How true!" A son giving an ear from time to time while apparently immersed in his evening paper; dropping a "Hear! Hear!" at the mention of man's achievements, emitting an appreciative chuckle at the tale of the back width and the knife. Conscience-stricken daughters, aroused to serious thought of their position and responsibilities, and the becomingness or otherwise of the suggested costume that must not be changed. Paterfamilias—ah, paterfamilias, whose province it is to lay down the law, he has heard every word, but he has said nothing; he has sat so silent in the background that the mind's eye has hardly noticed him. And now, just as my peroration is reverberating in the receptive minds, inspiring the responsive spirits, here he pokes in, his fine old crusted apophthegm on his lips, to spoil the whole effect. . . .

Oh, man, man, do think before you speak! And think with your own fresh, natural thoughts and not the worm-eaten old thoughts of others. Don't you *know,* by the analogy of your own case, that while women are women wife love and motherhood must always come first of all? Do *you* love *her* less than when you were spending £12 on her clothes as against £55 on your own? Are your important pursuits more important to you than the welfare of your children? Was there any declining birth-rate noticeable in the families of our busy grandmothers or of the great ruling women of the more distant past? You are never tired of accusing us of being illogical, but where is the logic of the contention that woman to become more valuable to the world must become less valuable to man? At present his cultivated intelligence is greater than hers, as so it ought to be, but in natural intelligence — I do not say the case is reversed, but that at least they stand equal. She has enough, at any rate, to see farther than her nose. And with such a stock as they will have between them when both are culti-

vated, do you suppose they will not better the home as well as everything else? Of course they will. And it can be bettered, too, without any damage to the foundations. Dear paterfamilias, be happy! We old fogies *have* to let the next generation do its work in its own fashion, and it will be done on "improved principles" somehow because that has always been the way of it. In the last resort we can sustain ourselves—we who are not illogical—with the most logically deduced certainty that good does *not* come out of evil, although it comes out of labor and sorrow almost every time. Good comes out of good, and *vice versa*. If we see to the planting of the seed of good that our own time calls for, we can well afford to leave it to grow just any way it likes.

ADA CAMBRIDGE.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

BY A. MAURICE LOW

III

AN EXPLANATION OF "THE RIGHTS" MEN ENJOY IN A STATE OF CIVILIZED SOCIETY

The Socialist believes that the mere fact of birth endows man with certain "rights" which it is the duty of society to permit him to enjoy without molestation. There is, perhaps, no word that is more commonly used and more frequently abused by the Socialist than this word "rights," and it is because of his confusion of ideas and his inability to recognize that there is no such thing as an "inalienable right" that he is so easily deluded by the fallacies of Socialism.

It is, of course, a rash thing in this age to assert that in an organized state of society a "natural" or "inalienable" right does not exist. There is the Declaration of Independence still vibrant with Jefferson's passionate spirit to inspire men to hold fast in the faith of the doctrine of "inalienable rights." There are the works of the great philosophers who labored with such zeal to convince the world that there is an inherent "natural right" in man. Yet without presumption it may be repeated that man has no "natural rights."

That which more than anything marks the distinction between civilized and uncivilized society is that in the former the individual is nothing and society is everything; in the latter society is nothing and the individual is everything. The truth of this will be seen.

Among a savage people—a people so savage that they are not superior to the brutes—there is no law, and the only law is the law of the strong exactly as it is among the brutes. The lion seizes his prey because he has the strength; the jackal may starve so far as the lion is concerned. It is

the same with the savage. He obeys the natural law, which is self-preservation. Whenever a people recognize, by tribal observation or some other form, that force is not the only law they have made the first step toward progress. It is only among a savage or barbarous people that man enjoys a " natural right "—that is, the right to exert his strength at the expense of his weaker neighbor.

In a civilized society man has no rights except those which society permits him to enjoy. From the day of his birth until the day of his death society allows him to enjoy certain so-called rights and deprives him of others; not, it should be understood, because society desires especially to favor or oppress the individual, but because its own preservation, welfare, and happiness are the prime considerations. And so that society may not perish, so that it may reach a still higher plane, so that men and women may become better citizens, society permits them certain privileges and restricts them in the use of others. Sometimes in the exercise of this power the individual is put to a great deal of inconvenience, even, at times, he suffers what appears to be injustice. This is to be regretted, but it is inevitable. The aim of civilized society is to do the greatest good to the greatest number, and because the largest number may derive benefit from the largest good the individual must subordinate his own desires or inclinations for the benefit of all. Examples of this deference of the individual to the mass we see at every hand. Let me make my point clear with a trifling illustration, which is typical of that yielding of the " rights " of the person to the larger " rights " of society.

Those persons who assert the " inherent rights " of a man will not deny that it is his " right," if he sees fit to exercise it, to drink whiskey where and when he pleases, for surely it cannot be logically contended that one man has no " right " to drink whiskey and another man has a " right " to drink water. Society dismisses the question of the right of the individual and turns it into a privilege. Society says to the man: " Under certain conditions and under certain restrictions you may drink whiskey."

" That," says the man, " is to deprive me of my right. I want to drink as my mood is and not according to your foolish, inconvenient, and unjust regulations."

Society replies: " Your protest is sound, but it is overruled. We do not consider your convenience, not even your

personal necessity, for we are quite prepared to admit you will suffer in consequence of our laws. But unless we deprive you of your right an injury will be done to society at large; and, of course, your right must give way so that society may not be harmed."

It seems unnecessary to explain why society deprives a man of the "right" indiscriminately to purchase or drink whiskey or why each one of us, perhaps, a hundred times a day is denied the exercise of certain "rights" or restricted in the use of others; but it may be well to point out that the collective wisdom of society is ever seeking to strengthen justice, to give a larger measure of freedom to the individual, to prevent oppression, to enlarge opportunity, to make society as a whole harmonious by making the welfare of society dependent upon the contentment of the individual. It would be foolish to pretend that society has reached the end for which it is ever striving, but it would be an insult to intelligence to deny that the constant tendency is upward or that the world has not advanced a long way toward the goal it hopes to reach. Progress at times is slow, painfully slow, and the naked feet of the children of men are cut by the stones that encumber the road over which they toil so tearfully; but it is their blood and their tears that wash away the obstacles and make the road easier for those who come after them. Even the Socialist has to admit there has been progress. Mr. Keir Hardie, the English Socialist, in his book *From Serfdom to Socialism* says:

"In our own country the boundaries of freedom have been widening with the progress of the ages. The slave of a thousand years ago, with no more right than the swine he tended, has fought his way upward through serfdom to citizenship. The modern workman is, theoretically, the equal in the eye of the law of every other class. His vote carries equal weight in the ballot-box with that of the millionaire who employs him; he is as free to worship when and how he pleases as the noblest baron; his rights are in all respects the same as theirs."

Mr. Keir Hardie does not recognize that the reason why the modern workman has the same rights as "the millionaire who employs him" is that society has deprived every one of his "natural rights," and for them, has substituted certain socialized privileges that are artificial, but the enjoyment of which are secured to all. In the old days Mr. Keir Hardie's "noblest baron" would have enjoyed rights which

were denied the serf, and that was the golden age of natural rights. The baron, because he had the force or the cunning, made his serfs work for him, which was the natural right exercised by the strong over the weak. When society took away these rights it destroyed serfdom and made the former serf equal to the baron, not because the serf had one set of rights and the baron another, but because neither had any inherent rights, but both were granted certain privileges at the discretion of society so long as their use did no injury to society, but was, on the contrary, for the general benefit of society.

Here it is not out of place to call attention to the distinction between what are known as "moral rights" and the so-called "natural rights," but which, as I have already shown, are in no sense natural, but are purely artificial—that is, the conventions of society made for its own governance. The question of moral rights I shall not discuss, for that is a matter that belongs to the theologians; but a great deal of confusion is caused by men mixing up the moral law with the law made by man. It is sufficient here to say that when men talk about their "moral right" to be as well fed or as well clothed as their neighbors they are simply resorting to a vague phrase so as to escape having to use more exact terms; or else they are incapable of understanding that society is purely an artificial creation and subject to the laws made by the majority for what it believes is its own good. Men claim they have a "moral right," for instance, to life and liberty; but, of course, there is no such thing as a right to either, although they are permitted the enjoyment of both so long as they use them in the manner which society sanctions. Under certain exceptional circumstances a man is deprived of his life by judicial process and with the approval of society; men are frequently deprived of their liberty, sometimes perpetually, sometimes for varying periods. If there was such a thing as a moral right to life or liberty, judges who sentenced prisoners, executioners who executed them, jailers, sheriffs, guards, policeman—every one, in short, connected with the administration of justice—would be a moral outlaw, instead of which we defer to the opinions of judges and treat the administrators of justice with respect. A hundred years ago persons were deprived of their life for many trivial offenses and liberty was unknown; liberty has been granted

and human life is held more sacred, not because a moral right exists to-day which did not exist a hundred years ago, but because man has advanced on the road to civilization. He sees the folly of taking the life of a woman for stealing a loaf of bread to save her baby from starvation; the privilege of liberty has been given because in the natural order of things the more intelligent men become the greater the liberty they demand; and that liberty they are permitted to enjoy, always, however, with the restriction that they must not infringe the liberty of any one else. That is what we mean when we talk about " rights."

To the individual certain so-called rights are granted because they are believed to be equally as advantageous to society as to the individual, and these are known as " vested rights." For instance, a man is given the right to buy a piece of property and to own it; he may do with it as he pleases — subject always to restrictions. He may let his property lie idle, or he may live in the house he builds on it, or rent the house, or he may sell the property and make a profit, or he may give it away. To that extent he has liberty of action, but here again society steps in and puts a limitation on his liberty. He may build his house of a prescribed height; he may use certain materials, but must not use others; he must comply with certain regulations governing construction; on a certain piece of property he may build a house, but he must not build a shop or a factory. So long as the individual obeys the rules made by society he is secure in the enjoyment of his " vested rights."

How does the individual come to enjoy a vested right or a right in anything? Every right and every restriction of a right is, as I have already said, simply the concrete expression of society, and the only way by which society can make its voice heard is to speak through the law. There is, of course, no difference between a large right and a little right, for the law makes no fine distinctions in principle. A man is no more secure in his property, which may have cost a hundred thousand dollars, than is the Socialist in his collar, which may have cost twenty-five cents. If a collarless Socialist should approach a Socialist on the street and say to him, " Give me your collar, for I have none, and the presumption is that as you are wearing a collar you have another at home and you can afford to part with your surplus," it is more than a probability that the demand

would be refused; and should the attempt be made to take the collar by force the law would be invoked for the protection of the Socialist's property. Here, you see, there is no question raised of the "moral" right of the man to retain possession of his collar; he is simply upholding the right that society has granted him. When Socialists talk about their "rights" they forget that they are attacking the law, and they further forget that under any system there must be laws, and the laws must be respected—that is, unless anarchy is to take place of law; and then, of course, there would be hopeless confusion, and the only law would be that of the strong, and the weak would suffer miserably at the hands of the strong, who, unrestrained by law, would know no law except the law of force.

The Socialist who preaches revolution would destroy all laws because he believes, or at least asserts, that the present laws are unjust and inadequate; but even if he should destroy every law in existence he must either enact a new code or there would be a revolution greater and more disastrous than that which he brought about. The moment he gave his sanction to a new set of laws that moment he would again come back to where he began his work of destruction and admit that mankind may only have those rights which society embodies in the law. The laws made by the revolutionary Socialist might be better than those now in existence or a great deal worse—that is, not of consequence, for all laws are merely a matter of experiment and evolution, and the vital principle is not affected, which is: That no man in a civilized state of society may do anything as a matter of right, but only as a favor granted by his fellowmen. When each man claims the right to do as he sees fit you have anarchy; when you lay even the slightest restriction on man's actions you have laid the foundation of law and the recognition that the right of the individual to exercise his will or his passions is subordinate to the right reserved by society to say what is good and what is harmful.

But the Socialist says that the rights which society now grants are injurious, and that he could create a better code. That, of course, is merely the arrogance of ignorance. It is notorious that the freest critics are those who have no power to create and who think that a thing they have never done is always easy. No doubt there are wise men among Socialists, but after all is said they are merely men; and

there is no reason to believe that the concrete wisdom of the Socialists is greater than the rest of humanity which for hundreds of years has been seeking justice and right. Mankind is neither all good nor all bad. Even at a time when there was little justice there was always a saving remnant passionately preaching justice, contending for it against all opposition, until finally justice was established. That work is not finished; we are still striving for justice more exact, for absolute equality, for that breaking down of privilege which gives one man an unfair advantage over another. But when the Socialist says that he alone knows what is right or what is just, then we see that he is either dishonest or foolish. What is just? What is right? It is not what one man thinks, it is what society as a whole believes; and the Socialist proposes to try a dangerous experiment to show that he has greater wisdom than all the rest. And it is admittedly an experiment. Those of us who see the fallacies of Socialism are reluctant to have it tried. Certainly we are not willing to have the experiment made by men who have so little understanding of the structure of society that they talk about " rights " where no rights exist and when they are driven into a corner shift their ground by assuming to be able to create more perfect " rights " than those now established.

It cannot too often be repeated that there is no such thing as a " right." There are privileges which society can grant or reclaim as it sees fit. There can be no more effective way of disposing of some of the absurd claims of the Socialist than to remind him of that fact.

A. Maurice Low.

(To be Continued)

THE CHAOS OF BRITISH POLITICS

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

The present moment finds British politics in a state of confusion that almost reaches the point of incoherency. We used in England to think them comparatively simple. We used to pride ourselves on the stable succession of Liberals by Conservatives and Conservatives by Liberals. We used to contrast the harmonious interplay of our two-party system with the tangled warfare of groups and factions that on the Continent does duty for Parliamentary Government. These titles to satisfaction are ours no longer. The irruption twenty-five years ago of a pledge-bound and independent Irish party, forming temporary alliances with both of the historic parties, but absorbed in neither, was the first sign that the machine which had worked so smoothly for two whole generations was getting out of gear. Since then, without the average Englishman being wholly conscious of it, it has been smashed to atoms and rebuilt on a far more intricate model. A more intricate model, but not, perhaps, so new an one as people think. The conditions of present-day party politics in Great Britain appear to be undergoing a transformation which is not so much a revolution as a reversion. Complicated as they are, they are not more so than they were during the years that followed Sir Robert Peel's adoption of Free Trade in the forties or during the latter end of the eighteenth century. We might really seem in England to be returning to a type of Government with which our forefathers were tolerably familiar and under which they managed to conduct the business of the country with astonishing success. They grappled with and overcame pretty nearly all the difficulties that confront us to-day. Parties no longer compact and homogeneous wholes, but split up into contending sections; Cabinets formed less to prosecute a definite and united policy than to conciliate this

interest and that; the electorate bewildered by a multiplicity of factions; and the business of Government forced from a straightforward path into devious routes milestoned with deals and bargains and log-rolling accommodations — all these phenomena which astonish us to-day have been at one time or another the commonplaces of English politics. It was, indeed, out of a confusion worse confounded than our own that the Liberal and Conservative parties were hammered, divided the nation into almost equal halves, and for more than fifty years, with a regularity that seemed to be the product of natural law, assumed alternately the guidance of affairs. Some such evolutionary phase may again lie ahead of us; and the floating atoms of British politics may once more precipitate into two stable and comprehensive parties of "Socialists" and "non-Socialists." That, however, is a development of the future. For the time being all is chaotic, transitional, and uncertain.

But if the aspects presented by British politics to-day recall, and can in a measure be paralleled by, the past, in other and more vital ways they are altogether singular to the times in which we live. A mid-Victorian statesman, indeed, would be hard put to it to recognize in the England of the present the country and the institutions which he knew fifty or sixty years ago. In the past half-century the composition of the House of Commons, the conditions under which it works, the questions that most engross it, and the popular attitude toward it have all completely changed. The House no longer has the hold over the country that it used to have. To be a member of Parliament is still an honor, but scarcely the honor it was. It is a claim to consideration where it used to be a claim to distinction. It carries with it a position, but the position has been robbed of much of its old prestige. It is a commonplace of English politics nowadays, for instance, as well as of English journalism, that the people no longer read Parliamentary debates. The political instruction of the nation is carried on outside the walls of the House of Commons. Men still look to members of Parliament for guidance and guidance is abundantly supplied to them—I know of no country where the average citizen has more or better opportunities of hearing both sides—but it is not from the Front Bench at Westminster, but from the platform at huge popular meetings, as a sort of perambulating lecturer on politics, that the rising states-

man, and even the statesman who has already risen, now addresses the country.

Again, Parliament to-day has to compete for popular interest with a new and multiplying host of minor assemblies. There has been within the last thirty years a vast extension of local government throughout Great Britain. County Councils, Borough Councils, and municipalities have not only increased in numbers, but have quintupled their activities. Men who prefer the reality of power to its semblance and its appanages find a readier scope for their energies, can really achieve more, and, above all, can see their achievements bear immediate fruit if instead of entering Parliament they throw themselves into the work of local administration. The sphere is smaller, but its opportunities are more individual; and its duties, as Lord Rosebery has often insisted, at least as interesting and far more intimately related to the welfare of society. But though a beginning has been made with decentralization, the pressure and the complexities of Parliamentary business remain more formidable than ever. The widening sphere of local activities has been more than counterbalanced by the growth and urgency of national and Imperial affairs; and the plain fact that Parliament can no longer do its work, that it is hopelessly overburdened and congested and has ceased to be an efficient assembly, lies very near the root of popular impatience and indifference. The unforgettable record of the Unionist Government that waged the Boer War, and its blazing display of official incompetence, raised alienation for a time to positive and disgusted contempt. The English people have outgrown, perhaps forever, their old innocent and touching faith in the capacity of British Ministers merely because they are British Ministers. They feel the need of a higher standard of administration, and they are conscious that Parliament grows yearly less competent to provide it.

Nor is this all. The difference between the outside and the inside view of things political is always great. In England it is, perhaps, greater, as a rule, than in any other country. But in this matter of the authority, efficiency, and repute of Parliament, I note a most unusual approximation between the views of the average M.P. and the views of the average elector. One hears in the lobbies of the House of Commons expressions of weariness and discontent at least as whole-hearted as any that are uttered by the man in the

street. The more earnest a Member of Parliament is, the more quickly does he become convinced that of all reforms the reform of Parliament is the most urgent. The rights and opportunities of the private member have been almost extinguished. The Cabinet grows yearly more and more autocratic and the House of Commons more and more subservient. It has happened more than once of late that the only question in which the country was interested has been denied discussion by the people's representatives through a skilful use of Parliamentary forms. The less crowded times when a measure could be debated clause by clause, almost sentence by sentence, have completely passed by. Nowadays the closure is automatically applied at the discretion of the Government, debate is regulated by a fixed time-table, whole clauses are voted *en bloc* without discussion, and from a deliberative assembly the House is relapsing more and more into an assembly that ratifies and registers the decrees of the inner Cabinet. From the point of view of achievement, of the possibility of getting things done, the private member to-day is nothing, and the Cabinet Minister, if he belongs to that little group which really constitutes a Cabinet within the Cabinet, everything; and it is scarcely too much to say that for matters to continue as they now are must ultimately mean the extinction of Parliamentary government of the old type and the substitution for it of Cabinet government.

We have, indeed, all but reached that stage already. Legislation tends with increasing celerity to become a mere matter of executive decree. The independent man, who refuses to obey every crack of the party whip, is extinct. The upshot of all divisions in the House of Commons is a foregone conclusion. Debate has become merely a formal and futile accessory to a predestined course of events. There never was a time when the caucus in the constituencies was more despotic or the organization of parties inside the House more rigid or Parliamentary procedure more mechanical. Even the sporting interest which used to attach to the deliberations of the national legislature is gone; and to a student of political phenomena Great Britain affords an extraordinary example of the ease with which determined minorities can manipulate the direction of affairs in the name of "the people," but to their own advantage. The result of a General Election nowadays is that the repre-

sentatives of one-half the voters in the kingdom claim and exercise the right to a virtually unrestricted power over the other half, and that nearly all legislation in consequence is conceived and passed in the interests and under the pressure of particular classes and sections. Ministries nowadays treat both Parliament and the electorate with a high-handedness that is the quintessence of Jacobinism. They introduce a bill voting themselves and all other members of the House a salary of two thousand dollars a year without making the least attempt to consult the voters in advance and ascertain their views on a measure which may powerfully affect the quality of Parliament and which has certainly lowered its standing in the popular mind. If any of their bills meets with a mishap in its passage through the House and an amendment is carried against it, they see nothing strange in summoning the assembly forthwith to cancel its obnoxious vote and to proceed with the bill as though nothing had happened. In the relentless hounding out of public life of all men who show the least inclination to take a line of their own; in the increasing tendency to vest the interpretation of Acts of Parliament in Government departments instead of in the law courts, and to reverse inconvenient or unpopular judicial decisions by legislative enactment; and in the multiplications of bureaucratic functions one sees the symptoms of a possible collapse of the party system as an instrument of representative government. Small wonder that in their anxiety to reassert the authority of the electorate and to temper the arbitrary character of Parliamentary proceedings, Englishmen in growing numbers should be advocating the Referendum, proportional representation, the election of the Cabinet by the House of Commons itself on a non-partisan basis, and similar devices for curbing that ministerial autocracy which has supplanted, and may in the end prove not less intolerable than, the monarchical absolutism of former days.

Nor do these portents stand alone. The spread of cheap distractions and enjoyments and of cheaper newspapers has not only weakened the popular interest in politics, but has impaired that faculty of concentrated and continuous thought which used to invest affairs of State with an attractiveness not so greatly inferior to that of football. Within the last few years, during the struggle between the Lib-

erals and the House of Lords, the British people saw their old Constitution, which was perhaps the most adaptable and convenient system of government that the world has ever known, brought definitely to an end. They saw the powers of an ancient assembly truncated with a violence that in almost any other land would have spelled barricades and bloodshed. They saw the road cleared, or partially cleared, for developments that must profoundly affect, and that in all probability will absolutely transform, the whole scheme of the British State. And all this they watched with hardly a flicker of popular emotion. When Roundheads and Cavaliers were lining up for the battle of Edgehill a Warwickshire squire was observed between the opposing forces placidly drawing the coverts for a fox. The British people during the progress of the constitutional conflict seemed more than once to resemble that historic huntsman. They answered the screaming exhortations of the politicians with whispers of more than Delphic ambiguity; they went unconcernedly about their pleasures and business, to all appearances unvexed by the din of revolution in their ears; they presented the spectacle, more common in France than in England, of a tranquil nation with agitated legislators; and the only tenable explanation of their conduct was simply that they were not interested. For the great masses of the democracy the politics of bread and butter have completely ousted the politics of ideas and abstractions, and have imported, it should be added, into the general estimate of men and measures a cynical and mercenary note that is a new and disquieting phenomenon in British public life. Moreover, as was conspicuously seen at the time of the great coal strike a year ago, and to a lesser degree in the railway strike of the preceding summer, the fight between Labor and Capital, which is *the* outstanding issue of our times, lies, and must necessarily lie, very largely outside the jurisdiction of Parliament. Parliament, that is to say, is being overshadowed by outside agencies and organizations. It can never, or hardly ever, pass any measure or adopt any course of action so vital to the well-being of the country as the decisions which may at any moment be come to in the executive offices of the great labor and capitalistic federations.

And besides all this, and as a further and not less disturbing element in the present situation, there is the fact

that the British Constitution is in suspense. The Parliament Act of 1911 was designed to shackle the powers of the House of Lords. Its essential clause laid it down that any bill other than a Money Bill which is passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions in not less than two years shall become law, in spite of the opposition of the House of Lords. Thus the Irish Home Rule Bill on January 30th was rejected by the Upper Chamber. In the old days that would have meant the death of the measure. But under the provisions of the Parliament Act the Home Rule Bill will be reintroduced and passed in the House of Commons next session and sent up again to the Lords. If they again throw it out the same operation will be repeated in the following session, and even if the Lords reject the bill for the third time it will none the less become law. This obviously is an extremely clumsy and roundabout way of doing things and it is not intended to be permanent. At some future but unspecified date that seems to grow every year more remote, the Liberals are pledged to tackle the problem of reforming the composition of the House of Lords, and if and when that exceedingly difficult and delicate undertaking is carried through, the Parliament Act will necessarily be amended to square with the new state of affairs. But for the present its provisions are in full force and the Liberals in consequence are under a strong, and indeed an irresistible, compulsion to pass as many measures as they possibly can in the early sessions of each Parliament. The duration of Parliament is limited by the Act to five years; a governmental measure can only be passed over the heads of the Lords after two years have elapsed since its second reading in the House of Commons; the result is that if the Liberals are to appear before the country, when the hour for a General Election has struck, with a record of successful achievement, they must crowd their principal measures into the first two or two and a half years of their existence. This is precisely what they have been doing. Never has Parliament been so ruthlessly overworked or the public so bewildered by the numbers and immensity of the bills it reads about in the papers and hears discussed from the platform as since the election of December, 1910. Measures that in other and saner days would each monopolize a whole session are now driven four abreast at breakneck speed through a jaded and distracted House by the use and abuse of every

device for limiting debate, gagging the Opposition, and overriding the established forms of Parliamentary procedure.

Such are some of the more general features of the present political situation in Great Britain; and they are sufficiently serious to stir many anxious misgivings. Nor are one's apprehensions quieted when one turns to a study of the separate parties and examines their prospects and programmes. In the last week of January the Government were obliged to drop their long-promised and momentous measure of Electoral Reform under circumstances that covered them with ridicule, and the magnitude and unexpectedness of the disaster have left them sore, bewildered, and dismayed. But the Opposition are in hardly any better plight. Ever since the New Year they have been absorbed with internal dissensions and recriminations over the leading plank in their platform—the additional taxation, namely, of food with a view to granting the various units of the Empire a preferential entrance into the British market. The upshot of a process of self-inquiry which threatened at one moment to bring about another change in the Unionist leadership and to disrupt the party both in and out of the House is that the policy of Imperial Preference, outlined by Mr. Chamberlain ten years ago and consistently advocated ever since as the only means of "saving the Empire," has been so profoundly modified as to be almost abandoned; but not a Unionist can tell how far the desertion of the flag under which they have fought for a decade will favorably impress the electorate. There is something, indeed, in the state of the Unionist party at this moment that might well move even the most ferocious of Liberals to a passing commiseration. Always excepting Mr. Balfour, they have not a man of first-rate ability among them. Never in modern British politics has a party been so bleakly destitute not merely of commanding, but even of interesting personalities. Its nominal leader, Mr. Bonar Law, has been a very doubtful success. He has, it is true, some at least of the attributes of political generalship; he fights, he shows sport, he is confident, plain-spoken, always aggressive, and not infrequently deliberately provocative. It has happened two or three times that his zeal in attack has outrun discretion and that his sallies have delivered him into the hands of the enemy. But a party will forgive much to a leader who has an air of pugnacity and directness and determination and shows

that he means business and possesses driving-power. Mr. Balfour, for all his agility in criticism and defense, was often vacillating in attack. He was alternately delighting his followers and disheartening them. He seemed at times as a leader equally indispensable and disastrous; and he never quite succeeded in establishing a current of sympathy and comprehension with the mass of the people. It is one of Mr. Bonar Law's good points that he is always intelligible. He understands the " man in the street " and is understood by him; and that is a very considerable asset. But while in these respects the new leader has advantages that the old one did not command, in other respects it is almost ludicrous to institute a comparison between the two men. Mr. Balfour was a first-rate statesman in charge of a third-rate party. The party remains as it was; but it has now found a second-rate leader and feels more at home with him. The descent from the intellectual standpoint is prodigious. Mr. Balfour never takes part in a debate that he does not raise it to a higher level. Mr. Bonar Law's speeches, so far as quality and ideas are concerned, are those of the average party hack and nothing more. They are expressed, of course, with far more precision and lucidity and power than the average party hack can dispose of. But they are as barren of suggestiveness and of elevation and as intrinsically commonplace as the most ardent country gentleman could desire. Mr. Balfour is a philosopher and Mr. Bonar Law an ironmaster. The former has perhaps the most subtle, supple, spacious, and free-roving mind that has devoted itself to contemporary politics. The latter has the keen, quick, narrow mind of the Glasgow merchant. He belongs altogether to the new school, and is, indeed, a symbol of a new era. The Conservative party has never had a leader so divorced by birth and education and associations from the traditions of its past. He is a dealer in facts and not in ideas, a strong, pertinacious, clear-headed, unimaginative man of affairs, an effective but not an ingratiating debater, careless of " manner," intent on " results." The country is interested in him, if only because he is still on trial in a very difficult post; but it cannot as yet be said to have any great admiration for him, and it is perfectly conscious that, by comparison with his predecessor, he is of an inferior and second-rate stamp. To an onlooker it seems very plain that Mr. Bonar Law does not supply the Unionists with the most

desirable acquisition that a party in these days can possibly possess—a compelling personality.

Without great men you cannot have great ideas. A new England has arisen since the Boer War, throbbing with passionate aspirations, struggling as never before toward a closer equality of opportunity, sinking old political issues in a supremely earnest effort to grapple with the master question of "the condition of the people." Of this new England and its ideals and essence the Unionists betray hardly the smallest comprehension. They have not lost touch with it because they have never been in touch with it. They are as alien to its spirit and aims as if they lived —a great many of them as a matter of fact do live—in another world. Therein lies the party's fatal and fundamental weakness. The inquiring, restless, questioning, self-assertive, and self-realizing democracy of to-day has passed beyond them. They do not understand it; the French aristocracy before the Revolution was scarcely more blind to the portents that the old order was in process of disruption. Of the capacity for national leadership, of the power of dramatic sympathy, they show no signs. They have no policy of social reform whatever and no inkling of one. They cannot even evolve an agrarian programme that is in any way suitable to English conditions. Their Irish policy remains as unenlightened, as anti-Imperialist, and as purely obstructive as it was five and twenty years ago. In the past eight years they have used the House of Lords to throw out Liberal measures of social, educational, and electoral reform, and it was on their insistence that the Lords committed the monstrous outrage on the Constitution of rejecting the Budget of 1909. Yet when the Liberals put every other question on one side and closed with the Upper Chamber in a desperate grip, the Unionists, while rejecting the opportunity of settling the whole issue by conference and consent, practically threw the Lords overboard, officially discountenanced the idea of resisting the Parliament Act *à l'outrance*, and themselves put forward various schemes for reforming the Upper House that were decidedly more revolutionary and more opposed to what one had always supposed to be the principles of conservatism, than anything that the Liberals had proposed. The Unionist party, in fact, lacks the three prime requisites of political health. It lacks men; it lacks ideas; it lacks principles. It began by

welcoming almost effusively Mr. Lloyd George's Insurance Act. It applauded its objects and approved its principle. But the moment the leaders in the House found they could gain a temporary political advantage by opposing it they fell upon it tooth and nail. The most daring and beneficent scheme of national betterment ever proposed and carried in a single Parliament was twisted by them to serve their petty electioneering ends. Those were the tactics of men without any real convictions and simply bent on playing the immediate political game.

And now it turns out that they do not even believe in the scheme of Tariff Reform which they have preached incessantly for the past decade. Mr. Chamberlain in 1903 committed them to the advocacy of protection as a means of staying Great Britain's commercial decline, and of Imperial Preference, involving the taxation of food, as a means of cementing the Empire, which otherwise, he declared, would infallibly fall to pieces. It is hardly too much to say that every statement and prophecy he ventured upon has been falsified, and that every test by which he sought to prove the decay of British trade has served merely to show its gigantic and increasing expansion. Instead of a decade of ruin Great Britain has had a decade of records; and the yearly Board of Trade figures have made the whole case for Tariff Reform ridiculous. And as for Mr. Chamberlain's conviction that the Empire without preferential tariffs would drift asunder, it is enough to point to the Empire as it is to-day and to the enormous advance that the past seven years have witnessed in the direction of Imperial consolidation. At three successive elections the British people have conclusively demonstrated their repugnance to the Chamberlain programme, and the Unionists themselves have either lost all faith in it or have convinced themselves that it is a fatal obstacle to their return to power. Mr. Balfour in 1910, when he was still the leader of the party, pledged himself to submit the Tariff Reform Budget to a referendum before it went into effect. Lord Lansdowne last November announced that on further consideration the Unionist leaders had decided that Mr. Balfour's pledge was no longer binding. So great a cry of alarm and anger instantly came up from Lancashire that Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Lansdowne were forced to retract their retraction. They did not reinstate the referendum, but after five weeks

or so of heated discussion they gave it out that no additional food taxes would be imposed until they had been submitted to the people at a second General Election. That is equivalent to postponing them to the Greek Kalends. But whether the Unionists will gain anything by their latest manœuver is highly doubtful. They have practically killed Imperial Preference—the one feature of the Tariff Reform movement that lent it a touch of idealism and greatness; and they now find themselves saddled with Protection in its most squalid and corrupting form and with nothing whatever to offer to the British farmer except a tax on all he buys and on nothing he sells. That is a position in which I see little prospect of permanence. These endless tergiversations have well-nigh destroyed the confidence of the country in the sincerity and good faith of the Unionist party. Nobody knows what they stand for or what policy they would pursue if returned to power; and the confusion has been only intensified by the spectacle of "the party of law and order" backing up the extremists of Ulster in their threats of an armed rebellion.

Compared with the drifting helplessness of their opponents, the Liberals are undoubtedly in happier circumstances. They have held office for eight years; they have carried many great measures of reform; they have conducted the foreign policy of the kingdom with conspicuous success; they have vastly augmented its naval and military strength; they have set up an extremely high standard of efficient administration; and they have shown the two qualities that are most essential to political success—courage and imagination. There has never been in English history a more fruitful or a more energetic régime, and no sign is yet apparent of lassitude or staleness. But there are at least four fairly definite dangers that encompass them. In the first place, there is the question of Ulster. Nobody really knows what is going to happen in the northeast corner of Ireland if the Home Rule Bill becomes law. But it is clear that any Government which is faced with the necessity of coercing the Ulster Protestants in order to compel them to accept and obey a predominantly Catholic Parliament in Dublin will be very awkwardly placed. A good many Liberals believe that it would be better even now to submit the Home Rule Bill to a General Election so that a specific mandate might be obtained for dealing with its possible conse-

quences; and the *Spectator* on February 1st gave it as its deliberate opinion that Mr. Asquith had decided in his own mind that this course would have to be taken. The inducement to adopt it is that Mr. Bonar Law has stated that the Opposition would advise Ulster to submit, or at any rate would not encourage it to resist, if an appeal to the electorate resulted in a verdict in favor of the Home Rule Bill. The inducements against it are that there could be no guarantee of confining the issue to Home Rule alone, that an adverse verdict would turn out the Government and destroy the bill, and that the risk of such a catastrophe would severely strain the relations between the Irish Nationalists and their Liberal allies. In any case, the Ulster problem would still remain; and as it is a problem that contains a potentiality of something like civil war, Liberals cannot be quite easy in their minds until it is settled.

Then, again, an indispensable element in the coalition that maintains the present Government in power is the Labor party, and the Labor men are auxiliaries who partake a good deal of the nature of guerrillas. They have no particular fondness for Mr. Asquith; Mr. Burns they detest; the Cabinet contains no member who is entirely acceptable to them; every outbreak of industrial unrest finds them at daggers drawn with the Government; in the constituencies they have repeatedly run candidates of their own against the Liberal nominee and have thus handed over seat after seat to the Conservatives; and if they were a little surer of the unplumbed social forces which they are supposed to represent, and if they had any strong leader or were less embarrassed by the consciousness that so far they have cut a rather poor figure in Parliament, they would probably cut adrift altogether from the Liberal connection. Even as it is they present Liberalism with a permanent dilemma that may at any moment become acute. For the Government to prosecute a policy which the Radical extremists and the Labor men can be persuaded to support is to arouse the opposition of a whole army of vested interests and to make every property-owner fidgety; and as Lord Rosebery reminded his former colleagues a few years ago, it is the suspicion of hostility to property that sooner or later has overthrown every Liberal Ministry of the last forty years. But not to prosecute that policy is to sign the death warrant of Liberalism and to abdicate in favor of Mr. Keir Hardie and the

Socialists. These are the fundamental alternatives between which the Government has to choose; and the choice taxes all its adroitness and all its resolution.

In the third place, there is the danger concealed in the question of Woman Suffrage. This is a question which cuts across all the normal lines of party division and which no Government that is ever likely to be in office in our time can afford to incorporate in its official programme, for the reason that both the Liberals and the Conservatives are at odds among themselves over its merits and expediency. In the present Cabinet, for instance, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt are among the stoutest opponents and Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George among the warmest advocates of the women's claim, while among the Unionists it is espoused by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lyttelton and derided by Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Long. No Government, therefore, can bring forward a measure for the enfranchisement of women as a Government measure, while the attempt to introduce it as an amendment to an official bill was responsible for the withdrawal of the Franchise Bill a few weeks ago, for the humiliation of the Government, and for the conversion of the House of Commons into a chaos. Whether the new device of promising Government facilities to a bill brought forward by a private member will succeed in disposing of the question remains to be seen; but so long as it is unsettled and the public mind is disturbed and exasperated by suffragette outrages and the public conscience rasped by the treatment of the offenders in prison so long will the Government suffer a certain loss of credit and authority. But the fourth and by far the greatest peril that besets the Liberals is their own insatiable energy. Conscious of the enormous leeway that has to be made up before England becomes a country that even approaches their ideal of what it should and might be, confronted on every side with unsolved questions and enticing vistas of social betterment, they have rather succumbed to the temptation of doing and attempting too much.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF RELIGION: ITS ORIGIN, FUNCTION, AND FUTURE. By JAMES H. LEUBA. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

A VERY rare quality informs this entire book—a strict intellectual integrity. The author, a psychologist by profession and an "empirical idealist" by philosophy, sits down quietly and rather sympathetically to apply to the various known forms of religion the categories of psychology, and determine whether or not they suffice to account for the religious experience and the prevalence of religious beliefs. He finds that they do so account. He is not averse to religion; he has had it, he likes it, and he seems to think that in some form or other it will be needed always. But when the question arises, Does it or does it not involve extra-human agents or essences? he replies, simply, "No, it does not." The origins of religious belief, the facts of religious experience, the postulates of religious emotions, are all capable of scientific explanation. They are the proper matter of science, and science can take care of them perfectly. Furthermore, the various latter-day theories which attempt to re-establish religion on its feet while discarding the Scriptures and the ancient guarantee of the Church are, in the first place, untenable, and, in the second place, self-contradictory. The Absolute of Hegel cannot be identified with that Father of Lights to whom men lift up their hearts.

He begins by distinguishing three types of rational behavior: the mechanical behavior, which is that of the engine-driver; the coercitive behavior, which is that of the wizard; and the anthropopathic behavior, which includes religion. While admitting that many religious people may have a lurking faith in magic, may want to begin an important undertaking on a lucky day, or be glad to find a four-leaved clover, and that many religious practices may degenerate into magic, like using the sign of the cross, the scapulary, and altars privileged for forty days' indulgence, he distinguishes sharply and very justly between the two attitudes of mind involved in the two sorts of practice. Magic is infallible—if you know the right charm the butter is bound to come or the rain or the cure. Religion is a matter of feeling and belongs in the great class of what we usually call human relations, though we hold the same relations with animals and with gods. He traces the natural, the inevitable rise of beliefs in gods who may be non-existent without affecting in any way that belief or the evidences for it. He urges that gods have arisen in various ways, not all from ghosts or dreams, nor yet all from thunder and the passing of the wind; in short, he prefers

the theory of Mana to animism in point of time, and thinks the most primitive religions first knew a High God. "The belief in non-personal powers is neither a derivative from animism nor a first step leading up to it, but the two beliefs have had independent origins, and animism appeared second in order of time." The gods once made, whether ghostly, ancestral, or creative, they of course fuse, and thereafter the idea tends through centuries and generations to grow less and less fine, to resemble more and more the man in whom it lives and moves and has its being. "The gods have been debased, but the people themselves have been raised to a higher level by the lofty notions they have corrupted. This degrading process is the natural, unavoidable method by which the masses gradually rise toward the level of those who have set for them unattainable ideals." Such a god must be a spiritual or psychological agent, a personal power, hyperhuman in essence, invisible, accessible, and benevolent. Fear led to religion, but did not constitute it ever, and fear is no longer a strong motive among us. Awe, which is less selfish, is nearer the precise feeling, and "in Protestant religions men have, as a whole, set their faces away from the dreadful and toward the desirable. . . . In church architecture the comfortable is put before the majestic, in doctrine the serviceable is preferred to the imperious, and in the conception of God the loving is not to be overshadowed by the awful. . . . Nothing is worth while except sympathy, charity, love, and their companions—trust, hope, courage, fortitude. The positive reactions are being selected because of their superior efficacy for the conditions of civilized life." Magic and religion are unlike in the main and grow steadily apart; morality and religion, independent in the beginning, draw together, and most men keep their religion because it makes them better.

Theology has tried to repudiate the categories of psychology, and Professor Leuba examines in detail the various forms that this repudiation may take. He begins with the claims made by Ritschl and other thinkers of his type: that a specific difference exists between religious knowledge and scientific or theoretical knowledge, and shows that belief in the gods of religion rests upon inductions drawn from the inner life, that religious experience belongs entirely to psychology in the same way that the rest of conscious life belongs admittedly to science, and that since the gods of religion are empirical gods—are historically to be accounted for and in experience to be known—they also belong to science. He remembers the hypothesis of the late F. W. H. Meyers that God speaks directly to the subliminal consciousness; but, of course, the subliminal consciousness comes within the field of psychology and is in no wise independent of causation, whether or not we can yet number or chart the causes which act upon it. Finally, facing theology as "a body of induced propositions," he shows that if God is conceived as the Absolute, He is inaccessible to human consciousness in a series of very neat dilemmas. The God of metaphysics is inaccessible to science, but the historical religions cannot use him: the gods of the religions are empirical beings; but their existence being evident to consciousness is within the field of science, they are really inductions from the observations of inner phenomena and are to be qualified by reference to experience like any other scientific hypothesis. Experience, however, being

appealed to, proves too much. "The existence of every one of the gods in whom men have ever put their faith has been held to be proved by the test of experience. Fetishes are trusted because their efficacy has been proved. Yahve showed himself to the true God by helping his worshipers to defeat the host of Chemosh. The Virgin Mary demonstrates daily her powers of intercession by serving those who address their petitions to her." Faith is a very simple and daily phenomenon by no means confined to religion, but it belongs to an incomplete state of knowledge; and theology, like science, is bound to press forward toward fuller light.

At the close the author carefully examines and analyzes the great present-day rivals of the Christian Church—Buddhism and other varieties of pantheism, including the "immanence" of Dr. Campbell, Christian Science, and other forms of mental healing, the Religion of Humanity, and Ethical Culture. He pronounces for none of them; he does not clearly forecast here the religion of the future. He seems to believe that the heart often needs such consolation and strength as religion only can give, and that it is the task of conscience to make sure that in attaining these man shall not violate those laws of sound and honest thinking which have brought him so far to such truth as he knows. Here speaks clear the intellectual integrity which is our hardest-won inheritance and our most precious. In this brief notice only a single thread of the complicated tissue could be traced, and the examination of argument and weighing of evidence was impossible. They will be most likely found adequate by those who read the book with open mind. It is planned to be the first in a series of three; the other two may be awaited without apprehension and with keen anticipation.

William Morris: A Critical Study. By John Drinkwater. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912.

The monographs of which this is the seventh in the series furnish a wholesome lesson of the high advantage of literary admirations. Mr. Edward Thomas's study of Swinburne was painfully inadequate. The author was concerned almost entirely with his subject's flaws and failings. Indeed, he fell upon these so swiftly that he quite forgot how great a name he was handling lightly. Mr. Drinkwater, on the other hand, is a devout admirer of Morris and feels strongly that Morris has never yet been appreciated fully. "All men who care for the arts are pledged to refuse the false, the mean, and the vulgar at all seasons; but they do well to remain silent in the presence of things which they know to be none of these, yet find themselves unable to love. Without this love, criticism is ineffectual." It is this love, this high regard for all effort which is not false or mean or vulgar, which gives value to this critical study of Morris.

The book contains an introduction dealing with the author's theory of the function of poetry and the vocation of the poet, and Morris as the exponent of his theories. Chapter II. is an analysis and an appreciation of the early poems and prose. The third chapter deals with the interlude in Morris's life, when he married, started the firm of Morris &

Company, Upholsterers, and devoted himself to the practical problem of creating beautiful objects to live with.

The fourth chapter deals with the return to poetry—"The Life and Death of Jason" and the "Earthly Paradise," "Love is Enough" and "Sigurd the Volsung"; the fifth, with Morris as a Socialist and a translator; the sixth, with the prose romances and poems by the way; and the conclusion is a summary of Morris's contribution to the history of English poetry.

"Poetry," the author says, "is the announcement of spiritual discovery." The discovery may not be new to the world nor even altogether new to the poet who utters it, but it is felt with the keenness and freshness, none the less, of a discovery. Verse which has beauty of form without this freshness of perception dies. The very poignancy of the emotion in poetry it is which pushes the poet to rhythmical utterance. William Morris was all his life peculiarly alive and awake to the external beauty of the world, to the joy of being alive in the world. Less than almost any other English poet was he concerned with death. Not that he questioned or sought to evade it, but that emotionally it did not appeal to him. What he felt intensely was life and beauty.

Oddly enough, the author remarks of Morris's poems that they "are never of the hothouse," and that even when he is most freely putting language to decorative uses he preserves the freshness of windy moorlands or the green stalks of lilies. He is speaking just at this point of such poems as "The Tune of the Seven Towers," "The Blue Closet," "Across the Moor," and "Two Red Roses." It is impossible to read these poems without realizing how much Maeterlinck derived from them in his own early poems which he yet deliberately called hothouse flowers—"Serres Chaudes."

Mr. Drinkwater sets Morris in the very front rank of the narrative poets beside his master, Chaucer. The former has the power of indicating clearly in the beginning what the issue is to be and yet retaining our interest throughout.

If it is the supreme merit of a volume of criticism to send us back, eager for refreshment, to the source described, then Mr. Drinkwater has attained supreme merit. He has done such brave service to Morris in so bringing to mind what is best in him that few will be satisfied without a complete re-reading of this successor to Chaucer.

EMERSON AND OTHER ESSAYS. By MAURICE MAETERLINCK. Translated by MONTROSE J. MOSES. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1912.

This is no place to weigh the merits of Maeterlinck. The three essays here brought together were originally introductions to Mademoiselle Malé's Seven Essays of Emerson and Maeterlinck's translations of *Les Disciples à Saïs* and *L'Ornement des Noces Spirituelles*. Maeterlinck as a thinker will always be upon disputed ground. To the childlike heart, to the saintly, and to real philosophers he will always be one of those who have probed most deeply into the silences and secrecies of the human heart. Dr. John Dewey writes of him as one of the most sincere, loyal, and exact of thinkers. But to the bourgeois, and in particular to the dogmatically trained, the mind that labels all

the mysteries of eternity and neatly pigeon-holes them, Maeterlinck seems superficial. He has written without taking the labels into account.

In the first six pages of the essay on Ruysbroek there are thirteen mistranslations and awkwardnesses innumerable. On the first page *puérilités* is translated "possibilities"; *tièdes* is translated "indifferent" instead of tepid; *m'a mes plus d'une fois en sueur* is mildly rendered "has troubled me more than once." "Habits and skill" are discarded in favor of "practice and qualifications." "When he speaks of his small monastic garden" the translator says, awkwardly, "He can hardly *and* sufficiently tell us what is happening." "We must clad [sic!] our inner life in red scales," says the translator, quite uninstructed that *clad* is the preterite and past participle of "clothe." *Les botanistes de l'image* emerge as "spiritual botanists." Indeed, the pages are full of mistakes, both careless and ignorant.

But why should one of the greatest stylists of France, the country where prose style comes nearest perfection, be served up by a writer ignorant of every law of his own language?—a writer who is capable of setting down such awkward sentences as, "I believe that those who have not dwelt in the intimacy of Plato and of the neo-Platonists will not proceed very far *in the perusal of this.*" "*Je ne faut pas y entres par curiosité littéraire*" is rendered, "We must not regard it *out of* literary curiosity."

The book is quite scandalously bad. The translation is so often wrong, deliberately contradicting the meaning of the author, that it misleads the reader even as to the substance of the thought; while the translator's knowledge of, and sense for, English are so lacking that one of the most exquisite of writers appears in a garb of such hideous and awkward language—even when it is not totally ungrammatical as to entirely misrepresent him.

Everybody's Saint Francis. By Maurice F. Egan. New York: The Century Company, 1912.

It is with some trepidation that one looks upon a new book about Saint Francis. Thomas of Celano and Saint Bonaventura have written of the loveliest of the saints exquisitely; Sabatier, from the more modern point of view, has written of him finally and exhaustively. Last year a painful and offensive biography, written from the point of view of the orthodox Romanist, by Johannes Jorgensen, appeared in an English translation. It is with a breath of relief that one closes this simple, loving, and thoroughly charming tale. Dr. Egan, though himself a devout Catholic, is liberal enough to handle Saint Francis's theology, which was, after all, only an all-embracing humanity, with understanding and fair-mindedness. He notes that Saint Francis "had no rancor against any system of government or social organization. In fact, he did not trouble himself with government or political systems; he thought only of men." This entire absorption in teaching the human soul to seek the kingdom of love, which is its natural refuge and home, Saint Francis shared with his greater prototype. It is this, indeed, and this alone, which lends his life and his words their undying charm. Unlike Christ, however, Saint Francis never glorified suffering, but always contentment and joy; and thus he serves the sick soul often as a passage to the more austere doctrine

which teaches that he who would follow must take up his cross. What the real Franciscan student dreads each time the exquisite and rare figure is set in print again is a shock to his taste, for after all Saint Francis is at once the holiest and most exquisite of figures in the long story of the soul's development. It is no little praise to say that Dr. Egan has told the tale from end to end and never once given the reader a shudder. He tells it with a deep devotion and a delicate insight. He has no new material to offer; indeed, there is no research to be done in this case, but the life is before us once more, swiftly, simply, and beautifully told.

The pictures by Boutet de Monvel are as good as any modern pictures could be. Of course the traditional outline of Saint Francis's face, handed down to us by Giotto, Fra Angelico, and Filipino Lippo, is not to be found in these pictures, and some significance is lost thereby. For those, however, who do not bear in memory the real face of Saint Francis this simple-faced young man carrying stones to Saint Damien's and preaching to the birds will quite answer the purpose.

Rambles in the Pyrenees and the Adjacent Districts. By F. Hamilton Jackson, R.B.A. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1912.

These rambles in the Spanish mountains that are not in Spain—in Gascony—the Pays de Foix and Roussillon, open up a new world of desire and form a treasury of delight. The author knows a country quite unknown to the ordinary tourist and almost neglected by the excellent Baedeker, and he knows his historical material from the latest monographs and archæological publications. So far as a hasty verification serves to show, he seems to know it well, and the book is an indispensable companion for all the enchanted land that lies more than half-way to Spain. A consequence of working from French sources probably, but one to be deplored, is the intrusion of a whole series of words not in good English use and visibly conveyed from the land of architecture and architectural study—"channelled" for fluted, "colonnette," "absidiole," "collegiale," "deambulatory," and "lapidary museum" for a place where you go to look for the débris of ruined churches and Roman inscriptions. Less easily pardoned is the use of "caps" for capitals throughout the work—an abbreviation very convenient in the note-book, but indecorous in print. While sound so far as the erudition goes, the book is frankly "popular" and deserves to be infinitely liked. It is richly illustrated; first, with some admirable half-tone plates from fine photographs by Mr. J. C. Ashton; second, with some very sensitive and exquisite pencil drawings; and, lastly, with a great number of other sketches by the author in pen and ink which are eminently satisfactory for architectural detail and picturesque scenery; and at times the very curves of the Pyrenees can trouble the heart and haunt the imagination. The bridge at Céret, the mountains above Corneilla-le-Conflent, the tower of S. Michel de Cuxa have the eternal call, the teasing *Come and find me!* which too few books of travel can convey. Special praise should be saved for the architectural work in both photographs and drawings, which is done in so admirable a manner as to have a positive value for other students of architecture.

A Miscellany of Men. By Gilbert K. Chesterton. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1912.

"On the essays that follow, two comments may correctly be made: first, that they are written controversially; and, second, that they are written badly," says Mr. Chesterton in his preface, seeking to forestall the critic. On the contrary, they are written exceedingly well. We can usually count on Mr. Chesterton to take the wrong view of any subject under discussion and to take it with entertaining vivacity. In the present volume he has his usual vivacity and amusing optimism with a surprising turn for the right view of life. On the wrong side of the suffrage, Mr. Chesterton yet proves himself to be on the right side in political and economic matters; the complete fool, who has an essay to himself, is the man who cannot see that the miners in the coal strike had something on their side. The village fire inspires him with the following very sage reflections: "I remembered that there are two kinds of fires—the Bad Fire and the Good Fire; the last must surely be the meaning of Bonfire. And the paradox is that the good Fire is made of bad things, of things that we do not want; but the bad Fire is made of good things, of things that we do want." From this Mr. Chesterton draws the parallel that there are two kinds of revolution—the revolution in which bad things shall perish and the bad revolution in which good things shall perish. The essay on historic Christianity as the Divine Detective showing men their secret sins is penetrating and haunting. The essays throughout are pungent and arresting. Whatever Mr. Chesterton is, he is rarely a bore. He tires of his subject before his reader has a chance to. He says, "I would sooner call myself a journalist than an author," and the thirty-eight little essays contained in the volume are entirely journalistic in tone and handling.

Carmen Sylva. By Pierre Loti. Authorized translation by Fred Rothwell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

This dainty little blue volume contains Loti's memories of his visits to Carmen Sylva in Rumania and in Venice, some memories of Constantinople, of snake-charmers in Tetuan, some forgotten pages from "Madame Chrysanthème," and a few pages of impressions of Japanese women in 1890.

The first two sketches form a charming contrast; the first so full of romantic glamour and high security; the second showing the same lovely queen in the hour of her humiliation and distress. The fairyland of Venice in summer; the gondolas gliding out into a vast lagoon through the old quarters, with their armor-sheathed windows; the musicians playing softly as they followed in the queen's train; and, lastly, a queen herself reading aloud from her own unpublished works, are themes worthy of Loti's pen. He has touched them, too, with his wonted magic, a magic half poetry, half vague regret. His chief charm is the poignant sense in all that he writes of the evanescence of the moment. Whether he says it or not, we feel in all that he writes that he is aware, always aware, of the swift perishing of all beauty and of the poignancy in pain just because life is so short and our perception of it so incomplete. Loti is undoubtedly the French Pater.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

NO. DCLXXXIX

APRIL, 1913

CHRIST AND BERGSON

BY GEORGE WILLIAM DOUGLAS, D.D.,
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THROUGHOUT our modern world there is coming to the fore a consciousness of the value of each person's life. When our Saviour presented Himself to the world, it was as One in Whom this sense was keen: He felt it in Himself; and He inspired His disciples to feel it. But in the practice of the majority it was a new idea. Small value was put by most men on the life of individuals, or even of whole tribes, if only the few, who were for the moment strong, could grip the weaker and force them to the wall; and slavery was in the background almost everywhere.

Into the maelstrom of such brutality came Jesus Christ. He set a high value on His own life, and on the lives of all; and in His character He manifested what would follow from His conception of human life—what it would produce in mankind. His view commended itself steadily. But, just because the process was vital, it has taken a long time. After nineteen centuries of Christianity contempt for human life is evident among us, in the frequency of homicide, of infanticide; in the appalling rate of infant mortality; in the ruthless conditions of many of our manufactories; in heedless habits of society at large, and of private homes. We boast that we are far from the gladiatorial shows of ancient Rome—and so we are, thank God—but now and

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then even we slip back toward the disregard of life of which the Coliseum is a monument; as when lately an aviator, on account of the condition of his machine, hesitated to make the ascent which a crowd had paid to see; and the people, with angry clamor, insisted that the aviator *must* go up, until he yielded to their taunts, and perished. Nevertheless in our better moments, under the influence of Jesus, we repudiate such brutality toward others; and in every sort of business men and women are rising from the weariness of daily toil and sin, and are trying to fill the vacant spaces of their existence with imaginative visions of a better being for each one. The man who, after a hard day's work, takes refuge in a novel, or a bit of music, or a wholesome play at the theater, or who, of a Sunday morning, goes to church hardly knowing why, witnesses to an imperious demand of his own soul. In spite of the vexations and the monotony of our occupations, there is a common feeling that each life, on this revolving planet in the spaces of the stars, is not only wonderful but well worth while, if only we can learn the secret, the purpose of it; if we might make fewer mistakes, and might come to terms with the uncertainty of it all. With this feeling in their hearts some people are gazing all about them, trying to read the signs of the times, peering into the distance, hoping to catch sight of the form of life that will console and satisfy them, and stay. Others are snatching time to look within themselves, wistfully conjecturing that that satisfying form of the better personal life is, after all, within us; hidden away in the chambers of silence; and only waiting, waiting, for our personal attention and a more consistent will.

Thus the growing sense of the value of life arouses increasing disquietude. How can I get at the real thing, and do the right thing, and save my life, before I go hence and am no more seen?

This virus of disquietude has penetrated from West to East. Japan and China have it, and the Balkans nearer home. Wherever the modern industrial system makes way, there is the same unrest that spoke in Broadway two weeks ago on the banner of the Garment Workers: "We strike for a better life." It is getting on the nerves of earnest people everywhere; and as for the politicians, it confuses their calculations. They don't see how to trim their sails. So "without are fightings, within are fears." Yet fear is

a bad atmosphere in which to live. How shall we exorcise our fears? How meet the evidence of impending change, political and social and individual?

Recently in New York we have had the great privilege of lectures on this general subject by the distinguished French philosopher, Professor Henri Bergson, who was invited to tell us what he has come to know of the philosophy of life and liberty. His productions hitherto, his whole view of things, and his coming to our shores at the request of a great university, are typical of the times. Some claim him as an ally of Christianity. Others think that Syndicalism and the International Workers of the World, who troubled us at Lawrence and are now troubling us in New York, with their rampant anarchism and desire to upset everything, careless of what may happen—some find in these a practical application of Bergson's philosophy. He has a marvelous intellect, a fascinating style. He handles the themes of metaphysics with luminous precision, bringing them near to our ordinary lives. With apt illustrations from our daily doings, he throws light on the difficult abstractions which he has been pondering in his heart and brain. His vivid pen makes his ideas sparkle as they pass; so that, when we lay down his books, we take the applications home. We had not thought of life quite so, but so it seems to be.

Professor Bergson's book, *Creative Evolution,* has attracted wide attention throughout Europe and America, especially his conception of free-will and personality, and his insistence that the merely intellectual, mathematical, scientific treatment of matter and mind and the universe has been overdone. It is true that the tone of the scientists had been changing in this respect, and already had become less positive as to the riddle of the universe. The more that Science has sharpened its tools and broadened its scope, the more it has been willing to eschew an intention or ability to grapple with—much less to solve—the ultimate problem of existence. But many scientists for many years were overbold in this direction, and their unwarranted assumptions as to the sufficiency of the scientific method beyond the scientific field had so impressed the average public that Bergson, to clear the way for his philosophy, felt bound to say to scientists, "So far and no farther!" He urges that the methods and the tools of natural science are more limited in their proper application than most scientists of the nine-

teenth century supposed: that the *whole* of the life process eludes them: that the limits of Science are fixed by the limitations of the intellect: that the life process as an entirety transcends and escapes our reason, both in theory and practice, and compels us to make room for Intuition, which gets closer to life itself and to the secret of life.

Notice that in thus restricting the scope of our reasoning power, Bergson takes care, on the other hand, to set bounds to Mysticism; for he emphasizes the importance of clear, reasonable ideas as guides to intuition and as opportunities for its exercise: the clearer our ideas are as postulates of reason, the more fruitful and helpful they are to the intuitive faculty; but it penetrates further than they into the reality of our conscious being. "You cannot make yourself will by your intellectuality: will creates intellectuality," he says. Yet "Intuition is not all guesswork. It is necessary to be impregnated with the subject, if we would find a solution for it." "Our souls shall vibrate continuously in unison with nature." He says again:

"Our eyes, aided by our memory, would cut out in space, and fix in time, inimitable pictures. We would hear singing in the depths of our soul, like music, sometimes gay, more often plaintive, always original, the uninterrupted melody of our interior life. All this is around us, all this is in us, and yet nothing of all this is perceived by us distinctly. Between nature and us—what do I say?—between us and our own consciousness a veil interposes, a thick veil for the common man, a thin veil, almost transparent, for the artist and the poet. What fairy has woven this veil?"*

As he exercises his faculty of intuition, Professor Bergson discovers in himself a stream-like flow of consciousness, in which there are no breaks, but a ceaseless interpenetration of past and present. Duration is the essence of the life process; which is a perpetual accumulation and flux of experiences, and a perpetual creation of new forms and new contents—creative evolution. When life is *lived*—not merely reflected on by the reason—our life is this process of the constant force which we term personality, individuality, coping with like individuals in the world around, and with other elemental forces which somehow are thrown up to us and seem to be impersonal. No individual can foretell the result of this process—the outcome of the interaction

* Bergson's first lecture at Columbia University, February 3, 1913, as reported in the New York *Sun* Tuesday morning, February 4th.

which constitutes life—and there is no use worrying about it. Such *is* life. The individual can but seize his opportunity to exercise his best choice, and let it go at that, holding himself ready to choose again and act again, from emergency to emergency, practising his creative possibilities. "Act, act in the living present": exert yourself in detail all the time, and go on, no matter what happens to you—that is life.

And Bergson seems to think—he is enough Stoical for that—he seems to think that his view of individual life, and of the individual's value in the whole of things, will avail to exorcise our fears: that the changes and chances of our lives ought not to disquiet us or render us unhappy, for the simple reason that they are not an accidental feature of life, but belong to the substance of it. They are the waves of the sea. They are not a sign that we are in danger of our life; for what we look upon as danger is part and parcel of the very thing—such is life. Hence is it quite as silly to look forward to a golden age, and fear that these changes and chances may rob us of it, as it is to look back and imagine that the golden age once was? Such as it is, this is the golden age. Every age is the golden age; and our life will always be thus hazardous. We are not dying, or deteriorating, because we are in danger. To live at all is to be in danger, if you choose to call it such. To pass from change to change—to be in a sort of moving picture of dissolving views and consequential acts—such is life, and there is no other. The individual will always be obliged to cope with change: that is his part in the creative evolution. the process of life.

Nevertheless, after describing in this thrilling way the general character of human life, is not Professor Bergson throwing out into the contemporary camp an idea which might leave us worse confounded than before? Has he done much to allay our disquietude—our dread of impending change? For remember, our dislike of utter uncertainty is part of the very thing which is presented to our faculty of intuition. We *do* dislike uncertainty. We cannot pretend that both the fact and our feeling about it are not as genuine as the rest of the problem of our life. We are so made that we suffer when we are on the brink of losing what we love. And the trouble is, that Bergson, after opening up wide vistas for creative evolution, and after insisting on

the abiding value of the individual's creative ability, will not allow that the individual has any particular assurance of an end to accomplish—of a plan to follow. A plan, he claims, would close the future and rob us of our freedom. A plan would tie us, as the carpenter is tied to his architect's design. For my part, I never met a carpenter who felt half so free as when he had in his hands a good architect's design to work out; whereas Bergson maintains that we are only free to try our hand at being, and cannot foresee at all what we are creating, nor what predicament our acts will bring us to. All we can do is to exercise a sort of perpetual presence of mind—an intuition—whereby the will keeps wide awake to the possibilities of the moment, so that there and then the individual realizes himself. And in that momentary act of breaking through the portals of the future, which are always open, the individual becomes the creator that he is; and therewith he ought to be content.

Is not Bergson making a mistake similar to that which he charges against the scientists of the nineteenth century? Is he not making of evolution a sort of superstition? Is he not holding it too strictly to the form in which it applies to the animal kingdom alone, forgetting that man has become decidedly different from a mere animal? Is not Bergson carrying a theory (or, if you please, a law) of biology over to a field where it does not quite apply? Or rather, if you can take that law of biology over with you into the field of ethics and the personal will, must you not admit, to blend with it, a new principle which belongs, and must not be denied to ethics, if ethics is to carry the sanctions and the stimulus of real religion? In other words, are we not here at a point where there is a passage from the comparatively simple to the more complex, somewhat analogous to the transmutation of what had been supposed to be an unalterable element of matter into another and higher element—such as the transmutation by electricity of the element neon into helium which was heralded from London a short time ago by Sir William Ramsay and Professors Collie and Patterson of the English Chemical Society, and which by some scientists is spoken of as the Birth of the Atom? It was the dream of the Alchemists that lead might be transmuted into gold; and the scientists are now inquiring whether this new discovery, if it be substantiated, will not justify the old alchemist's dream. And, to use this as a

physical illustration of a spiritual affair, may we not reverently say that in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—the Second Adam or New Man, as Paul calls Him—we have the capital instance of the transmutation of the lead of ordinary human nature into the gold of the Perfect Man? Did not Paul foreshadow this when he declared to the Ephesians, "You hath Christ quickened"? When the Christian appropriates the new, redeeming, spiritual force which Christ affords to him, have we not a world-wide instance of spiritual transmutation? Notice that even Bergson proposes to us his doctrine, not merely as a philosophy for our abstract contemplation, but for our mental and moral betterment. By implication, he himself is performing an act of creative evolution. Bergson is not content to offer us his philosophy as a mere catalogue of observations—an account of life as he has seen it: he expects that his philosophy shall convey to us a dynamic influence: that it shall carry to those who accept it a positive force which will assist them to happiness and right living. Now when we come to that—to serenity of soul, and the determination to live rightly—is it wise or seemly to ignore the message and the life of Christ?

Therefore, though Professor Bergson is by extraction a Jew, I hope that he will apply his brilliant mind and sympathetic heart directly to the life and influence of Jesus Christ; for Christ pre-eminently laid stress on man's freedom, and none so much as Christ enabled men to be fearless of change, and even of death. Christ, too, certainly no less than Bergson, delivers us from the crush of necessity all round, and makes a quickening appeal to each man's persistent energy. Christ's method and philosophy of life are before us; and, to say the least, they are as worthy of consideration as Bergson's. Why then do gifted men not grapple with the problem of Christ's life as they grapple with the problem of life with Christ left out? With seriousness and passion and power, with determination to see and to explain, with nice selection of terse phrases and careful illustrations, they expose the whole of human life as they see it, but with one historic phase of it omitted. They pass by Jesus Christ, though they are aware that He has been the most striking and potent factor in modern history. The fact is that they are open to everything in the life process except Christ's part in it for two thousand years. They

are more open to the thrill and the sting of their own brief present day than they are to the thrill and the sting of the solemn exhibition of free personality which culminated in Gethsemane and on the Cross, though the impact of Christ's influence has unquestionably lasted in human society ever since. "A great artist sees masses, not edges," is a saying of Ruskin's; and it applies to the progress of religion in the world. It is by observing the great general masses of tendency, as manifested in human soul-life and history, not by attempting to define what surpasses our powers of definition, that we are likeliest to apprehend the significance of the evolution. True, such men as Bergson are ready to admit the stimulus of hardship. Bergson would not blink that for a moment: he has none of the passion for mere comfort which spoils so much of our modern attempts at social service and our philosophies of progress; but, so far as his literary productions go, there is little to show that Bergson has ever grappled with Christ, or recognized the stimulus—the creative evolution—of Gethsemane. With fine enthusiasm Bergson offers us a religion of personal exertion; but he makes no reference to Christ's religion of personal exertion and redemption—the world process, as Christ sees it, of the Heavenly Father, leading, purging, lifting mankind, by their own personal co-operation with their personal God under the stimulus of Jesus. Bergson has indeed advanced already some distance toward the point where Christ must be considered; for, in a letter to a friend which has just been published in Professor Edouard Le Roy's little volume, *Une Philosophie Nouvelle,* Bergson says:

> "The considerations set forth in my 'Essay' on the immediate facts of consciousness are intended to bring to light the fact of Liberty: those in *Matter and Memory* touch upon the reality of Spirit: those in *Creative Evolution* present creation as a fact. From all this there clearly emerges the idea of a God, creator and free; the generator at once of matter and of life, whose creative efforts as regards life are continued through the evolution of species and the constitution of human personalities."

But it still remains for Bergson to tell us what he thinks of the unique personality of Jesus, and of His epoch-making influence on human history; and it seems to me that in this last letter of his we have the point where Bergson is likely to find the place of Christ in the whole scheme of Creative Evolution. For, as Illingsworth remarks in his book on

Reason and Revelation (and Bergson, I think, would approve the remark):

> "We do not understand things simply by analyzing their structure or composition, but by discerning their place in this universal system, their relation to the purpose of the world. Hence the true realm of reality consists in personal beings, since only such can realize ideal ends, or objects of worth, and it centers in God . . . and the bond of this realm of reality is love, which has 'eternal and supreme worth.'"

Such a conviction as this inevitably leads men who are possessed of the spiritual eye to regard themselves as members of a body, so that they easily apprehend the Christian metaphor of St. Paul in the classic passage of the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

If, then, I take all that Bergson has to say, and carry it along with what Christ says, and with what Christ is, what does Jesus Christ do for me that, so far, Bergson does not do? Christ, like Bergson, presents Himself to my intuition: He is a fact to be reckoned with: His message must be considered. As to the details of my future, Christ is in a way as vague, as indeterminate, as Bergson. Nevertheless to my faculty of intuition (or faith, as He calls it) Christ presents certain principles of action, which, in a general way, if I accept them, will control and guarantee my future; such as the Golden Rule, and the Beatitudes, and the sacrificial life, with assurance of personal immortality because underneath me are the Everlasting Arms, and, for Christ's sake, God forgives. Besides, Christ does more than to present me these principles; He embodies in Himself the type of life which springs from these principles, and He says: "Behold Me. Follow Me. Once thou art awake to My likeness, thou shalt be satisfied with it." If, of my free choice, I adopt His principles, Christ promises that I shall grow into His likeness. Beyond that, Jesus left His disciples unhampered. Considering how clear and beautiful, and definite in outline and tone and feature, He Himself was, as the New Testament portrays him, it is wonderful how He gives the reins to those who bear His name, rich or poor; Jew or Gentile; barbarian, Scythian, bond or free. When they ask Him for more directions, He bids them wait till His Spirit comes to guide. When Peter is inquisitive about John—"Lord, what shall this man do?"—Christ answers, "What is that to thee?" He will not tie men to a hard and fast programme that describes all cases in advance.

In a moment of confidence He even admits that He Himself does not forestall the future. Not only is it not for them to know the times and the seasons, but of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. Some of the early Christians did indeed make bold to draw imaginative pictures of the Kingdom of God and the New Jerusalem coming down out of Heaven; but Jesus is reticent. Eye hath not seen it; ear hath not heard it; neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive. In that sense Christ does not cramp us with a plan. Nay more, if we accord to St. John's Gospel the weight that Dr. Sanday (after careful consideration of all adverse criticisms) does accord to it; in which he is supported by Professor H. R. Mackintosh, of Edinburgh, in the volume of Dr. Briggs's *International Theological Library,* recently published under the title "The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ." If we attach such weight to St. John's Gospel, then Christ too uses strange words which indicate that "Duration" (to use Bergson's term) is the essence of His life process: "Before Abraham was I AM. He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father. I and My Father are One." Whereupon Christ turns round and counsels His disciples: "Take therefore no anxious thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. He that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."

Thus, then, in the kaleidoscope, the panorama, of human history, our own creative will, our intuition (or, as the Bible calls it, our faith) addresses itself to life according to the principles, and under the stimulus, of Jesus Christ. He quickens us. This is life eternal, to know Him: to act and think and desire in each emergency, as nearly as we can, like Christ. Every great religion but the Christian has decayed, as the panorama turned and turned and dissolved away; but the religion of Jesus, wherever and whenever it has been carried out in the lives of men, has been equal to every emergency. The Beatitudes, and the Golden Rule, and the assurance of immortality and forgiveness, and the sacrificial life—these suffice. These equip us for any field: enable us to adjust ourselves to any circumstances. "Such trust have we through Christ toward God." We are content to be alive: to achieve the Christ-like character. As to what that character may bring me to in unforeseen contingencies

—what it may exact of me—what I shall be like, and my wife like, and my children and friends like, in the world to come, or even a year hence—I have seen Jesus. And, wonderful to tell, the Christian's own personal experience, in many ways and diverse manners—as little by little, better and better, we act as Christ acted—enables us to understand what Paul meant when he said, "Christ in you the hope of glory." This is not merely an anticipation: it is a present act—creative evolution.

"Such trust have we through Christ to Godward." So Paul spoke nineteen hundred years ago, at the outset of the era when the birth of Jesus was renewing the energies of a discouraged world. Has anything happened since to undermine such confidence? "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." Pessimists are asking whether, after all, there is such a thing as human progress; whether the pendulum is not forever swinging back and forth; whether the last development, democracy, can keep going much longer; whether the Syndicalists and the International Workers of the World are not sounding the knell of democracy, ushering in anarchy once more. But the fact is, democracy is proving that we cannot get on in it without the character of Jesus Christ. So there is a great wave of desire to be thorough with the principles of Christ—really to enact them over against our political and industrial and spiritual unrest. Hard-headed, empty-handed toilers cheer when Christ is mentioned, and take Him for their Friend; though at the same time they are suspicious of professing Christians. Why? Because more and more association has come to be the aim and the condition of civilization: it is the note of democracy; and no other principles than Christ's can cope with the problems of association and enable men to dwell together in unity; and the multitude can see that in the new problems of our time Christians generally are not living up to the principles of Christ, so as to be able to associate with all sorts and conditions of men. We Christians go at our tasks of business and politics and society blindly, beating the air, using up energy in makeshift experiments, when yonder is Jesus with His Golden Rule, and His Beatitudes, and His sacrificial life, all ready for us to apply. Really applied, they have never failed. This is eternal life.

Am I generalizing? For God's sake, then, let us go into particulars. There is nothing else in life for you and me

but personal conduct in particulars. If you and I and all our Christian neighbors would act like Christ in particulars on the spur of the moment—and there is no other spur—in our homes, in our business, in our recreations, whatever betide us, or our town, or our whole land, we should be laying hold on eternal life. Go into particulars. Put away lying. Let no corrupt communication proceed out of our mouth. Let all bitterness and wrath and evil speaking and malice be put away from us; and be we kind one to another, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us. Love God as Christ reveals Him with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself. There is no emergency which that life will not fit. It has this pragmatic value. And the Peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep our hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son, Jesus Christ. We all, beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image. Seeing we have this ministry, we faint not, for we are entering into the life process which Christ disclosed and secured to mankind.

George William Douglas.

OUR WOOL DUTIES

BY THOMAS WALKER PAGE,
FORMER MEMBER OF THE TARIFF BOARD

WHAT should be the duty on wool imported to this country? At present the wool suitable for making cloth pays eleven cents and twelve cents a pound according to its "class," while coarser wool for carpet-making pays four cents or seven cents according as its price is above or below twelve cents in the country whence it comes. For these various specific rates the Democrats substituted in their bill last summer a single rate of twenty per cent. *ad valorem*. But some prominent men in the party are said to believe that wool should be put on the free list as it was in the Cleveland administration. It is whispered also that many cloth manufacturers favor such action; and it is certain that many Congressmen of both parties hold the same opinion. There are other manufacturers and Congressmen, on the other hand, who regard the wool duties as the "Keystone in the arch of protection." To repeal these duties they believe would bring the structure toppling about our heads. Moreover the producers of wool, those who are supposed to benefit by the duties, have come to regard the protection they enjoy as a "right" that they may "demand" from Congress. They regard the present duties as even too low for their needs; and they speak loudly and bitterly of being robbed of their "just deserts" by evasions that the wording of the present law enables importers to practise.

The questions of right and expediency in the case of the wool duties involve a study of the wool-growing industry and the interests connected with it. It is a truism that every considerable tax has far-reaching social and economic effects beyond the mere providing of a revenue. If this were not so, why should the Federal Government tax whiskey and tobacco instead of corn and potatoes? Or why levy a duty

on sugar and none on coffee? Or why, again, did the Democrats last year put sewing-machines on the free list, while leaving a duty of twenty-five per cent. on shoe machinery? By reason of these social and industrial effects so long as it is necessary to raise a revenue of some hundreds of millions of dollars through our customs houses, it behooves Congress to use great care in distributing this vast sum among our industries in such a way as to rest as lightly and as equably as possible upon our citizens.

Now there are several different systems of sheep husbandry in this country. The most conspicuous, and the most intimately concerned with the wool duties, is that which prevails in the Rocky Mountain States and parts of California and Texas. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the system is the large number of sheep in a single ownership. The possessor of five thousand head is reckoned a small man in the business, while some individuals and corporations own seventy-five thousand or more. This means, of course, a distinct industry, resting on a commercial basis, requiring the investment of much capital, and employing professional and highly specialized labor.

Another characteristic of the system is that few if any sheep men own more than a small part of the enormous acreage necessary to maintain their flocks. If it became necessary to purchase the land needed for pasturage, the industry must perish. Its continuance is dependent on the existence of grazing lands, the use of which can be had for nothing or for a very small price. It is true that some sheep men have acquired large tracts of land. Sometimes this has been done to secure water rights, and sometimes to protect the pasturage, by the purchase of land at strategic points, against the advance of settlers. But very often they have bought it, not so much with a view to using it in their business, as with a view to its rise in value; and they pasture it merely while waiting for an opportunity to dispose of it otherwise to advantage. Their uncertain tenancy of land is a source of weakness, and during the past decade the advent of home-seekers in many regions has been playing havoc with the sheep business. The inclosure of farms works a hardship on the flock-owner by withdrawing the best of his pasturage and by requiring him to move his sheep long distances from one open space to another. Year by year the sheep are being driven back by new settlers to the

semi-arid and mountainous districts where tillage as yet is unprofitable.

Another characteristic of the husbandry in this part of the country is the prevalence of the Merino type of sheep. It stands the rigors of climate better than other breeds; its denser, shorter fleece suffers less in a wild, rough country; it is less exacting in the quality and quantity of its food; and habits of feeding and roaming in fairly compact masses with few stragglers render it easier than other breeds to herd and to guard in uninclosed territory. Of all animals useful to man the Merino sheep is best adapted to the waste places of the temperate zones. But except under unusual circumstances it is only to the waste places that it is adapted. For on land fertile enough to produce an average agricultural crop and situated so that this crop can be marketed to advantage, tillage is more profitable than pasturing Merinos. The mutton from this variety of sheep is small in quantity and so inferior in quality, when uncrossed with other breeds or otherwise improved, as to make it a poor contributor to the meat supply. Except, therefore, where they are maintained for breeding purposes, the principal product sought from Merinos is their fleece. They yield a wool that for fineness of fiber and other qualities surpasses that of all other breeds. There is, however, a limited demand for such fabrics as require this particular wool, and this fact, of course, limits the price that can be got for it. For this reason sheep husbandry to be profitable on land of much value must yield mutton as well as wool.

Herein lies the explanation of a practice that has been very marked in the Northwestern States for some years—the practice, that is, of crossing the Merino with one of the English breeds. Such a cross produces very good mutton as well as a quality of wool that is in wide demand for many fabrics, although it is somewhat coarser than that of the pure-bred Merino. The growth of this practice in the Northwest has come partly, no doubt, from an intelligent calculation of their interests by the sheep men; and partly it is the result of altered conditions that have ended the profits of a pure-wool industry. Grazing rents have been constantly getting higher in that region; agriculture has made great encroachments, and the wide free ranges have been gradually broken up; on the national forest reserves pasturage ten years ago was free, whereas the Government now exacts

a payment of ten to fourteen cents a head for sheep. Winter feeding, furthermore,—which was rare in former years,—because of the scarcity of winter pasture is now the rule, and the necessary hay and grain costs several times as much as summer forage. At the same time also by reason of changed conditions other costs, as well as those for food, have risen, and these increased costs commonly so far outweigh the value of the wool clip that cross-breeding for mutton has become very common.

In the Southwest cross-breeding is much less prevalent than it is to the north. This is probably due in the main to the fact that range conditions there are not favorable to the mutton type of sheep. The ranges are not so open as in the North, water is scarcer, and the sheep must be handled in comparatively small bands. Furthermore, hay and grain, which are fed in large quantities to mutton sheep, are obtained with difficulty and at a much higher cost than in the North. Yet even in this region, paradoxical as it may seem, the owner of a Merino flock makes more by selling sheep and lambs than he does by selling wool. This is due to a heavy demand for his sheep for breeding purposes. In the States of the corn belt the Merinos seem to resist the prevalent intestinal diseases better than the English breeds, and the farmers there buy them to raise cross-bred lambs for the market. From the Northwest likewise the flock-owner is now looking in large measure to the Southwest to recruit his stock of breeding ewes. For even though he aims rather at good mutton than at fine wool, yet so long as the open-range methods of husbandry endure, he must keep the Merino strain predominant in his flocks. It is evident therefore that while the southwestern sheep man does not directly produce much mutton, yet he furnishes a stock on which at present mutton-growers of other regions depend, and in this way he receives a share of the profits from the production of meat.

In the Rocky Mountain region taken as a whole the average annual expense of the flock-owner is about $2.11 per head of sheep. In 1910 his receipts averaged $2.56 a head, and of this sum wool yielded him only $1.17, or considerably less than one-half. This indicates that in that region mutton is now the chief product of sheep husbandry, and that wool has been reduced to the position of a very valuable by-product.

It is not likely that wool-growing can ever regain its former relative importance in the West. At present practically every acre of grazing land is in use, and indeed is somewhat overstocked. Further territorial expansion therefore is out of the question. On the contrary, the advance of settlement and extension of agriculture is rapidly reducing the available area. At the same time increasing costs of pasturage have been accompanied by rising prices of hay and grain. The flock-owner's outlay also on provisions and equipment for his workmen is much greater than formerly, since the demand for labor in agriculture and other industries has enabled his employees to demand greatly improved treatment, and the practice of dividing the sheep into smaller bands, due to the breaking up of the ranges, has multiplied the number of necessary outfits. The total expenditures on labor are not far from double what they were ten or fifteen years ago. The rate of wages has gone up thirty to fifty per cent., and the more difficult range conditions have forced the employment of a larger number of men. Furthermore, extra costs have arisen that were formerly unnecessary. Thus, for example, it often happens that the flock-owner must now move his sheep twice a year by rail between winter and summer pastures, instead of trailing them slowly through an uninhabited country where they grazed unmolested during the journey. Others, again, have been so cut off from access to water, that they can save their sheep only by digging expensive wells; and yet others have found it necessary to build and maintain costly bridges across streams or cañons in order to pass from one grazing area to another.

The most serious difficulties of sheep husbandry as it has been conducted in the West can never be less than they are now, because they arise from the progress of settlement and the reduction of the wilderness to homesteads. So long as our land policy favors agriculture rather than pastoral pursuits, these difficulties will increase. It is very significant of the unpromising condition of the industry that the development of the country has not brought to the flock-owners one benefit that commonly attends it, that is, low rates for the use of capital. While the sheep man in Australia or South Africa can borrow money for five per cent., or in South America for six per cent., in our Western States he must pay interest at the rate of eight or ten per cent. This

seems to be due to the precarious, even hazardous, nature of the western sheep business. Men will not invest in the permanent improvements necessary to give stability to the industry, while their tenancy of the land necessary for their flocks is so uncertain. In Australia, by way of contrast, the situation is quite different. There the government allows the sheep man to take up in a single tract for a long term and at a low rent the land he needs. He surrounds this with a well-built wire fence, and he erects on it such other improvements as will reduce to a minimum his need for labor and his risk from contagious diseases, predatory animals, poisonous plants, and climatic conditions. In the West this is and will remain impossible. Thus the average investment for both equipment and improvements in Australia is two dollars per head of sheep, while in the West it is only ninety cents.

From what has been said, no other conclusion can be reached than that wool-growing in the West has seen its best days. This does not mean that sheep husbandry may not continue to thrive. But if it does thrive, it will be through the production of mutton rather than of wool. And indeed, few realize the rate at which the mutton business has already grown. The time has been when it was not a popular kind of meat in this country; but it is now widely used, partly because it has improved in quality, and partly because the production of beef and pork has not kept pace with the growth of population. Thirty years ago the Chicago stock-yards received 336,000 sheep, more than four times as many cattle, and twenty-one times as many hogs. In 1910 they received more than five and a quarter million sheep, little more than three million cattle, and about five and a half million hogs. The change in less than a generation has been well-nigh phenomenal. In view of this there can be little doubt that the transition of emphasis from wool to mutton, already noted as occurring in the Northwest, will continue and that the sheep-owner will devote more attention to a foodstuff that is in growing demand and less to a clothing material for which conditions are becoming yearly more unfit.

The systems of sheep husbandry in other parts of the United States need little comment, for with one exception they are conducted primarily for meat and wool is only an incidental product. The exception is found in the hill coun-

ties of Ohio, the adjacent parts of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the southern counties of Michigan. The whole section is commonly known in the wool business as the Ohio region. Sheep-raising there has an interesting history, and in former years strongly influenced our tariff policy; but in the present generation, as compared with the industry in the Rocky Mountain States, it is of small importance. There are in this country all together approximately 51,000,000 sheep. Of these fully three-fifths are in the West, and less than a tenth in the so-called Ohio region.

In comparison with those in the West the Ohio flocks are small. They vary between fifteen or twenty head and some eighteen hundred, with an average size of a little more than fifty. As this would indicate, wool-growing is carried on merely as an incident of general agriculture. The predominant strain is the Merino, but on many farms a Merino greatly improved by skilful breeding, of larger size and better mutton qualities than the original type. The breed has probably reached its greatest perfection in this region, and the Fine Delaine, as the long-fibered Ohio Merino wool is called, is in strength and certain other qualities the best wool in the world. But it is also produced at the highest cost in the world, and here as elsewhere in America wool falls far short of paying the expenses of the industry. It is, therefore, only the improved variety of Merino that yields any profit, the smaller kind does not pay the costs of maintenance. In strong contrast are the returns from cross-bred flocks in the same region, notably in southern Michigan. For such flocks the average annual expense is $2.78 a head, the average receipts in 1910 were $1.46 a head for wool and no less than $2.92 for mutton and lambs, or all together $4.38—an excess of receipts over expenses of $1.60. For Merino flocks, taking the improved and the unimproved together, the average annual expense is $2.44 a head and the receipts are $1.88 from wool and $1.07 from sheep and lambs, together $2.95, which shows an excess over expenses of only $.51.

In view of these figures it seems amazing that Ohio sheep-raisers have not devoted themselves universally to breeding for mutton. Their failure to do so becomes more curious when it is found that fully thirty per cent. of the Ohio Merinos are kept at an actual loss, and that those yielding a profit are mainly of the improved strain, having fair mut-

ton qualities and commanding a ready sale for breeding purposes. Under these circumstances valid reasons for the wide adherence to Merinos are not apparent. One explanation that has been suggested is that much of the land in the hill counties can be used to advantage only as pasture for some kind of sheep, that sheep pastures in the East are liable to become infected with a certain intestinal parasite, and that there is a general impression that Merinos show a greater resistance to this parasite than do other breeds. Against this it may be said that there is no reason why cross-breds in Ohio should be less hardy and healthy than they are in Michigan or in some of the Mississippi Valley States where they are handled with great profit. A more plausible explanation is found in the unwillingness of the farmers to change systems and methods that they have grown accustomed to. The Ohio sheep man knows the Merino, its habits, qualities, requirements, and possibilities. He can get out of it the very best that it is capable of producing. Many of the flocks have been handed down from father to son for several generations. The owners take a keen personal interest in their well-being and feel great pride in maintaining their purity. To many farmers the cross-breeding of their thoroughbreds would seem a sort of miscegenation, a desecration of a farm ideal that they would maintain even at some pecuniary loss. Furthermore, it should be remembered that most farmers keep no accurate accounts and many of their losses are concealed from them. The farmer in the Ohio region gets annually an average of nearly three dollars a head from his Merinos. This appears to him as a profit, when he does not charge against them his own labor nor the pasturage, hay, and grain provided from his own land nor a number of other items that according to his system are merely incidental to general farming. He does know, indeed, that for some reason at present "times are hard," but he prefers to attribute this to "Democratic tinkering with the tariff" rather than to the unprofitableness of his beloved and much-admired Merinos. These Ohio farmers are the Old Guard of the wool-growers. They are waging a loyal, romantic, and desperate battle, but for them as for their prototype it is Waterloo.

It appears from this sketch that in spite of high protective duties, which have endured with a single brief interruption

for generations, wool-growing in the United States has become a waning industry. The Census Reports give evidence to the same effect. They show that the total number of sheep, excluding lambs, during the last thirty years has decreased in every decade. There has been some increase in the western division of the country, but that increase in the last decade was less than three per cent., and it was more than counterbalanced by losses in the other sections. The amount of the total annual wool clip can only be estimated, and since it depends on weather conditions and other changing contingencies, it fluctuates from year to year. It may be said, however, that from the best estimates that can be made—and these estimates are accepted in business and are used in the Government reports—the average annual production in the five years ending in 1910 was about three hundred and eleven and a half million pounds. This is nearly four million pounds less than the average annual production in the five years that ended a quarter of a century earlier.

In this generation the output of wool has had many ups and downs. It reached its apogee in 1893; and immediately afterward there began a sharp decline from which there has never been a complete recovery. Naturally the wool-growers attribute the decline to the free-wool provision of the Wilson Bill. And undoubtedly they are in large measure right, for so many flock-owners were panic-stricken at the prospect of free wool that millions of sheep were hurried to the stock-yards, slaughtered at home, or allowed to perish for lack of care, and for several years few of those that kept their sheep found any profit in them. But it should not be forgotten that a similar decline both in number and in profits occurred in the case of hogs and cattle which were in no way affected by the tariff. The truth is that many forces contributed to cause the memorable business depression of the middle 'nineties. These bore as heavily upon sheep husbandry as upon other industries, and just how much of its decline was due to them and how much to the Wilson Bill, no human being will ever know.

After a very brief period the duties were restored, but in half a generation they have failed to restore the industry. Not only is the production of wool absolutely smaller than it once was, but it has fallen constantly still further behind the growing needs of the manufacturers. At present these

are importing from abroad about two-fifths of the wool they use; and unless some overwhelming disaster comes upon their industry, under no conceivable circumstances will the domestic supply of wool ever equal the demand.

Here the question naturally arises, Why have the duties accomplished so little for sheep husbandry? The answer is threefold. In the first place, wool-growing, as has been pointed out, has encountered increasing economic obstacles that have countervailed the effect of the duties. In the second place, American wool contains much more grease, dirt, and other impurities than that which is imported from competing countries, so that the net protection has been less than it appeared to be. In the third place, the tariff in raising the price of wool raises the price of what has become the minor product of an industry that depends more largely for its success on another thing. These three propositions also hold good with regard to the probable future effect of the duties, if they should be retained The economic obstacles to wool-growing in this country are never likely to diminish. Our flock-owners in perfecting the development of their industry are never likely to approach nearer to the Australians who operate under far more favorable conditions, while a higher net protection than they now enjoy the present state of the public mind gives them no reason to hope for. Nor will the inadequacy of tariff-enhanced wool prices as an aid to sheep-raising ever grow less. The more the flock-owner devotes himself to making meat, the less important relatively his wool crop will become; for his lambs when not needed for breeding are apt to be sold unshorn and to be slaughtered before their wool has reached its full development. When the industry is in a stage where meat is its chief product, raising it by wool duties is applying the lever on the wrong side of the fulcrum. For the Government to aid the industry by a duty on wool would in principle be the same as for it to encourage the hog industry by a bounty on pig-tails. Of course wool will always be an incomparably more important by-product than pig-tails, but the principle is the same in both cases, and a bounty on tails, like a duty on wool, would undoubtedly if made high enough stimulate growth. But such stimulation is awkward and effected at a disproportionate waste of energy. The flocks might be more directly enlarged by the renewal of an ancient New England law that wholly forbade

the sale or slaughter of sheep, " that wee may in tyme have sufficiency of woolen cloath among ourselves."

It appears then that to the average American sheep-raiser the wool duties are only an incidental aid; to the genuine wool-grower they are of real assistance, but they are inadequate to prevent the gradual merging of his industry in that of the mutton producer. To neither, therefore, do they bring a benefit that economically justifies their retention.

From the standpoint of the manufacturer these duties are undeniably an evil. They raise the price of his raw material, increase the amount of capital necessary in his business, enhance his costs of production, and make it impossible for him to compete for trade in neutral markets. More than this, they completely bar him from the use of important varieties of wool that are available abroad. South Africa, for example, exports about 125,000,000 pounds of wool, as fine, and for many purposes as useful as any that is grown, but the amount we take of it is negligible. The explanation of this is found in the fact that the duties are specific payments on a pound of wool " in the grease " —that is, in its natural condition as it leaves the sheep's back. But in each class of grease wool there are many varieties which differ not only in length, strength, luster, and fineness, but also in the quantity of oil and other impurities they contain, so that some varieties when scoured yield much less clean fiber than do others. These variations appear not only in sheep of different breeds or from different regions, they are also found in different parts of the same fleece. Thus wool from the neck, legs, breech, or belly shows a different shrinkage in scouring from that of wool on the rest of the body. Naturally the American buyer abroad can now take only wool of a good yield. The heavy shrinking wool is often excellent for his purposes, but when the duty is estimated on its clean content he finds that he cannot afford to import it. Between the two great branches of the manufacture, worsted cloth-making and woolen cloth-making, there has raged for some years a violent and bitter dispute regarding the injustice of excluding the heavy shrinking and low-priced wools. Disregarding here its merits, it may be noted that the controversy has brought out convincing evidence of the unscientific nature of the duties.

In view of the effect of the duties on their business it might be expected that the manufacturers would persistently and strongly urge their repeal. On the contrary, though they object to the form of the duties and the method of assessment, none openly oppose the rates, and most of them advocate their retention. Several considerations lead them to this attitude. Nearly all of them are sincere and earnest believers in the principle of tariff protection. It is well-nigh as sacred to them as the principles of the United States Constitution, and it would be unjust to the great majority of them to impute to self-interest a faith that is the result of conviction. By reason of this faith they are required to extend to other industries the protection that they themselves enjoy. Many also believe that though the wool industry will never meet their full demand, yet protection to it will insure at least a partial supply of the raw material necessary to keep the shops going in the event of an interruption to our foreign trade. But men's motives are seldom unmixed, and without doubt the manufacturers are not wholly untouched by some of a lower order. They realize that to preserve tariff protection for their industry, which has lived under a perpetual menace, they need all the political aid that they can get. And if the wool-growers should lose their own protection, while they might still profess the faith, they might not hear the call to battle for it. Therefore the manufacturers have cultivated good relations with the sheep men, and in every political campaign for half a century the two groups have been found fighting shoulder to shoulder.

There remains to be stated another motive for the manufacturer's toleration of the wool duties—one so little commendable that it has brought all their other motives under suspicion. This motive is to profit by a series of duties on their own products which, while nominally compensatory, do more than compensate. A duty merely sufficient to protect them against foreign competition would be of no avail, if at the same time the price of their raw material were enhanced by the tariff beyond that paid abroad. Therefore all imported manufactures of wool pay two duties; one aims to protect, the other to counterbalance the wool duty. Thus the ordinary cloth in a man's suit pays a protective duty of fifty-five per cent. *ad valorem* and an additional specific duty of forty-four cents a pound. The amount of the specific duty

is based on the presumption that it takes four pounds of wool to make one pound of cloth. In fact, however, this is true of exceedingly few fabrics, and for most of them, even if made wholly of wool, the estimate is excessive. It is well known also that the greater part of the woolen fabrics that enter commerce are not "all wool." The amount of other material they contain varies from a very small percentage in a cloth where some vegetable fiber is used merely to give it a color pattern up to nearly the whole weight in a cloth where some wool is used merely to give it a name. Since, then, the same rates of duty apply to manufactures either in whole or in part of wool, the greater the admixture of cheaper materials, the greater the additional protection given by the specific duties, which in theory are only compensatory. Because of these specific duties the total payments at our customs houses last year on the better class of imported cloths amounted to about ninety-four per cent. of their value in Europe; on the cheaper kinds that were imported the payments rose to about a hundred and fifty per cent. of their value. Many varieties were altogether excluded. The cumulative rates on knit goods, blankets, women's and children's dress goods, and other fabrics are relatively as high. Such rates are practically prohibitory except for certain fabrics of very high finish and for specialties imported for the use of that well-known class of Americans who must have goods of foreign make regardless of price.

Manufacturers freely admit the inequality of our present specific duties, and would willingly see them amended, if they could be fairly adjusted on different sorts of goods. But this could be only partially and roughly accomplished. A duty sufficient to compensate the maker of a costly, lightweight, highly finished fabric is excessive when applied to goods made chiefly of cotton and shoddy, whereas a duty merely sufficient on these latter goods would do him great injustice. One slight concession to justice is made in our present tariff: if cloths are worth less than forty cents a pound, the compensatory duty on them is only thirty-three cents. But it is inconceivable that an appreciable amount of good wool goes into cloths of such low value, so that this rate is probably more excessive than is forty-four cents on goods of high grade.

Many of the present abuses would be removed by making

the specific duties payable only on the actual wool content of the goods. The ascertainment of the wool content, however, would involve some difficulty, cost, and delay in all cases; and there is one case, at least, in which it would be impossible. This is the case of a fabric composed partly of fresh wool and partly of shoddy. Shoddy is the wool fiber obtained by cleaning and grinding woolen rags, a process that has become an important industry in this country and in Europe. Some grades of it are almost as useful as wool, and give more warmth and durability to cloth than most vegetable fibers. Other grades have lost most of the characteristics that make wool desirable, and are used mainly as an adulterant. No practical test, either physical or chemical, has yet been devised, except the actual wear that a fabric will stand, to detect the degree to which shoddy enters into its composition.

Enough has been said to show that accurate compensatory duties can never be assessed. Only an approximate fairness will be possible. If in seeking this approximation Congress keeps in view fairness to the makers of medium and low-grade goods, then the producers of finer goods will be severely injured through the tariff enhancement of the prices they pay for wool. On the other hand, if fairness to the latter class is sought, the present abuses can be only reduced and never abolished.

It is the difficulty of adjusting the compensatory duties that presents the strongest arguments against taxing imports of wool. In some respects wool is a particularly good object for a revenue tax. It is already imported in large quantities, and there is little doubt that unless the present duties are actually raised the imports must increase. That class known as carpet wool is not grown in this country at all, and our manufacturers annually buy abroad more than a hundred million pounds of it. Certainly in taxing this class the question of protection could not be raised, for although a small amount of it may be mixed with better qualities in cloths of rough finish, the quantity of American wool it displaces is negligible. Even at the present rates and as now administered the wool duties yield a revenue of about $20,000,000 a year, and there is no doubt that this sum could be increased. But whether or not the general principle of free raw materials be admitted as sound, it must at least be admitted that there is good reason why

this particular raw material should not be taxed. In all other countries with any industrial development except Russia the importation of wool is free. Our tax on it therefore puts our manufacturers at an insuperable disadvantage in neutral markets, and it would have the same effect in the domestic market but for the compensatory duties. The importance of properly adjusting these duties becomes evident when it is remembered that while the annual value of our wool crop is less than $60,000,000, the annual output of our wool-using industries is more than $700,000,000. As they now stand our compensatory duties are a glaring abuse in our tariff system, and are responsible for much of the popular outcry against it. It seems, however, to be impossible to adjust them fairly, and to repeal them involves the total repeal of the duties on wool.

It follows from what has been said that whether they are studied with regard to their effect on the production or the manufacture of wool, the wool duties are without economic justification. But there are other considerations that should and do weigh with the legislator besides the merely economic. These are considerations of a political and of what may be called a humane character.

Whether it would be politically expedient to abolish the wool duties it is for the dominant party in Congress to determine. The wool-growers hold the balance of power in many States. They are effectively organized and are led by men of keen intelligence who have had long experience in politics, and they possess the courage and strength that come from a sincere belief in the righteousness of their cause. It has often been said that no party ever won a national election that antagonized the wool-growers. This may well be true in view of the fact that only once has any party legislated against them, and that party was in truth defeated. Even if their political influence now be relatively less than it once was, the lawmakers are likely to consider whether repeal of the duties will make enough friends to counterbalance the hostility it will arouse. Thus baldly stated such a consideration does not seem statesman-like in the highest sense. But it need not involve a degradation of ideals in those that heed it, for in every field of activity it is often necessary to temporize with some abuses in order to reserve strength for overthrowing others. No political party with great aims to fulfil can be expected to court

defeat by attacking an abuse nearly as old as the nation itself, unless it can be shown that practical good will result from its overthrow. It may be that only a dead party, like a dead Indian, is a good one. But they are both alike unable to admit this, and therefore deprecate a too early apotheosis.

It is therefore of practical importance, and it is also right, to ask who will benefit by the repeal of the wool duties. The ready answer is, the consumers. And the answer is true, but not in the degree that is popularly supposed. In most fabrics the cost of the material they contain is a small part of the price the consumer pays for it. Thus the cloth in a typical men's suit that retails for twenty-five dollars requires about nine and a half pounds of raw wool of moderate shrinkage, and if it is of good quality the grower receives approximately two dollars and a quarter for it. The most ardent advocate of tariff reduction could not expect the removal of the duty to reduce this sum by more than the whole amount of the duty, that is, a dollar and five cents. Assuming that this occurred, and that the reduction were passed along through the successive stages of trade to the ultimate consumer, then this personage could purchase a twenty-five-dollar suit for twenty-four dollars. But the assumption is violent in both its parts. The cloth-maker who buys his wool at a lower price is not likely to give the whole benefit to the maker of clothing, nor he in turn to the retail merchant. And this last intermediary, knowing that his customers are verily creatures of custom, and that the ordinary purchaser of a twenty-five-dollar suit is little influenced by a reduction of four per cent., is perhaps least likely of all to change the price of his wares. Furthermore, the cloth-maker would by no means save the whole nominal amount of the present duties, if their removal enabled him to purchase abroad. It is quite true that wool can be produced in Australia, South America, and other countries much more cheaply than in the United States. In Australia, indeed, the average cost of production is less than the average cost in this country by nearly the full amount of the duties. But low costs are not followed by low prices unless the facilities for production are such that the supply can be increased so as to satisfy the increased demand at the low prices. As a matter of fact the facilities for producing wool are limited in all the chief countries that now contribute to the world's

supply—so limited, indeed, that the price of wool abroad, in spite of our tariff, sometimes approaches very closely to the price in this country. There can be, and there will be some expansion in the wool production of the foreign countries that have been named, but the growth of population and the consequent greater demand will probably absorb any normal increase of output before the average price of wool from year to year feels the effect of larger production. Under these circumstances, much additional purchase of foreign wool by Americans would inevitably raise the foreign price; and while the exact amount of the rise is a matter of pure speculation, it is safe to say that it would be considerable. It is equally safe to say, none the less, that free wool would enable the manufacturer to effect some saving in the purchase of his supplies.

Whatever this saving might be, it is probable that in spite of the friction and complications of trade, competition is sufficient in most parts of this country to insure to the consumers the greater part of it. Also it is certain that the sum of these savings for the country as a whole would reach imposing dimensions and would loom large in the political addresses of those that have "saved the country" by creating it. But it would be so widely distributed that the share of the individual consumer would hardly be enough to rouse much enthusiasm. It is true that money talks, but the voice of the nickel is neither loud nor convincing. It might well happen, therefore, that the real benefit to the consumers would be forgotten in the disappointment that it was so much less than expected.

Under these circumstances the repeal of the wool duties requires courage and a steadfast faith in the principle of "tariff for revenue only."

There remains to be mentioned a consideration which is neither economic nor political, but which involves the element of humanity—that is, the effect of the removal of the duties on the wool-growers. If it would bring suffering and ruin to this important group of citizens, their situation should at least give us pause. Their past history and their present character are as meritorious as those of any other class of Americans. If tariff reduction is to be effected "without interfering with business," their business deserves as much consideration as any other. Of course, however, there cannot be an effective reduction of the tariff

without interfering with business. The Democratic promise to the contrary must be understood to mean that the interference will not be such as to prevent business from adjusting itself to the altered rates without grave damage. The question is then, Can the sheep-owners make the necessary adjustment? From what has been said above this would not appear to be impossible. If the flock-owners are already being driven into mutton-raising; if on wool, their minor product, they now get a net protection of only half the nominal duties; and if the fall in price of this product caused by removal of the duties would not be great, then it is difficult to see how free wool could grievously injure them. On the other hand, there are many among them who are so situated that they cannot make the transition from wool to meat. These men are even now making small profits or none at all, and the loss of tariff protection would inevitably bring them ruin. Their condition, however, will never be materially better than it now is, so that unless the duties become perpetual, they must sometime fall a sacrifice to reform. Besides these unfortunates, there is a larger group who without waiting to test the effect of the change would despair of the situation and commit their flocks to the butcher at any price they could get. Their own financial loss and a serious diminution of the industry would be the result. The industry in time would recover, but for them the submersion would be too deep for revival. To the free-trader, perhaps, their panic calls for no sympathy. He would merely regret that in their case the casting out of a devil induced the identical act of certain other denizens of the field who when possessed of a devil ran violently into the sea and were drowned. But it should be remembered that their panic would not be wholly without cause, for removal of the duties would undoubtedly lower the price of wool. It should be also remembered that for generations they have struggled, voted, written, and otherwise worked to preserve these duties, until they are persuaded beyond the power of argument that their existence depends upon them. It may be that "the pain of death is most in apprehension"; it may also be that the pain of free wool is most in apprehension. Yet even so, the pain is real, and under apprehension men sometimes commit acts that bring on the very thing they would avoid.

There is no doubt, then, that the removal of the duties

would greatly injure a considerable number of men in the sheep business. The industry as a whole, however, would not materially suffer; it would even make a substantial gain in being freed from the necessity of "playing politics" and relieved of the uncertainty and anxiety that will hamper it as long as the duties are there to be defended. There would be a temporary setback owing to panic, but forces that are already at work would soon build up the industry along new lines and on a more stable foundation.

The wool duties have always been the bloody angle in the tariff battles of the nation. A man's attitude toward them has at times been the test of his party alignment. They have been shibboleth to the protectionist and anathema to the tariff reformer. The statesman, the economist, the muck-raker, the merchant, the journalist, even the clergyman who prescribes our morals and the doctor who prescribes our underclothing—all have taken part in the hot and clamorous dispute. A calm study of the interests involved leads to the conclusion that on both sides there has been great exaggeration of the effect of the duties. It is possible that a compromise of the long controversy is now approaching in the guise of a revenue duty. It is greatly to be wished, however, that a more definite settlement could be reached; and the terms of the settlement are not in doubt, for in weighing the arguments pro and con the balance leans heavily to free wool.

THOMAS W. PAGE.

THE COMMERCE COURT

BY ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL JAMES A. FOWLER

UNDER the interstate commerce law as it existed prior to the passage of the Act of June 18, 1910, in addition to criminal and penal actions, proceedings to compel the attendance of witnesses before the Commission, and actions to recover from carriers damages awarded by the Commission, cases of the following classes might be brought:

First. Actions for specific enforcement of an order of the Commission, other than for the payment of money.

Second. Actions to enjoin, set aside, annul, or suspend, in whole or in part, an order of the Commission.

Third. Actions to enforce an observance of the published rates for carrying passengers or freight, and to compel a discontinuance of forbidden discriminations.

Fourth. Mandamus proceedings to compel the transportation of traffic and the furnishing of cars and other facilities to a complaining relator, and on application of the Attorney-General at the instance of the Commission, to compel an observance of any provision of the Act.

Prior to the Act of June 29, 1906, known as the Hepburn Act, if the Commission found that a carrier was guilty of unjust discrimination and ordered its discontinuance and the carrier was unwilling to abide by the order, it was necessary for the Commission, or some party in whose interest the order was made, to bring an action for its specific enforcement. Furthermore, the findings and order of the Commission were only *prima facie* evidence of the facts therein stated, and therefore in such proceedings all questions of fact were again contested before the Court. Hence, while a number of cases had been brought to enforce orders of the Commission, but very few, probably none, had been instituted to annul such an order. By the Hepburn Act, not only was an order of the Commission made conclusive

as to all questions of fact, but it was provided that any carrier, or its representatives, who should knowingly fail or neglect to obey any order fixing a maximum rate or against unjust discrimination should forfeit to the United States the sum of five hundred dollars for each offense, and that each distinct violation should be a separate offense, and that in case of a continuing violation, each day should be deemed a separate offense. In consequence of this provision it was no longer necessary for the Commission to bring actions to enforce orders of this character, but when the carrier believed that for any reason the order was to any material extent invalid, it brought a suit to set aside or annul such order in whole or in part, and usually sought a temporary injunction suspending the order until the termination of the litigation.

In the report of the Commission dated December 24, 1908, it was said that prior to July, 1908, only one suit had been filed to set aside an order of the Commission, but that since that date sixteen suits had been brought for that purpose, and that few orders of much consequence would be permitted to go without contest, and that in twelve of the cases brought preliminary injunctions had been prayed for which had been granted in six and refused in six. In the report of the Commission presented a year later it appeared that out of the seventeen cases referred to in the former report but one had been decided by the Supreme Court.

During the recess of Congress in 1909, by direction of the President, the Attorney-General prepared a bill embodying his views as to proposed amendments to the interstate commerce laws; and on January 7, 1910, the President transmitted to Congress a special message, in which he recommended among other things the creation of a special Court to be composed of five Circuit Judges, which Court should have jurisdiction over the classes of cases above enumerated, and offered to furnish to the appropriate committee on request a draft of the bill prepared by the Attorney-General. This draft formed the basis of the measure which, after lengthy and heated debate, became a law on June 18, 1910.

The jurisdiction of the Court thus created extends to the classes of cases as recommended by the President. To compose the membership of the Court the President was directed to appoint, by and with the advice of the Senate, five addi-

tional Circuit Judges, no two of whom should be from the same judicial circuit, and who should be designated to serve for one, two, three, four, and five years, respectively. Thereafter, on the expiration of the term of any member, the Chief Justice of the United States designates for another period of five years his successor from among the Circuit Judges of the United States, and all vacancies are filled for the unexpired term by the Chief Justice from the Circuit Judges, and after the year 1914 no Judge can be redesignated until the expiration of at least one year from his previous term of service. The Court is presided over by the Judge first designated for five years, and thereafter by the senior member. If at any time the business of the court does not require the services of all the Judges, the Chief Justice may permanently terminate the assignment of any of them, or assign them for service temporarily in any District Court or Circuit Court of Appeals, but a concurrence of a majority of five Judges is necessary for a decision. When the designation of a Judge is permanently terminated he returns to the Circuit from which he was appointed. The Court is required to be always open for the transaction of business. Its regular sessions are held in Washington City, but the power of the Court, or any Judge, or of any of its officers, may be exercised anywhere in the United States; and to expedite the work and to prevent undue expense or inconvenience to suitors the Court is required to hold sessions in such parts of the United States, as may be found desirable. That carriers may be promptly and easily served with process they are required to designate some one in Washington City upon whom notices and processes may be served.

All actions which but for the Act would be brought by or against the Interstate Commerce Commission must be brought by or against the United States, and the United States may intervene in any other case in which public interest is involved. The Attorney-General has charge of the interests of the United States in all cases pending before the Court, and may appoint special counsel to look after such interests. In any action involving the validity of an order of the Commission any party in interest to the proceedings before the Commission may appear as parties of their own motion and as of right and be represented by counsel; and all communities, associations, corporations,

firms, and individuals who were interested in the controversy before the Commission out of which the action grew, or in any suit brought under the Interstate Commerce Acts, relating to the action of the Commission, may intervene at any time; and the action cannot be disposed of or discontinued by the Attorney-General over the objection of an intervenor, but an intervenor may prosecute, defend, or conduct the proceedings unaffected by any action or non-action of the Attorney-General. The utmost simplicity in pleading is sought. An action is begun by filing in the office of the clerk a written petition " setting forth briefly and succinctly the facts constituting the petitioner's cause of action, and specifying the relief sought." A motion to dismiss the petition, as not setting forth a cause of action, may be filed at any time before answer. Unless the time is extended by the Court or a Judge thereof, answer must be filed within thirty days after the petition is served, " which answer shall briefly and categorically respond to the allegations of the petition." No replication is necessary, and objections to the insufficiency of either the petition or answer may be made on the hearing. No order can be made suspending an order of the Commission pending the final hearing otherwise than upon notice and after hearing, except where irreparable damage would otherwise ensue to the petitioner, the court or a judge thereof may on hearing, after not less than three days' notice to the Commission and the Attorney-General, allow a temporary stay in whole or in part of the order for not more than sixty days pending application to the court for its injunction, in which case the order shall contain a specific finding based upon evidence submitted to the judge making the order that such irreparable damage would result to petitioner, and specify the nature of the damage. From an interlocutory order granting or continuing an injunction restraining the enforcement of an order of the Commission an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States within thirty days after the entry thereof. An appeal from any final decree may be taken to the Supreme Court by any aggrieved party within sixty days after its entry. Such appeal does not supersede or stay the judgment appealed from unless the Supreme Court, or a Justice thereof, shall so direct; and appeals from this Court have precedence in hearing in the Supreme Court over all other cases except criminal causes. The Com-

merce Court may direct the original record instead of a transcript thereof to be transmitted to the Supreme Court.

The powers and methods of procedure of the Court are thus given in some detail that it may appear that every precaution was taken to simplify the proceedings, to hasten the final determination of causes brought therein, and to safeguard the rights and privileges of every party interested in any matter of controversy before the Court.

In the long session of the Sixty-second Congress a bill abolishing the Court and restoring jurisdiction to the Circuit Courts was introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and a majority of the Committee filed a report strongly favoring the passage of the bill. Subsequently, in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill a provision was inserted repealing those sections of the Act of June 18, 1910, by which the Court was created, and the bill while in this condition thus passed both Houses of Congress, but on the 15th day of August, 1912, it was vetoed by the President because it contained a provision vitally modifying the Civil Service regulations, and also this provision abolishing the Commerce Court. The bill was again passed by Congress after eliminating the Civil Service feature, but on the 21st day of August, 1912, it was again vetoed by the President solely because it contained the provision abolishing the Commerce Court.

It is apparent, therefore, that there was a very radical difference of opinion as to the utility of this Court between the President and those members of the Sixty-first Congress who voted for its creation on the one hand, and a majority of the Sixty-second Congress on the other; and as it is a matter which vitally concerns the public welfare, a brief consideration of the reasons advanced for and against the Court, both at the time it was established and when the measures for its abolishment were pending before the Congress, may be of value.

The principal reasons assigned in favor of the Court were that it would secure (1) a more expeditious hearing and determination of cases, (2) uniformity of decisions, (3) judgments less likely to be erroneous, and (4) a more economical and convenient method to litigants. These reasons will be considered in the order mentioned.

1. Before the creation of the Court the venue of an action

brought for the enforcement of an order was in the district wherein the carrier violating the order had its principal operating office, or in which the disobedience of the order happened; of an action to annul an order, the venue was in the district in which the principal operating office of any carrier against whom the order was directed was located, unless such office was in the District of Columbia—then in the district of its principal office; and of an action to compel observance of published rates or to prohibit discrimination, the venue was in the district wherein the violations were committed in whole or in part. As to actions to compel by writ of mandamus the observance of the provisions of the interstate commerce law and to require carriers on application by a relator to furnish facilities to carry traffic on equal terms with other shippers, no specific provision was made, and such an action was apparently required to be brought in the State granting the carrier's charter, and in the district thereof wherein the organization of the carrier was maintained. Therefore, these cases were scattered through a large portion of the United States, the greater number, however, being brought in those districts wherein most carriers had their principal operating offices.

In the Hepburn Act Congress had declared it the duty of the Attorney-General to file in all cases of this character a certificate that in his opinion the case was one of general public importance, as provided for in the Statute known as the Expedition Act. On the filing of such certificate the case was required to be given "precedence over others, and in every way expedited," and was set for hearing, both finally and for application for temporary injunction, before not less than three Circuit Judges, some of whom under certain circumstances might be District Judges. From an interlocutory order granting or continuing an injunction an appeal could be taken direct to the Supreme Court within thirty days; and from a final decree, such appeal could be taken in sixty days; and in the Supreme Court the case took priority in hearing and determination over all other causes except criminal causes. Congress had therefore done about all that could be done to hasten the final disposition of such cases, except to establish a Court whose one and special duty was to hear cases of this character. Notwithstanding all these statutory provisions, the hearings of the cases were not greatly hastened. This was the result of the sys-

tem. The litigation being scattered in various parts of the country, the attorneys looking after the cases could not keep them well in hand, and the District Attorneys were usually unfamiliar with both the facts and the principles of law involved. Some of the courts in which many of the actions were brought had crowded dockets, and it required their entire time to prevent a further accumulation of business, and therefore they were not inclined to expedite these cases on their own initiative, but to the contrary responded slowly to pressure brought to bear by the litigants. Hence the speed at which they progressed was not satisfactory. That the Commerce Court has fully met the claims of its advocates in this respect, there can be no doubt. In a statement showing a comparison between cases brought and disposed of under the two systems submitted by the Attorney-General to Congress it appeared that prior to November 1, 1912, seven cases had been heard by the Supreme Court under the Circuit Court plan, and six under the Commerce Court plan. Under the former system the shortest period between the institution of a suit and its argument in the Supreme Court was nine months, and the longest period was three years and thirty days; while under the latter system the shortest period was four months and twenty days, and the longest was one year one month and twenty days. The average period under the former system was one year nine months and six days, while under the latter it was nine months and about eight days—or an average difference between the two of one year. When it is remembered that a few days' additional delay may entail great financial loss upon a carrier, or possibly put out of business a complaining operator of an industry on a carrier's line, and that the life of an order of the Commission is only two years, it will be seen what the average additional delay of a year means to the great transportation and industrial interests of the country, and also to the public in general, for while the public's interests may be indirect, yet it is upon the public that the burdens of high rates and unjust discrimination finally fall.

2. The establishment of the Commerce Court also secures uniformity of decision in cases falling within its jurisdiction. As actions presenting the same questions were previously brought in different circuits the decisions of the lower courts were not uniform in principle. But the dis-

advantages arising therefrom were greatly reduced by the fact that an appeal lay as a matter of right direct to the Supreme Court. However, while the hearings of these cases on appeal from the various Circuits by the Supreme Court secured with reasonable promptness uniformity in the *principles* upon which they were decided, yet it did not secure real uniformity of decision, because each Judge possesses his own peculiar bent of mind, and there exists a broad latitude in applying a certain principle to a particular case.

3. A special Court after it has been established for a time is also more experienced in this branch of the law, and better qualified to render a prompt and correct judgment. In its report upon the bill introduced to abolish the Commerce Court the majority of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce took the position that it required no expert knowledge of Judges to decide the questions presented in the classes of cases heard by that Court. What was meant by expert knowledge the Committee did not undertake to define. That this is a very distinct branch of the law no one will deny. Furthermore an examination of the opinions of the Supreme Court delivered in interstate commerce cases will show that the questions presented have been among the most intricate and difficult of solution that Court has ever had before it, which fact is further evidenced by the comparatively numerous reversals of the decisions of the lower courts. A mere glance at the many provisions of the Statutes and a consideration of the vast transportation systems of the country and the enormous flow of interstate traffic, which is yearly increasing by leaps and bounds, will clearly indicate the many and difficult questions that must be presented to any Court or Courts upon which is imposed the duty of passing upon the validity of the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by mandamus proceedings to compel an observance of the provisions of the law. It is evident therefore that there must be a great advantage in trying these cases before a Court which is familiar with the Statutes and their construction, so far as they have been construed, rather than before Courts which must be instructed in each case in the rudimentary principles of the law.

4. Whether or not it is more economical and convenient for the litigants to prosecute their actions before the Commerce Court is of such little importance as compared with the

despatch of the business and the qualifications of the Court that it is hardly worthy of consideration. For the cases all to be heard by one Court which has its principal sessions in Washington is undoubtedly more convenient for the Government and the Commission; and as one of the Judges assumes charge of and adapts himself to the convenience of the parties in the taking of evidence, the one method is probably about as convenient to the carriers and shippers as the other.

The principal objections urged against the Court were:

First. That a special Court fails to take as comprehensive a view of questions as Courts who are accustomed to pass upon a great variety of subjects. In other words, that a special Court is a narrow Court.

There is force in this argument if the members of the Court be taken from lawyers who have specialized in that branch of the law and be without experience in other branches, and especially if their tenure be permanent and their work confined to that special class of cases. Every lawyer who has had a varied practice knows how principles controlling one branch of the law may be equally applicable to an entirely distinct branch. But certainly this criticism cannot be justly directed against this Court as now constituted, and as it must under the present method be constituted in the future. It is composed at present of four* Judges, only one of whom has specialized in interstate commerce law, and he for years had been a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and was its Chairman when appointed. Certainly it was quite proper for one member to be what might be termed an expert. Two had for a number of years been United States District Judges, and the other member was a Judge of distinction on a State Court. After 1914, each year a new member will be drawn from among the Circuit Judges, and the several members will from time to time be required to do much general work on the Circuits. Hence, this criticism is entitled to no consideration whatever.

Second. That the Court will necessarily become prejudiced against the Interstate Commerce Commission, as that body will be continually under attack before it.

It might as well be urged that the Court will become

* At this writing the vacancy caused by the successful impeachment of Judge Archbald has not been filled.

prejudiced in favor of the Commission, as on one side of each case brought to annul one of its orders its action will be praised, while on the other it will be criticized. Opposing counsel can very well be left to offset any special feeling either for or against the Commission.

Third. That there is not sufficient litigation to justify the existence of the Court.

Since its organization the Court has devoted fully half its time to hearing and considering these cases. Furthermore, interstate commerce law is in its infancy. The first Statute was enacted but twenty-six years ago. And when one considers the vast powers of the Commission, the continuous exercise of which results in many orders vitally affecting the transportation, industrial, and commercial interests of the country, and also the character of complaints independent of any action of the Commission over which the Court has jurisdiction, it is apparent that actions will increase in number rather than diminish. Moreover, in the above-mentioned report of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, it was declared that there is sufficient work on the several circuits to which the members of the Court belong to occupy their entire time. Hence, the establishment of the Court did not create useless judgeships; and as this work must be performed by some Court or Courts, it is better that it be done in such a way as to least interfere with other litigation.

Fourth. That the existence of the Court tends to centralize power in Washington.

No member of Congress undertook to show how the fact that its headquarters are in Washington can render it less efficient. Both the executive and legislative branches of the Government are centralized in Washington, and the head of the judiciary has always been located there, and their efficiency has never been questioned on that account.

Other objections were that it produces additional expense, and that it will be favorable to special interests, and be the object of popular suspicion and criticism. However, the total expense of the Court is only about thirty-five thousand dollars per annum, a sum so insignificant in relation to the interests involved that it deserves no consideration; and the Court is no more likely to favor special interests, or to be the object of popular suspicion or criticism than any other Federal Court.

In the report of the House Committee heretofore referred to objection was strongly urged against that feature of the bill creating the Commerce Court which requires the actions theretofore brought by or against the Interstate Commerce Commission to be brought by or against the United States, and places the interests of the Government in charge of the Attorney-General. In fact, the criticism was principally directed against a supposed suggestion of the Attorney-General on the hearing before the Committee that in suits wherein its orders are attacked, the Commission ought not to be represented by its own counsel; and it seemed to be thought that the fact that such a suggestion had been made was an argument in favor of the abolishment of the Court. But under the Statute the Commission has the right to, and in fact does, intervene in every case, and the Attorney-General cannot take any action in any case which can prejudice the rights of the Commission or any intervening individual without its or his consent.

In the proposed repealing act it was provided that all actions now brought by or against the United States should be brought by or against the Interstate Commerce Commission, who were to employ a solicitor to have full charge of all such litigation; and while interested parties were to be permitted to intervene, yet no protection of their interests was provided against the dismissal of the case or other action of such solicitor, as now exists against the Attorney-General. Thus, notwithstanding the great public interest in the questions involved in these cases, the Department of Justice was to be entirely excluded from appearing in them. Which plan is the more reasonable, the one excluding the Commission, or the one excluding the Department of Justice from such representation? There is certainly force in the reason advanced by the Attorney-General that the action of the Commission is like unto that of a Court, and its appearance in Court in defense of its order is analogous to the action of a Court in defending in person its judgment when attacked in an Appellate Court. The reply that it is a legislative body, and that no appeal lies from its action to the Commerce Court but the attack is collateral, is technical and not substantial. In fixing a reasonable maximum rate, or prescribing what course of conduct would be non-discriminatory, its action is legislative; but at the same time it must determine, as every Court determines for itself,

whether it is proceeding within the limitations of its powers. This is a question of law; and the question whether an order of the Commission amounts to a confiscation of the carrier's property in violation of the Constitution is one of law and fact; and those are the questions reviewed by the Courts in proceedings attacking an order. In fact, the mere legislative acts of the Commission are not reviewable. Hence, the analogy between the appearance of the Commission and of a Court by counsel when its judgment is attacked is very close. On the other hand, the United States, through a representative of the Department of Justice, is required to prosecute all criminal violations of the Act, and it is a general principle that in litigation of general public interest, such interests are looked after by the Attorney-General or some one subject to his direction. Therefore, if either should be excluded from representation clearly it should be the Commission. But is it not altogether proper that both the Department of Justice and the Commission be represented in these cases? They are of great importance, and it is helpful for their proper decision that they be presented from every standpoint. As said by the majority of the Committee, the Commission have made a special study of the principles upon which the order rests, and counsel familiar with the proceedings before that body can best present those principles from their point of view. On the other hand, the Department of Justice can assume very much the same attitude as the Court itself. Furthermore, it sometimes happens that the Commission construes some feature of the law favorably to the carrier, but on other grounds finds against it. In such a case the Commission cannot consistently claim that its order is justified under a different construction of the law, while the Department of Justice has no such embarrassment. Experience has already demonstrated that either the representative of the Department of Justice or counsel for the Commission may raise a question not relied upon by the other which the Court may consider as determinative of the case. Hence, the present method which provides for representation by both the United States and the Commission is, I think, preferable to the exclusion of either.

Sentiment against the Court has also been intensified by the fact that upon its organization it took what many believed to be too narrow a view of the powers of the Com-

mission and too broad a view of its own powers, and therefore nullified both temporarily and permanently many orders of the Commission. But this criticism is equally applicable to the Circuit Courts, in whom it is proposed to reinvest jurisdiction. Twenty-five applications for temporary injunctions have been made to the Commerce Court. Of these twelve have been denied, seven granted, and six are still pending. As shown by the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1908, out of twelve applications theretofore made to the Circuit Courts for temporary injunctions six had been granted. It is true that out of twelve cases decided by the Supreme Court on appeal from the Commerce Court ten have been reversed, but as they were the first cases heard by the Court and there were seven reversals out of eleven appeals from the Circuit Courts, this but demonstrates that this branch of the law is an intricate one, and shows the advantage in having the cases heard by a Court familiar with its principles. The Court will, of course, at once adapt itself to the views of the Supreme Court, and if permitted to continue criticism of its action will doubtless soon cease. As the matter is one of such moment to the public, it is to be hoped that Congress will take no hasty action but permit the Court to continue for such a length of time as will fully demonstrate either the efficiency or inefficiency of the system.

James A. Fowler.

THE AWAKENING OF AUSTRIA

BY MRS. BELLAMY STORER

No country of Europe is so misunderstood in the United States as the Empire of Austria-Hungary. Our American newspapers are incessantly filled with misstatements, both with regard to the future stability of Austria-Hungary, as a united government, and to the personal character of the next Emperor, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Most of these assertions could not be more misleading if they were made with malice aforethought.

My object in writing this article is to correct these errors and to explain, as well as I can, the reasons why the future prosperity of the Austrian Empire is a matter of importance to the whole civilized world.

In the United States there always has been a decided preference for Hungary, as distinguished from Austria. It comes, perhaps, from highly colored and romantic ideas connected in our minds with the latter country, with its rhapsodic "*Zigeuner Musik*" and bewildering national dances—its galloping steeds "shod with fire," and above all, its impetuous and perpetual struggle for "liberty."

The most conspicuous malcontents in the kingdom of Hungary have hitherto been the Magyars, who claim to be the only important inhabitants of Hungary. The plain truth, however, is that this hot-blooded race needs the curb and restraint of authority and law and order. It inclines toward carelessness in religion, and the inevitable consequence has been a loose morality, which has manifested itself in ruinous gambling and lax marriage ties, as the result of the measure of independence in legislation and personal conduct which Hungary possesses as a distinct kingdom. It is a seething populace, because of its ardent semi-Oriental temperament, but the continual tempests do no harm to the Hungarian teapot, so long as the Austrian

lid can be kept on. Even the clever politicians who pose as "Hungarian patriots" (some of whom have come over here of recent years, to try to glean a sort of aftermath from the American harvest of old Kossuth of blessed memory), know full well that Hungary could not exist as a *separate* kingdom, but would speedily be cut to pieces and wiped out of existence: for Hungary as a nation is even more composite than Austria, and has more antagonist races living within her territory. The Magyars themselves are in the minority, speaking numerically, but they make the most noise, and belong to the governing class. I find it a common impression among Americans that *Magyar* means a magnate, or else a nobleman of high degree—in Hungary—whereas it means only the descendants of the Finno-Ugrian race—as distinguished from the Croatian, Slavonian, Roumanian, and Ruthenian (or little Russian); all of which different races make up the population of the kingdom of Hungary.

Within the last few weeks, we have seen the Slav population of Hungary elated by the Balkan turmoil, trying to push forward with a demand for "*Triality.*" There would be no end to the splitting up of races, if Austrian domination could once be overcome—and of course, it would all end in complete disruption.

We Americans know by our own experience as a nation composed of many different races, which went through fire and blood to preserve its identity, that a divided North and South would have meant further dismemberment and unending contention. For similar reasons, neither Magyar, nor Slav, nor Croatian, nor Roumanian, nor Ruthenian will ever find peace on earth except under the centralization of the Austrian rule.

In Hungary, the language which prevails is the Magyar —or what we call the "Hungarian" language. Austria permits this because the Magyars are passionately attached to it—as they are to their native poetry and dances and music. But no more outrageous and absurd pretension was ever made than the demand of the Hungarians, several years ago, that the Austrian army in Hungary should be drilled in Magyar.

No government in the world could tolerate a division of its army into two semi-hostile bodies. The excitable Hungarians, however, were so stirred by Austria's refusal to

grant this request that, eight years ago, when we went down to Budapest from Vienna for the annual Court Ball, while the population did not dare to insult the Emperor personally, from the balcony of our hotel I could hear the crowd beneath roar and hiss under its breath (and a queer growl it was) when the Imperial band marched through the streets playing the national hymn, "*Gott Erhalte Franz den Kaiser,*" because the words of the hymn are German, and they wished to display their hatred of the German language.

When old Kossuth stirred our nation's heart in the early days, it was at a time when our ardent young country warmed toward every attempted declaration of independence, and when we saw in the very name of "Republic," the only guarantee of the rights and privileges of man.

Alas! we have learned much since that period of our history, both from others, and from our own experience, and Madame Roland's often-repeated exclamation, "*Liberté, que de crimes sont commis en ton nom!*" has become a mere truism. Nearer home, I remember also an assertion made by one of our greatest statesmen, Thomas B. Reed: "There is no tyranny to be compared to the tyranny of patriots (self-styled) in a Republic!" We have had in our own country some notorious examples of this fact, since Mr. Reed spoke these words to me, just before the declaration of war with Spain.

Always we come back to one fundamental truth: that every government of mankind must be founded—whether it be Empire, Kingdom, or Republic—upon religion and morality.

Religious people are awakening everywhere to the tyranny of aggressive anti-religious Socialism, a republican and democratic evil which is sapping the foundations of family life and of all the other social institutions which must be based upon faith in God, and without which no government on the face of the earth can maintain either law, order, or authority.

General Washington's words in his farewell address to the people of the United States are true for all time, as well as for the epoch in which they were spoken:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars

of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. . . . Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

Bearing these words in mind, we have only to glance at the so-called "Liberal" movements in Europe, to see that the subversion of monarchy there means to-day an open declaration of war against religion and morality.

The Republics of France and Portugal are the most conspicuous instances of this obvious fact, because France has begun to reap the harvest of her atheistic system of education, and Portugal is gleaning eagerly from her fields. Spain and Italy, too, are busy sowing the seeds of a French "progressivism," which began before the Revolution. Perhaps it would be well for us, in the United States, to know something about its origin. The word was coined in France; we have only translated it.

Shortly before his death, Mirabeau carefully prepared a speech upon the rights of succession, which was to be the proclamation of a new doctrine called "*Progressivisme.*" He had neither the time nor the strength to deliver it himself, so he selected Talleyrand to be its mouthpiece in the Assemblée Nationale. Mirabeau's speech was read by Talleyrand on April 4, 1891, and "*Progressivisme*" came into being.

This new movement struck at the root of all dependence on God. It was an effort to substitute the State for the parents: to upset God's institution, the family, and to rob fathers of the right to educate their own children. The Assemblée Nationale took up the idea with enthusiasm, and the radical government in France to-day has based its tyranny over the rights of parents, and its method of child education upon Mirabeau's "*Progressivisme.*" For further details on this interesting subject, one has only to refer to Paul Bourget's essay "*Idée de famille*"—which forms the preface to his recent play "The Tribune." Bourget says that it seems appropriate that the father and the sponsor of "*Progressivisme*" should be Mirabeau—a bad son and a bad father and Talleyrand a renegade priest. In the United States our system of education without religion in the public schools is giving occasion for much anxiety.

The Hon. Bird S. Coler is president of a society organized for the "Protection of Church School." He has recent-

ly written a very interesting book, *Two and Two Make Four*. With regard to what he considers to be the direct outcome of State education without religion both in France and in the United States, Mr. Coler says: "The result is an increase in illiteracy in France, and a deterioration in the quality of education here, considering the matter from a secular standpoint; and a riot of murder and lawlessness in Paris and New York, considering the moral aspect."

Many other thoughtful religious men in America to-day are uttering timely words of rebuke and of warning, which should arouse the attention of our careless people. The Hon. Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President of the United States, in an address delivered before the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, at Chicago on December 6th last, asserted that, "The evasion of the duty of parents to instruct their children in their religion has resulted in irreligion and in wayward children."

That the children of Christian parents should have a religious education—that their souls as well as their minds shall be trained—has become a matter of most vital importance to the whole of Christendom, both in America and in Europe.

I am not really straying from my subject, although I may seem to be. Last September when the Eucharistic Congress was held in Vienna, there was a great religious awakening throughout the entire dominion of Austria-Hungary. On the Sunday which closed the Congress, a magnificent procession marched through the streets of Vienna, one hundred and fifty thousand strong—amid a throng of hundreds of thousands of spectators — and all this happened under a pouring rain, which had lasted through the entire week. It was a striking manifestation by the entire nation of their faith in God and their devotion to their Church. It made me feel more sure than ever before, that the peace and prosperity — even the existence — of Christian civilization depends in Europe, and will depend, upon the friendly political alliance of those two great Christian Empires: Catholic Austria and Protestant Germany. Their united power alone can curb or overcome the great evil of Socialist "progressivism." People talk a good deal of the impossibility of keeping together the Austrian Empire after the death of the present Emperor, because of its warring races—but I believe that the Catholic faith, which they all hold in common,

must link them more closely as time goes on, and as the outside dangers of Socialist atheism come nearer and nearer.

The same situation with regard to religion will find its parallel also in Germany, where human discords among differing Christians must fall silent in the presence of their common enemy, godless Socialism, which must be striven against by Catholic and Protestant alike.

There has been lately a good deal of complaint about Protestant injustice to Catholics in Germany; notably with regard to the bill laid before the Prussian Diet in 1908, permitting the compulsory expropriation of Polish landowners (even though Prussian subjects) in favor of German purchasers. There is no doubt with regard to the unnecessary severity of such measures for Germanizing the Poles, or to some other acts of intolerance toward Catholics on the part of the Imperial Government, but the religious situation has certainly improved in Germany since the "*Kultur-Kampf*"—and bitter animosity on both sides could do no greater harm to Christianity than to inflame German Catholics into hatred of the government under which they live—and to bring about an alliance in Germany between Catholics and Socialists.

The Socialist powers are ready enough to cater to discontent, and make promises of toleration—but no one who has watched the growth of irreligion in France can doubt for a moment that political discord between French Catholics has been the one great strength of the atheist government: for a united Catholic majority could have overcome radical tyranny without much effort years ago: but the united infidel "*Bloc*" was able to overthrow a house divided against itself, and trample underfoot the dwellers within it.

By an exactly similar method of disruption, the atheist radicals of Germany (following the successful example of France) are striving to set Protestants and Catholics by the ears, knowing well that nothing can help a godless Socialism more surely than an enemy divided into two religious camps, actively hostile to one another. That German Catholics should uphold the Imperial government is the only guarantee of their own religious rights and privileges.

A few prominent French Catholics, unfortunately, in spite of the religious persecutions of their own government, are still keeping alive a rancor against Germany, and have

been striving to stir up bitter feelings both at home and abroad, because of the injustice shown to Polish Catholics by Prussia, complaining especially that the "little children are forbidden to pray in Polish." But a well-known French statesman has very properly suggested that Catholics in France should first attend to cleaning their own nest, remarking:

"We are in a more wretched state than the Poles. In Poland it is the foreigner who is the oppressor. In France it is Frenchmen. The rulers of France are determined that no one, young or old, man or woman, priest or layman, shall *pray in any language,* and in case of resistance the Government simply seizes the churches and schools and sends their owners adrift on the wide world. Moreover, the Prussians at least make a show of compensation. Not so in France."

To foment Catholic discontent in Germany, in the hope of a *revanche* and to promote an alliance between the German infidel Socialists and Catholics is a policy not only un-Christian but very short-sighted as a matter of mere worldly prudence.

The Emperor of Germany is, first of all, a *Christian.* That fact to the German Socialist constitutes the head and front of his offending; and not at all the mere circumstance that he is a *Kaiser.* Were he a "progressive" Emperor, bent upon spoils and persecuting religion, like the tyrants who have misruled France during the last thirty years, the German atheist would be shouting to the skies, "*Hoch soll er leben!*" Small wonder that the Socialist party in Germany and everywhere outside is not enthusiastic over an Emperor who speaks such words as were uttered by the Kaiser in an address delivered on February 9th at the Berlin University. The Emperor warned his people that "the Germans of to-day are too much inclined to believe only in tangible things, and to place stumbling-blocks in the way of religion." He advises the youth of Germany "to forge in its fire the tried sword and shield of faith"; and he declared that "With such weapons, looking neither to the right nor to the left, we will go our direct way, eyes uplifted and hearts uplifted, with trust in God."

Upon the important subject of the loyalty of German Catholics to the Empire it is enlightening to read of the speeches made when the newly appointed Archbishop of Cologne swore the oath of allegiance to the Emperor William on February 13th.

"The new Archbishop of Cologne, Dr. von Hartmann, who was elevated to the See in succession to Cardinal Fischer last autumn, swore the oath of allegiance to the Emperor William to-day in the Knight's Hall of the Royal Castle. He was introduced to his Majesty, who was accompanied by the Imperial Chancellor, and by the Prussian Minister of Education, and swore his oath of loyalty as 'called with the gracious consent of His Majesty to the See of Cologne by the election of the Chapter confirmed by the Holy Father.' He said that, inspired personally since his early years with a sense of loyalty to the dynasty, he would do his utmost to shield and cultivate this sense in the hearts of his flock. 'The bolder and more desperate were the attacks of the powers of revolution and negation which beat round the bases of the Throne and the altar,' the more instant was this task of his. Referring to a stained glass window presented last year by the Emperor William to Cologne Cathedral, which represents Pope Leo. III. appealing for protection to Charlemagne, the Archbishop expressed the hope that the Emperor William would extend to his subjects of the Catholic Church the same gracious favor which Charlemagne had given. In reply, His Majesty assured the Archbishop of his Royal favor and benevolence. Alluding also to the subject of the window in Cologne Cathedral, the Emperor William said:

"'This historical event is an instructive example of the blessing which there is in relations of confidence between the Church and the supreme upholder of the power of the State, and at the same time it conveys a serious warning. Your conduct of office hitherto makes me confident that, mindful of this warning, you in your new dignity will instruct your clergy and your parishes to link with attachment to your Church true devotion to me and to my House, warm love for the German Fatherland, and obedience to the authorities ordained of God.'"—*The "Times," February 14, 1913.*

There can be no doubt that the safeguarding of religion and morality will depend in Europe upon the strength and authority of these two allied Christian Empires, more than upon any other foreign powers, and the next Emperor of Austria becomes therefore a personality of world-wide interest.

With regard to the life and character of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand most erroneous ideas seem, as I have said, to prevail in the United States. Some of these false statements were encouraged some years ago by enemies at home, who sought to promote disaffection.

The Archduke Franz Ferdinand is a manly man and a Christian gentleman. Until within the last few years he has had very little to do with public affairs. This circumstance gave the enemies of Austria a chance to prophesy discord for the future; but since that time it has been remarked with great pleasure by those Austrians who have always been friends of the Archduke, that many political

personages who have not known or appreciated him are beginning to understand him, and to admire him more and more, because they come nearer to him since he has occupied himself with affairs hitherto reserved for the Emperor alone.

The Archduke Franz Ferdinand loves the open air and the quiet of a country life, and is an enthusiastic hunter. His wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, belongs to one of the oldest families (what is called the "Uradel" or ancient nobility) of Bohemia. Her father, Count Chotek, was for many years in the Austrian diplomatic service, and she has had a liberal education and experience in foreign countries. She speaks both English and French perfectly and is in all ways a remarkably clever, as well as a beautiful woman. The "interior" at the Belvedere Palace is ideal; the Archduke is seen there as a happy husband and father; the children are sweet and carefully trained. It is a wholesome atmosphere—a noble example to every Christian family in the Empire. I remember well taking breakfast there once when the only other guests were the Prince and Princess Alfred Liechtenstein, and at the table only a few members of the Archducal household. Some very excellent ducks were passed as one course, and when the servant had gone around the table, the Archduke, on whose left I was seated, leaned back in his chair and said to the man, "I should like some of that duck cold for supper." Somehow, this small incident stands out in my memory as so simple, and what the Germans call "*gemüthlich,*" that I think of it whenever (as often happens), I am informed by people, who imagine they know all about it, that "the Austrians are stiff, formal, and arrogant" and that, "The Empire is going to fall to pieces as soon as the old Emperor dies."

I firmly believe that these prophets of evil may behold with their own eyes a great and growing Empire of Austria whose duration and strength shall be based upon the foundation pillars of religion and morality, those "indispensable supports" which General Washington declared to be "the firmest props of the duties of men and citizens." Who that sees and comprehends the dangers which threaten the whole of Christian civilization will not join in exclaiming, "*Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser!*" in the future as well as in the present.

Mrs. Bellamy Storer.

THE ROTTEN BOROUGHS OF NEW ENGLAND

BY CHESTER LLOYD JONES

If a member-elect of a State legislature tells you that he found it necessary in the recent election to secure the support of only two men, you would not be surprised. "That is another example of bossism; control the party boss and you control the people," you would say to yourself. Yet you might be wrong, for there is a State in this country of ours where this happened in 1910, not because of any baneful political organization but because by getting three votes the candidate received a majority of those cast. If the candidate was able to convince you that this was true you would still be pessimistic over such conditions. You might declare, "Well, what *are* we to do in a democracy if the people will not vote, but prefer to let their elections go practically by default? This is the worst case of political apathy of which I have ever heard." "But no," your informant might answer, "my three votes were not only a majority of those cast, but represented a majority of the electorate." Then you would probably refuse to listen to further argument. No man in his right mind would make such a statement. But perhaps what he told you was true —he may have come from Vermont.

Some day you may hear a street orator declare: "In this State of ours there is no republican government, majority rule has been unknown to us for a century. A small privileged class, less than four per cent. of our people, can block any law proposed for the good of the great majority and hold us under a constitution which was outgrown in the times of our grandfathers. And this is the case under our Government which pretends to guarantee to us a '*republican* form of government.' What a travesty of justice!"

"Yes," you interrupt, "yes, it is true, wealth in unscrupulous hands can debauch the ballot. But what are you going to do about it? Why do you not prosecute those who buy the people's votes and drive the bribers from the State?" "That is not what I am talking about," is the reply; "the privilege I speak of comes from no corrupt use of money, it is a privilege granted in the words of our very Constitution." This is strange, but it is true as every citizen of Rhode Island knows or should know.

Mr. X tells you that his influence over State policy is hundreds of times that of his brother who lives in a near-by town. "Oh yes," you say, "X, you must be a first-class politician." But perhaps not, perhaps X never ran for office, or even attended a caucus. If he voted at all it may be his vote counted for as much as five hundred votes cast by his city neighbors—no, this is not a discussion of corruption, his vote honestly cast may have had this power —for you see he may live in Connecticut.

Finally, if a gray-haired man tells you that he has voted for a member of the State House of Representatives but once in his life though he has always lived in the cottage where he was born, you might say: "The failure of American democracy, if it fails, is due to just such men as you. Why do you not do your duty as a citizen? Why do you not vote?" The old man might reply, "I have voted at every election and for every officer on the ticket ever since I was of age." This man must come from New Hampshire.

How can all these absurdities be true? To be sure, they are not typical, but they are actual cases drawn from the public records and they are not unusual freaks of the elections which represent no true failure of our election machinery.* The trouble lies in a peculiar set of provisions

* Curious instances of this latter sort of abuse were the failures to elect representatives to the Lower House of the Vermont legislature in 1912. Washington, Albany, and Middlesex held elections, but chose no one for the office. Middlesex is a town of nine hundred inhabitants. Mr. Guy W. Bailey, Secretary of State of Vermont, explains this condition as follows: "It takes a majority to elect, and the town or city must continue voting until an election is had or the meeting adjourned. The statute provides that the first ballot must be counted at 3 P.M. on the day of the election and after the first ballot the presiding officer fixes the time when the next and each consecutive ballot shall be counted. In some instances the towns ballot for three or four days, or until the voters become tired and some one moves to adjourn."

found in many of our States which guarantee representation in the legislature to certain districts, to towns, cities, or counties instead of dividing the representatives directly among the whole population of the State. There are thirty of our Constitutions, three-fifths of the total number, which include clauses of this sort. In some States the distribution results in no injustice because the districts are large and the representation assigned would be due even if the division were made directly on a population basis. But suppose an undeveloped State, such as Illinois was in 1850, had guaranteed to every town or county a fixed representation in the legislature and suppose that these towns, jealous of their rights, refused to give up their "sacred constitutional right of representation." If this had been done perhaps some little frontier settlement which has since been left on one side as a piece of driftwood untouched by the inflow of population would now outvote Chicago. That would be un-American, but cases of that nature are not unknown in America. Nine States are to-day bound by constitutions which protect just such a situation as this. The worst examples are in New England where with the exception of Massachusetts not a single commonwealth is established on a true popular basis of representation. Except in Massachusetts every New England State bases its representation in some degree on localities instead of voting strength. The districts to which representatives have been allotted have changed in population, but the constitutions have not changed. The governments have lost their democratic character and have become in some cases extreme examples of governments by the few—little twentieth-century oligarchies. The result is not explained by any growth of bossism. This oligarchy is one established by the constitutions, not by parties. How does it all come about?

In Connecticut a constitutional amendment of 1901 has modernized the Senate, but the Lower House is still beyond popular control. Each *town* has the right to representation. Up to 1874 all towns had equal rights, but in that year the small towns consented to give those which had over 5,000 people two representatives. Such a reform is a negligible concession to the demands of the time. It is still true that towns which have steadily declined in population for over a century have half the representation granted to the largest city in the State. Warren, which

has had fewer people at every census since 1800 and now has but 412, has one representative, while New Haven, with 133,605 people in 1910, has but two. The smallest four towns, Marlborough, Andover, Warren, and Salem, have four representatives, their combined population being 1,528, the four cities of greatest population have eight representatives and 407,715 population. In other words, one of these small towns sends to the legislature one representative for every 382 people. One of the large cities sends one for every 50,964. The vote cast for member of the Lower House by New Haven in 1910 was 38,475; that cast by the town of Prospect was 67. In other words, a voter in the latter town had as much influence as 574 of his fellow-citizens who lived in the metropolis of the State.*

Rhode Island also is not "a government by the people" but a government by rural towns. Here, it is the Senate, not, as in Connecticut, the Lower House, which represents conditions long outgrown. Each town or city—there are thirty-eight in the State—is entitled to a Senator. The municipalities range in size from West Greenwich with 481 inhabitants to Providence with 224,326 inhabitants. Each has the same representation in the Senate. Over two-fifths of the entire population of the State elect but one of the thirty-eight Senators. There are twenty towns with a combined population of 41,068. Their representatives control the Senate. The total population of the State is 542,610. Consequently, a majority vote drawn from seven and one-half per cent. of the population controls the policy of the Upper House. Through this power the same proportion of the people can block any proposition to amend the Constitution, for the only method by which this can be done involves an affirmative vote by "a majority of all the members elected to each house."† Evidently the grievance urged during the Dorr Rebellion of 1840–2, that the control of the State under the conditions then surrounding the exercise of the suffrage, lay in the hands of less than a majority of the male inhabitants is an injustice which seventy years have only increased.‡

* See Register and Manual, Conn., 1912, p. 438–500.

† Constitution of Rhode Island, 1842, Art. XIII.

‡ See Luther *v.* Borden, 7 Howard 1. The restrictions then complained of referred, of course, to limitations on the right of the individual to vote, not the town basis of representation.

The apportionment in force in Maine represents a curious attempt at compromise between representation on the basis of population and on localities. In both Senate and House the division is made in the first place on the basis of counties. The Senate which may consist of from twenty to thirty-one members is formed of delegations of from one to four members from the various counties. Except that the county lines interfere with equality of distribution the basis is popular. In the House of from 100 to 151 members the distribution of seats is to the counties and within the counties to the towns by a schedule which involves a progressive discrimination against the larger towns. For example, a town of 1,500 population is entitled to one; to be entitled to two it must have 3,750, an increase of 2,250; to be entitled to three it must add 3,000 more, and so on. No town no matter what its population, can have more than seven representatives. Towns with less than 1,500 people are classed into districts containing that number, but any town may refuse to vote with such a class, in which case it elects such proportion of the time as the number of its inhabitants bears to 1,500. Most of the 151 representatives are elected from groups of towns. Twenty come from towns which elect one representative, thirty from those which elect two or more. The result is unfortunate. When towns vote together, in practice they nominate by rotation. It is rare for a member from these districts to keep his seat more than one term. The value of the experience gained is lost. The responsibility of the representative is destroyed. He knows that his electorate cannot re-elect him for good service nor can it punish him for failure, because he cannot in practice even be a candidate.* In spite of these limitations, however, the representation in Maine is with the exception of Massachusetts, more popular than in any other New England State.

The two remaining States of New England, Vermont and New Hampshire, present the most striking contradictions in representation found anywhere in the United States. In the degree to which a group of small towns controls State policy they are outclassed by Rhode Island, but the weakness of the town basis of representation is nowhere so well displayed.

Vermont is the only American State which for a gen-

* See Senate Doc. 521, Sixtieth Congress, First Session, May 26, 1908.

eration lived under a single legislative chamber. When at last in 1836 it adopted a bicameral legislature it gave one Senator to each county, additional members being assigned to those of greater population. In the House, however, a basis of representation never equitable and farther from that standard each year was kept. The Constitution of 1793 declared:

"In order that the freemen of this State might enjoy the benefit of election as equally as may be, each town within this State that consists or may consist of eighty taxable inhabitants within . . . seven years next after the establishing this constitution may . . . choose each two representatives; and each inhabited town in this State may in like manner choose each one representative to represent them in general assembly . . . and after that each inhabited town may, in like manner . . . choose each one representative forever thereafter."*

The basis of representation has never been changed. The State rose gradually in population till 1830 when it reached 280,000. Since then it has grown even less rapidly. The population in 1911 was 385,000. The average yearly increase for eighty years has been less than 2,300. Meanwhile there has gone on in this population a remarkable change in location. The agricultural wealth of the West has made the poor farm lands less attractive and industrial developments have drawn the population to the cities. The cities have grown larger, the country towns smaller, and the inequality of representation has steadily increased. The rapidity of the shift in population in recent years is shown by the following table:

POPULATION IN VERMONT

	1910	1900	1890
Urban population	47 per cent.	40 per cent.	35 per cent.
Rural population	52 per cent.	59 per cent.	64 per cent.

The comparison is made by classing the thirty-two largest towns as "Urban" communities, the rest as "Rural." These towns containing almost one-half of the population of the State can elect under the Constitution only sixty-four representatives, or about one-fourth of the 252 representatives. The six smallest towns have a combined population of 373 souls.† The six largest have 69,404. Burlington City, with 20,468 population, and Rutland City, with 13,546, have two representatives each. Somerset town, with 27 people, and Glastenbury, with 29, have one each. Somer-

* Constitution Vermont (1793), Chap. II., Sec. 7.

† Vermont Directory, 1910.

set has 1–13,000 of the population; it has 1–252 of the representatives. A voter in the rural town has as much influence in the legislature as 379 of his fellow-citizens living in the largest city. The declining population of the six towns of less than 100 population and the vote cast at the election of 1910 illustrates the microscopic character of these "political units."

POPULATION AND VOTES OF THE SMALLER VERMONT TOWNS*

	1870	1880	1910	Votes cast 1910
Baltimore	83	71	54	12
Stratton	294	—	86	19
Somerset	80	67	27	5
Granby	174	194	95	14
Brunswick	221	193	82	23
Glastenbury	119	241	29	9

This is republican government reduced to an absurdity. When the command of two votes besides the candidate's own gives half as much power as that wielded by the citizens of the largest city in the State, it is time to ask whether this is truly a government by the people. The example is of course extreme, but it serves to illustrate a highly unpopular basis of representation. The great number of the small towns and their firm entrenchment in the Constitution keep the legislature on a basis which never was just and is becoming steadily more unjust.

Like its neighbor, Vermont, New Hampshire has been out of the path of the flood of immigration which has swept westward over the United States in the last two generations and the native population has not been prolific. It has now in fact only twice the population which it had during the War of 1812. The average increase in population for the last sixty years is about 2,050.

Here as in other New England States the original basis of representation was one intended to guarantee the small town an influence in legislation, but the system was one which recognized also that population was the proper basis of representation. The result is perhaps the most peculiar rule found in any American commonwealth. The Constitution of 1784† declared that

* Figures for 1870 from Vermont Legislative Directory 1872–3; for 1880 from Vermont Legislative Directory 1890; for 1910 from Vermont Legislative Directory 1910.

† New Hampshire Constitution, 1784—provisions under House of Representatives.

"in order that . . . representation may be equal as circumstances will admit, every town, parish, or place entitled to town privileges, having one hundred and fifty ratable male polls of twenty-one years of age and upward, may elect one representative; if four hundred and fifty ratable polls, may elect two representatives and so proceeding in that proportion, making three hundred such ratable polls the mean increasing number of every additional representative. Such towns . . . as have less than one hundred and fifty ratable polls shall be classed by the general assembly for the purpose of choosing a representative and seasonably notified thereof. And in every class formed for the above-mentioned purpose the first annual meeting shall be held in the town parish or place wherein most of the ratable polls reside; and afterward in that which has the next highest number, and so on, annually by rotation through the several towns. . . . Whenever any town . . . intitled [sic] to town privileges . . . shall not have one hundred and fifty ratable polls and be so situated as to render the classing thereof with any other town . . . very inconvenient the general assembly may upon application of a majority of the voters in such town . . . issue a writ for their electing and sending a representative."

These provisions found their way unchanged into the Constitution of 1792.*

It was not, it appears, recognized that every town, no matter how small, had a right to elect a representative. But in politics as in every-day life what is repeatedly granted as a favor may become something demanded as a right. As the large towns and cities grew in importance the small towns feared their rights might be curtailed, but to give them all a right to representatives would either result in grievous over-representation for decaying and stationary communities or would force adoption of a representation unit which would make the already unwieldy House ridiculously large.

To avoid both evils a system of representation was adopted in 1877† which has produced the most remarkable anomalies found in the political system of any State. The old basis of "ratable polls" was changed to one resting on a unit of 600 population, and the small towns when they

* New Hampshire Constitution, 1792, Sec. IX.

† Amendment ratified March 13, 1877. The extent to which grouping had been carried under the former law is shown in the following list given one representative, Carroll, Hart's Location, Livermore and Jackson, Nash and Sawyer's Location, Crawford's Purchase, Crawford's Grant, Low and Burbank's Grant, Thompson and Meserve's Purchase, Martin's Location, Green's Grant, Bean's Purchase, Pinkham's Grant, Sargent's Purchase, Cutt's Grant, and Chandler's Purchase. New Hampshire Laws, 1877, Chap. 76, p. 58. Most of these units were of contiguous territory.

could not be classed conveniently were to be allowed to elect a representative such proportion of the time as the number of their population bore to 600. The authority to grant representation to the small towns was vested in the general assembly. In 1889 another step in favor of the small towns was taken when the discretion of the legislature in giving the right to elect was taken away,* and the clause concerning "classing" of towns was dropped. This placed the State frankly on the "town representation" basis, but kept the curious expedient of non-continuous representation.

How ridiculous this system becomes appears only when the facts in specific instances are studied. Many towns in the State, especially in the northern districts, are in a process of gradual decay. Seventy-four have less than 600 inhabitants and therefore elect representatives only a part of the time. Twenty-two of these in the apportionment act of 1911 elect representatives to only four of the five legislatures in the ten-year period. Eighteen elect only three times, twenty-one two times, and in ten towns there will be but one election to the State House of Representatives in ten years.

The fight of these small towns against political death is long but hopeless. Some with declining population have struggled on filling the offices from their ever-decreasing numbers but proud to retain their ancient privileges. Some have given up the fight and have sunk back into the rank of unorganized communities, others only occasionally show signs of life.

Sharon struggles on as a town. It has elected representatives whenever its turn came. It chose James Green in 1892 with twenty-six votes against eighteen for his opponent, forty-four in all.† Ten years later it chose J. F. Fitzgerald by twenty votes to fourteen, thirty-four in all. Its turn came again in 1912. The votes cast then numbered only fifteen.

Wentworth's Location up on the Maine border had the right to elect in 1894, but the last apportionment law provides for its reappearance only in 1918—after a political sleep of twenty-four years.‡

Roxbury is an example of a town struggling against dis-

* N. H. Constitution. Amendment ratified 1889.
† N. H. Manual for the General Court No. 3, 1893, p. 338.
‡ N. H. Manual for the General Court No. 3, 1893.

integration. As long ago as 1868 the legislature voted to annex it to Keene if a majority of the voters should consent, but the town still prefers to remain separate. It elected its representative, no one contesting with the single candidate, by 17 votes in 1896.* In 1906 it elected a representative unanimously by 8 votes.† It will have its turn again in 1914.

Waterville had opportunity to elect in 1894‡ and in 1904§ and in 1912.¶ In 1894 the election was unanimous; nine votes were cast. In 1904 the candidate again received every vote, but there were only seven. In the election of November, 1912, the town mustered only four votes. The government of this town in 1892 when its population was greater than now is interesting. It was:||

Selectmen	Supervisors	School Board	Town Clerk	Treasurer
J. Drake	S. Elliott	S. Elliott	J. Drake	S. Elliott
S. Drake	L. Dolloff	L. Dolloff		
A. Drake	G. Drake	J. Drake		

Evidently the power of a family to dominate politics is not confined to the early history of New York.

Windsor, whose population in 1900 was thirty-eight, held its last election for the Lower House in 1908. The successful candidate received five votes to his opponent's one. There were three officers of election and evidently three other voters.**

Livermore had its turn in 1890, but it failed to hold an election. The entry in the Legislative Manual is eloquent of the conditions of the town. It reads:††

"Livermore, Grafton Company, Incorporated (from sundry tracts of wild land, located in the northeasterly corner of Grafton County which had been deemed too mountainous for either settlement or speculation) July 11, 1876. There was no election held in this town in 1890 owing to change in ownership of the lumber-mills. George S. Payne, town clerk, will attend to town business."

When the government of a community falls into the hands of a few men we usually think of them as "bosses" and "politicians," but the fewness of citizens will at least partially excuse the following division of offices in Livermore of 1890.

* *Ibid.*, p. 338.
† N. H. Manual, 1907.
‡ N. H. Pub. Stat., 1891, p. 138.
§ N. H. Laws, p. 600.
¶ N. H. Laws, p. 86, Chap. 84.
|| N. H. Manual, 1893.
** N. H. Manual, 1909, p. 327.
†† Manual for the General Court, 1891, N. H.

Selectmen	Supervisors	School Board	Town Clerk	Treasurer
E. Butler	E. Butler	E. Butler	G. Payne	H. Belmont
P. Martin	P. Martin	P. Martin		
M. Brooks	M. Brooks	G. Payne		

When the new apportionment act was passed in 1891 the legislature put Livermore on the list of towns entitled to elect in 1894—not because its population entitled it to be there apparently—but because the town had recently failed to send a representative through neglect. The town came back to life enough to elect a representative, but no number of votes is assigned as having been cast.*

In 1908 Livermore again had the right to a representative, but it held no election, and there has been no revival this time. Perhaps the lumber-mill is changing hands again or has shut down. In any case Livermore has disappeared from legislative halls until 1920.† Curious is the situation of the man, if such there be, who was born in Livermore and was twenty years of age in 1896. If he continues to live in the town he may be entitled to vote for a representative in 1920 if the town is still alive. At that time he will be forty-four years of age. Twelve years later—at sixty—he may vote again. He will hardly live to vote three times for his representative in a "biennial legislature." In other towns too the election comes so seldom and the political machinery is so weak that even when the opportunity to elect comes around no election occurs. Not even the $200 and mileage with which New Hampshire rewards her legislators is enough to arouse the farmer to hustle out his neighbors to elect him. Millsfield, a dying town, was to elect a representative in 1896, but no one started the machinery going and the seat at the capitol remained vacant during the session. It has not reappeared in later apportionments.‡ This is only an example of several which represent the lower stratum of the town government of the State. One town, Cambridge, had lost its organization as long ago as 1870.§

* N. H. Manual, 1895.

† N. H. Laws, 1911, Chap. 84, p. 86.

See Apportionment laws. Pub. Stat. of N .H., 1891, p. 138, and N. H. Laws, 1911, p. 86, Chap. 84. N. H. Manual, 1897.

‡ See Laws of New Hampshire, 1911, Chap. 84, p. 86–88. It is credited with twelve inhabitants in this year.

§ N. H. Handbook, 1877. It had five inhabitants in 1911. For curious election returns in small towns see N. H. Manual, 1897, for Ellsworth,

We have long been amused at the stories of the cathedral towns which in their decline proved so baneful an influence in Old England. Grattan, Sandwich, and Old Sarum are names synonymous with unjust basis of representation and political corruption. Americans in general are sincere advocates of government by the people and inequality of representation is almost universally decried. "Good party men" see no harm in a gerrymander so long as it works in favor of the party to which they belong, but even they see no virtue in giving a town representation because it is a town regardless of the party which controls it.

Representation through elections in districts of "contiguous and compact territory containing as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants" is the rule laid down by Congress for the choice of members of our national

Lincoln, Millsfield, Roxbury. N. H. Manual, 1895, for Errol, Livermore, Randolph, Waterville. The stationary or declining population of some of the New Hampshire towns is indicated by the following statistics gleaned from the N. H. Year Book 1879, N. H. Manuals for 1905, 1907, 1909, the Handbook, 1887, and Laws of New Hampshire, 1911, Chap. 84, p. 86–88.

POPULATION OF SMALLER NEW HAMPSHIRE TOWNS

Town	1870	1890	1900	1910
Hart's Location	26	187	38	85
Roxbury	—	129	100	66
Randolph	—	137	137	137
Wentworth's Location	—	25	61	51
Ellsworth	—	150	107	46
Livermore	—	155	191	64
Orange	—	245	213	176
Waterville	33	39	50	16
Sharon	182	137	122	71
Windsor	81	67	38	24
Millsfield	—	—	—	12
Cambridge	—	—	—	5

The votes cast for Governor in 1877 and 1910 in the weakest towns were:

Town	For Governor* 1877	For Governor† 1910
Livermore	13	3
Sharon	63	11
Roxbury	37	9
Waterville	8	4
Windsor	19	8
Wentworth's Location	10	6

* Figures from Handbook (N. H.), 1877.

† Figures from N. H. Manual for the General Court, 1911.

House of Representatives. Many States have adopted a similar standard for the distribution of seats in their State legislatures. But lest we become too proud of our democracy let us remember that after all our ideals do not square with our practice. Let us keep in mind that, not to speak of our "gerrymandered districts," in three States out of every five representation is granted to some degree on the basis of locality instead of population. Let us not forget that nine States do glaring injustice to the majority by such a system of representation and that in the rotten boroughs of New England in 1913 we have examples of bases of representation quite as bad as those of which the mother-country freed herself almost three generations ago.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

PANAMA HYMN

BY PERCY MACKAYE

LORD of the sundering land and deep,
For whom of old, to suage thy wrath,
The floods stood upright as a heap
To shape thy host a dry-shod path,

Lo, now, from tide to sundered tide
Thy hand, outstretched in glad release,
Hath torn the eternal hills aside
To blaze a liquid path for Peace.

Thy hand, englaived in flaming steel,
Hath clutched the demons of the soil
And made their forge-fires roar and reel
To serve thy seraphim in toil;

While round their pits the nations, bowed,
Have watched thine awful enginery
Compel, through thunderbolt and cloud,
The demigods to slave for thee.

For thee hath glaring Cyclops sweat,
And Atlas groaned, and Hercules
For thee his iron sinews set,
And thou wast lord of Rameses;

Till now they pause, to watch thy hand
Lead forth the first leviathan
Through mazes of the jungled land,
Submissive to the will of man:

Submissive through the will of us
To thine, the universal will,
That leads, divine and devious,
To world-communions vaster still.

The titans rest; intense, aware,
The host of nations dumbly waits;
The mountains lift their brows and stare;
The tides are knocking at the gates.

Almighty of the human mind,
  Unlock the portals of our sleep
That lead to visions of our kind,
  And marry sundered deep to deep!

PERCY MACKAYE.

SLEEP

BY GRACE DENIO LITCHFIELD

POOR pain-worn mortal, dost thou weep?
Awhile thy troubled patience keep.
Night cometh surely. Thou shalt sleep.

Take up thy burden. Is the day
Too long for thy lost courage? Nay:
Night will o'ertake thee by the way.

Thou shalt not hear; thou shalt not see;
But better than death will come to thee,
For, living, thou shalt cease to be.

Better than death; for none hath told
Death's consequence. And death may hold
Undreamed-of terrors manifold.

Death may be gain, or may be woe.
Sleep hath no may-be. Sleep we know.
It is, it was, and shall be so.

No law, no conscience doth it keep
Within its unimpassioned deep.
Nor time, nor space, nor sin hath Sleep.

To sleep is to unlive; to be
As thou hadst never been; to free
Thyself from all that maketh thee;

Nothing but nothingness to know;
To be unborn without a throe—
Uncreate at a pangless blow.

Then ye who fear, and ye who weep,
A few short hours your patience keep.
God must be good. For God made Sleep.

GRACE DENIO LITCHFIELD.

TO AND IN GRANADA

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

THE train which leaves Seville at ten of a sunny morning is supposed to arrive in Granada at seven of a moonlight evening. This is a mistake; the moonlight is on time, but the train arrives at a quarter of nine. Still, if the day has been sunny the whole way and the moonlight is there at the end, no harm has really been done; and measurably the promise of the train has been kept.

I

There was not a moment of the long journey over the levels of Andalusia which was not charming; when it began to be over the uplands of the last Moorish kingdom, it was richly impressive. The only thing I had against the landscape was the prevalence of olive orchards. I hailed as a relief the far-spreading stubble-fields where they opened, and I did not always resent the roadside planting of some sort of tall hedges which now and then hid the olives. But even olive orchards may vary their monotony by the spectacle of peasants on ladders gathering their fruit into wide-mouthed sacks, and occasionally their ranks of symmetrical green may be broken by the yellow and red of poplars and pomegranates around the pleasant farmsteads. The nearer we drew to Granada the pleasanter these grew, till in the famous Vega they thickly dotted the landscape with their brown roofs and white walls.

We had not this effect till we had climbed the first barrier of hills and began to descend on the thither side; but we had incident enough to keep us engaged without the picturesqueness. The beggars alone, who did not fail us at any station, were enough; for what could the most exacting tourist ask more than to be eating his luncheon under

the eyes of the children who besieged his car windows and protested their famine in accents which would have melted a heart of stone or of anything less obdurate than travel? We had always our brace of Civil Guards, who preserved us from bandits, but they left the beggars unmolested by getting out of the train next the station and pacing the platform, while the rabble of hunger thronged us on the other side. There was especially one boy who, after being compassionated in money for his misfortune, continued to fling his wooden leg into the air and wave it at our window by some masterly gymnastics; and there was another boy who kept lamenting that he had no mother, till, having duly feed and fed him, I suggested, "But you have a father?" Then, as if he had never seen the case in that light before, he was silent, and presently went away without further insistence on his bereavement.

II

The laconic fidelity of my note-book enables me to recall here that the last we saw of Seville was the Cathedral and the Giralda, which the guide-books had promised us we should see first; that we passed some fields of alfalfa which the Moors had brought from Africa and the Spanish have carried to America; that in places men were plowing and that the plowed land was red; that the towns on the uplands in the distance were white and not gray or mud-colored, as in Castile; that the morning sky was blue, with thin, pale clouds; that the first station out was quaintly called Two Brothers, and that the loungers about it were plain, but kind-looking men-folk with good faces, some actually clean-shaven, and a woman with a white rose in her hair; that Two Brothers is a suburb of Seville, frequented in the winter, and has orange orchards about it; that farther on at one place the green of the fields, with a fine sense of color, spread up to the walls of a white farm; that there were hawks sailing in the blue air; that there were grotesque hedges of cactus and piles of crooked cactus logs; that there were many eucalyptus-trees; that there were plantations of young olives, as if never to let that all-pervading culture perish; that there were irregular mountain ranges on the right, but never the same kind of scenery on both sides of the track; that there was once a white cottage on a yellow hill and a pink villa with two towers; that there was a soli-

tary fig-tree near the road, and that there were vast lonely wheat-fields when there were not olive orchards.

Taking breath after one o'clock, much restored by our luncheon, my note-book remembers a gray-roofed, yellow-walled town, very suitable for a water-color, and just beyond it the first vineyard we had come to. Then there were pomegranate-trees, golden-leaved, and tall poplars pollarded plume fashion as in southern France; and in a field a herd of brown pigs feeding, which commended itself to observance, doubtless, as color in some possible word-painting. There now abounded pomegranates, figs, young corn, and more and more olives; and as if the old olives and young olives were not enough, the earth began to be pitted with holes dug for the olives which had not yet been planted.

At Bobadilla, the junction where an English railway company begins to get in its work and to animate the Spanish environment to unwonted enterprise, there was a varied luncheon far past our capacity. But when a Cockney voice asked over my shoulder, "Tea, sir?" I gladly closed with the proposition. "But you've put hot milk into it," I lamented. "I know it, sir. We 'ave no cold milk at Bobadilla," and instantly a baleful suspicion implanted itself which has since grown into an upas-tree of poisonous conviction: goat's milk does not keep well, and it was not only hot milk, but hot *goat's* milk which they were serving us at Bobadilla. However, there were admirable ham sandwiches, not of goat's flesh, at the other end of the room, and with these one could console oneself. There was also a commendable pancake whose honored name I never knew, but whose acquaintance I should be sorry not to have made; and all about Bobadilla there was an agreeable bustle, which we enjoyed the more when we made sure that we had changed into the right train for Granada and found in our compartment the charming young Swedish couple who had come with us from Seville.

III

Thoroughly refreshed by the tea with hot goat's milk in it, by the genuine ham sandwiches and the pancakes, my note-book takes up the tale once more. It dwells upon the rich look of the land and the comfort of the farms contrasting with the wild desolation of the mountain ranges which now began to serrate the horizon; and I have no doubt that if I had then read that most charming of all

Washington Irving's Spanish studies, the story, namely, of his journey over quite the same way we had come seventy-five years later, my note-book would now abound in comment on the changed aspect of the whole landscape. Even as it is, I find it exclamatory over the wonder of the mountain coloring which it professes to have found green, brown, red, gray, and blue, but whether all at once or not it does not say. It is more definite as to the plain we were traversing, with its increasing number of white cottages, cheerfully testifying to the distribution of the land in small holdings, so different from the vast estates abandoned to homeless expanses of wheat-fields and olive orchards which we had been passing through. It did not appear on later inquiry that these small holdings were of peasant ownership, as I could have wished; they were tenant farms, but their neatness testified to the prosperity of the tenants, and their frequency cheered our way as the evening waned and the lamps began to twinkle from their windows. At a certain station, I am reminded by my careful mentor, the craggy mountain-tops were softened by the sunset pink, and that then the warm afternoon air began to grow cooler, and the dying day to empurple the uplands everywhere without abating the charm of the blithe cottages. It seems to have been mostly a very homelike scene, and where there was a certain stretch of woodland its loneliness was relieved by the antic feat of a goat lifting itself on its hind-legs to browse the olive leaves on their native bough. The thin air was ever more cooler, but never damp, and at times it relented and blew lullingly in at our window. We made such long stops that the lights began to fade out of the farm windows, but kept bright in the villages, when at a station which we were so long in coming to that we thought it must be next to Granada, a Spanish gentleman got in with us; and though the prohibitory notice of *No Fumadores* stared him in the face, it did not stare him out of countenance; for he continued to smoke like a locomotive the whole way to our journey's end.

From time to time I meditated the words of a severe rebuke, but in the end I made him none, and I am now convinced that this was wise, for he probably would not have minded it, and as it was, when I addressed him some commonplace as to the time of our arrival he answered me in the same spirit, and then presently grew very courteously

communicative. He told me for one thing, after we had passed the mountain gates of the famous Vega and were making our way under the moonlight over the storied expanse, drenched with the blood of battles long ago, that the tall chimneys we began to see blackening the air with their volumed fumes were the chimneys of fourteen beet-root sugar factories belonging to the Duke of Wellington. Then I divined, as afterward I learned, that the lands devoted to this industry were part of the rich gift which Spain bestowed upon the Great Duke in gratitude for his services against the Napoleonic invasion. His present heir has imagined a benevolent use of his heritage by inviting the peasantry of the Vega to the culture of the sugar beet; but whether the enterprise was prospering I could not say; and I do not suppose any reader of mine will care so much for it as I did in the pour of the moonlight over the roofs and towers that were now becoming Granada, and quickening my dim old emotions to a youthful glow. At the station, which, in spite of Boabdil el Chico and Ferdinand and Isabel, was quite like every other railway station of southern Europe, we parted friends with our Spanish fellow-traveler, whom we left smoking and who is probably smoking still. Then we mounted with our Swedish friends into the omnibus of the hotel we had chosen and which began, after discreet delays, to climb the hill town toward the Alhambra through a commonplace-looking town gay with the lights of cafés and shops, and to lose itself in the more congenial darkness of narrower streets barred with moonlight. It was drawn by four mules, covered with bells and constantly coaxed and cursed by at least two drivers on the box, while a vigorous boy ran alongside and lashed their legs without ceasing till we reached the shelf where our hotel perched.

IV

I had taken the precaution to write for rooms, and we got the best in the house, or if not that the best we could wish at a price which I could have wished much less, till we stepped out upon our balcony, and looked down and over the most beautiful, the most magnificent scene that eyes, or at least my eyes, ever dwelt on. Beside us and before us the silver cup of the Sierra Nevada held the city in its tilted hollow, from which it poured out over the immeasurable Vega washed with moonshine and brightened and dark-

ened in its spread by a thousand radiances and obscurities of windows and walls and roofs and trees and lurking gardens. Because it was unspeakable we could not speak, but I may say now that this was our supreme moment of Granada. There were other fine moments, but none unmixed with the reservations which truth obliges honest travel to own. Now, when from some secret spot there rose the wild cry of a sentinel, and prolonged itself to another who caught it dying up and breathed new life into it and sent it echoing on till it had made the round of the whole magic city, the heart shut with a pang of pure ecstasy. One could bear no more; we stepped within, and closed the window behind us. That is, we tried to close it, but it would not latch, and we were obliged to ring for a *camerero* to come and see what ailed it.

The infirmity of the door-latch was emblematic of a temperamental infirmity in the whole hotel. The promises were those of Madrid, but the performances were those of Segovia. There was a glitter, almost a glare, of Ritz-like splendor, and the rates were Ritz-like, but there the resemblance ceased. The *concierge* followed us to our rooms on our arrival and told us in excellent English (which excelled less and less throughout our stay) that he was the hall-porter and that we could confidently refer our wants to him; but their reference seemed always to close the incident. There was a secretary who assured us that our rooms were not dear, and who could not out of regard to our honor and comfort consider cheaper ones; and then ceased to be until he receipted our bill when we went away. There was a splendid dining-room with waiters of such beauty and dignity, and so purple from clean shaving, that we scarcely dared face them, and there were luncheons and dinners of rich and delicate superabundance in the menu, but of an exquisite insipidity on the palate, and of a swiftly vanishing Barmecide insubstantiality as if they were banquets from the *Arabian Nights* imagined under the rule of the Moors. Everywhere shone silver-bright radiators, such as we had not seen since we left their like freezing in Burgos; but though the weather presently changed from an Andalusian softness to a Castilian severity after a snowfall in the Sierra, the radiators remained insensible to the difference and the air nipped the nose and fingers wherever one went in the hotel. The hall-porter, who knew everything, said the boilers were out of order, and a traveler who had been there the

winter before confirmed him with the testimony that they were out of order even in January. There may not have been any fire under them then, as there was none now; but if they needed repairing now it was clearly because they needed repairing then. In the corner of one of our rooms the plastering had scaled off, and we knew that if we came back a year later the same spot would offer us a familiar welcome.

But why do I gird at that hotel in Granada as if I knew of no faults in American hotels? I know of many and like faults, and I do not know of a single hotel of ours with such a glorious outlook and downlook as that hotel in Granada. The details which the sunlight of the morrow revealed to us when we had mastered the mystery of our window-catch and stood again on our balcony took nothing from the loveliness of the moonlight picture, but rather added to it, and, besides a more incredible scene of mountain and plain and city, it gave us one particular tree in a garden almost under us which my heart clings to still with a rapture changing to a fond regret. At first the tree, of what name or nature I cannot tell, stood full and perfect, a mass of foliage all yellow as if made up of "patines of bright gold." Then day by day, almost hour by hour, it darkened and the tree shrank as if huddling its leaves closer about it in the cold that fell from the ever-snowier Sierra. On the last morning we left its boughs shaking in the rain

"Bare, ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang."

V

But we anticipate, as I should say if I were still a romantic novelist. Many other trees in and about Granada were as yellow as that one, and the air hung dim with a thin haze as of Indian summer when we left our hotel in eager haste to see the Alhambra such as travelers use when they do not want some wonder of the world to escape them. Of course there was really no need of haste, and we had to wait till our guide could borrow a match to light the first of the cigarettes which he never ceased to smoke. He was commended to us by the hall-porter, who said he could speak French, and so he could, to the extreme of constantly saying, with a wave of his cigarette, "*N'est ce pas?*" For the rest he helped himself out willingly with my small Spanish; at the end he would have delivered us over to a dealer in antiquities hard by the gate of the palace if I had not pre-

vented him, as it were, by main force; he did not repine, but we were not sorry that he should be engaged by others for the next day.

Our way to the gate, which was the famous Gate of Justice and was lovely enough to be the Gate of Mercy, lay through the beautiful woods, mostly elms, planted there by the English early in the last century. The birds sang in their tops, and the waters warbled at their feet, and it was somewhat thrillingly cold in their dense shade, so that we were glad to get out of it, and into the sunshine where the old Moorish palace lay basking and dreaming. At once let me confide to the impatient reader that the whole Alhambra, by which he must understand a citadel, and almost a city, since it could, if it never did, hold twenty thousand people within its walls, is only historically and not artistically more Moorish than the Alcazar at Seville. Far nobler and more beautiful than its Arabic decorativeness in tinted stucco is the palace begun by Charles V., after a design in the spirit of the supreme hour of the Italian Renaissance. It is not ruinous in its long arrest, and one hears with hopeful sympathy that the Spanish king means some day to complete it. To be sure, the world is, perhaps, already full enough of royal palaces, but since they return sooner or later to the people whose pockets they come out of, one must be willing to have this palace completed as the architect imagined it.

We were followed into the Moorish palace by the music of three blind minstrels who began to tune their guitars as soon as they felt us: see us they could not. Then presently we were in the famous Court of the Lions, where a group of those beasts, at once archaic and puerile in conception, sustained the basin of a fountain in the midst of a graveled court arabesqued and honeycombed round with the wonted ornamentation of the Moors. The place was disappointing to the boy in me who had once passed so much of his leisure there, and had made it all marble and gold. The floor is not only gravel, and the lions are not only more like sheep, but the environing architecture and decoration are of a faded prettiness which cannot bear comparison with the fresh rougeing, equally Moorish, of the Alcazar at Seville. Was this indeed the place where the Abencerrages were brought in from supper one by one and beheaded into the fountain at the bidding of their royal host? Was it here that the haughty Don Juan de Vera, coming to demand for

the Catholic Kings the arrears of tribute due them from the Moor, " paused to regard its celebrated fountain " and " fell into discourse with the Moorish courtiers on certain mysteries of the Christian faith "? So Washington Irving says, and so I once believed, with glowing heart and throbbing brow as I read how " this most Christian knight and discreet ambassador restrained himself within the limits of lofty gravity, leaning on the pommel of his sword and looking down with ineffable scorn upon the weak casuists around him. The quick and subtle Arabian witlings redoubled their light attacks on the stately Spaniard, but when one of them, of the race of the Abencerrages dared to question, with a sneer, the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, the Catholic knight could no longer restrain his ire. Elevating his voice of a sudden, he told the infidel he lied, and raising his arm at the same time he smote him on the head with his sheathed sword. In an instant the Court of Lions glistened with the flash of arms," insomuch that the American lady whom we saw writing a letter beside a friend sketching there must have been startled from her opening words, " I am sitting here with my portfolio on my knees in the beautiful Court of the Lions," and if Muley Aben Hassan had not " overheard the tumult and forbade all appeal to force, pronouncing the person of the ambassador sacred," I am sure she never could have gone on.

VII

I did not doubt the fact when I read of it under the level boughs of the beechen-tree with J. W., sixty years ago, by the green woodland light of the primeval forest which hemmed our village in, and since I am well away from the Alhambra again I do not doubt it now. I doubt nothing that Irving says of the Alhambra; he is the gentle genius of the place, and I could almost wish that I had paid the ten pesetas extra which the custodian demanded for showing his apartment in the palace. On the spot the demand of two dollars seemed a gross extortion; yet it was not too much for a devotion so rich as mine to have paid, and I advise other travelers to buy themselves off from a vain regret by giving it. If ever a memory merited the right to levy tribute on all comers to the place it haunts, Washington Irving's is that memory. His *Conquest of Granada* is still the history which one would wish to read; his *Tales of the*

Alhambra embody fable and fact in just the right measure for the heart's desire in the presence of the monuments they verify or falsify. They belong to that strange age of romance which is now so almost pathetic and to which one cannot refuse his sympathy without sensible loss. Except for the eager make-believe of that time we should still have to hoard up much rubbish which we can now leave aside, or accept without bothering to assay for the few grains of gold in it. Washington Irving had just the playful kindness which sufficed best to deal with the accumulations of his age; if he does not forbid you to believe, he does not oblige you to disbelieve, and he has always a tolerant civility in his humor which comports best with the duty of taking leniently a history impossible to take altogether seriously. Till the Spaniards had put an end to the Moorish misrule, with its ruthless despotism and bloody civil brawls, the Moors deserved to be conquered; it was not till their power was broken forever that they became truly heroic in their vain struggles and their unavailing sorrows. Then their pathetic resignation to persecution and exile lent dignity even to their ridiculous religion.

The Alhambra is not so impressive by its glory or grandeur as by the unparalleled beauty of its place. If it is not very noble as an effect of art, the inspiration of its founders is affirmed by their choice of an outlook which commands one of the most magnificent panoramas in the whole world. It would be useless to rehearse the proofs, but I bid the reader think of far-off silver-crested summits and of a peopled plain stretching away from them out of eyeshot, dense first with roofs and domes and towers, and then freeing itself in fields and vineyards and orchards and forests to the vanishing-point of the perspective; think of steep and sudden plunges into chasms at the foot of the palace walls, and one crooked stream stealing snake-like in their depths; think of whatever splendid impossible dramas of topography that he will, of a tremendous map outstretched in colored relief, and he will perhaps have some notion of the prospect from the giddy windows of the Alhambra; and perhaps not. Of one thing beyond the gulf of the Darro we made memorably sure, and that was the famous gipsy quarter which the traveler visits at the risk of his life in order to have his fortune told. At the same moment we made sure that we should not go any nearer it, for though we knew

that it was insurpassably dirty as well as dangerous, we remembered so distinctly the loathsomeness of the gipsy quarter at Seville that we felt no desire to put it to the comparison.

VIII

We preferred rather the bird's-eye study of the beautiful Generalife which our outlook enabled us to make, and which we supplemented by a visit the next day. We preferred, after the Barmecide lunch at our hotel, taking the tram-car that noisily and more noisily clambers up and down, and descending into the town by it. The ascent is so steep that at a certain point the electric current no longer suffices, and the car bites into the line of cogs with its sort of powerful under-jaw and so arrives. Yet it is a kindly little vehicle, with a conductor so affectionately careful in transporting the stranger that I felt after a single day we should soon become brothers, or at least half-brothers. Whenever we left or took his car, after the beginning or ending of the cogway, he was alert to see that we made the right change to or from it, and that we no more overpaid than underpaid him. Such homely natures console the traveler for a thousand inhospitalities of travel, and bind races and religions together in spite of patriotism and piety.

We were going first to the Cartuja, and in the city, which we found curiously much more modern, after the Latin notion, than Seville, with freshly built apartment-houses and business blocks, we took a cab, not so modern as to be a taxicab, and drove through the quarter said to have been assigned to the Moors after the fall of Granada. The dust lay thick in the roadway where filthy children played, but in the sunny doorways good mothers of families crouched taking away the popular reproach of vermin by searching one another's heads. Men bestriding their donkeys rode fearlessly through the dust, and one cleanly-looking old peasant woman, who sat hers plumply cushioned and framed in with a chair-back and arms, showed a patience with the young trees planted for future shade along the desperate avenue which I could wish we had emulated. When we reached the entrance of the old Carthusian Convent, long since suppressed and its brothers exiled, a strong force of beggarmen waited for us, but a modest beggarwoman, old and sad, had withdrawn to the church door, where she shared in our impartial alms. We were admitted to the cloister,

rather oddly, by a young girl, who went for one of the remaining monks to show us the church. He came with a newspaper (I hope of clerical politics) in his hand, and distracted himself from it only long enough to draw a curtain, or turn on a light, and point out a picture or statue from time to time. But he was visibly anxious to get back to it, and sped us more eagerly than he welcomed us in a church which upon the whole is richer in its peculiar treasures of painting, sculpture, especially in wood, costly marble, and precious stones than any other I remember. According to my custom, I leave it to the guide-books to name these, and to the abounding critics of Spanish art to celebrate the pictures and statues; it is enough for me that I have now forgotten them all except those scenes of the martyrdom inflicted by certain Protestants on members of the Carthusian brotherhood at the time when all sorts of Christians felt bound to correct the opinions of all other sorts by the cruelest tortures they could invent. When the monk had put us to shame by the sight of these paintings (bad as their subjects), he put us out, letting his eyes fall back upon his newspaper before the door had well closed upon us.

The beggarmen had waited in their places to give us another chance of meriting heaven; and at the church door still crouched the old beggarwoman. I saw now that the imploring eyes she lifted were sightless, and I could not forbear another alms, and as I put my copper big-dog in her leathern palm I said, "*Adios, madre.*" Then happened something that I had long desired. I had heard and read that in Spain people always said at parting, "Go with God," but up to that moment nobody had said it to me, though I had lingeringly given many the opportunity. Now, at my words and at the touch of my coin this old beggarwoman smiled beneficently and said, "Go with God," or, as she put it in her Spanish, "*Vaya usted con Dios.*" Immediately I ought to have pressed another coin in her palm, with a "*Gracias, madre; muchas gracias,*" out of regard to the literary climax; but whether I really did so I cannot now remember; I can only hope I did.

I think it was while I was still in this high satisfaction that we went a drive in the promenade, which in all Spanish cities is the Alameda, except Seville, where it so deservedly is the Delicias. It was in every way a contrast to the road we had come from the Cartuja: an avenue

of gardened paths and embowered driveways, where we hoped to join the rank and fashion of Granada in their afternoon's outing. But there was only one carriage besides our own with people in it, who looked no greater world than ourselves, and a little girl riding with her groom. On one hand were pretty villas, new-looking and neat, which I heard could sometimes be taken for the summer at rents so low that I am glad I have forgotten the exact figures lest the reader should doubt my word. Nothing but the fact that the winter was then hanging over us from the Sierras prevented my taking one of them for the summer that had passed, the Granadan summer being notoriously the most delightful in the world. On the other hand stretched the wonderful Vega, which covers so many acres in history and romance, and there, so near that we look down into them at times were "the silvery windings of the Xenil," which glides through so many descriptive passages of Irving's page; only now, on account of the recent rain, its windings were rather coppery.

IX

At the hotel on the terrace under our balcony we found on our return a party of Spanish ladies and gentlemen drinking tea, or whatever drink stood for it in their custom: no doubt chocolate; but it was at least the afternoon-tea hour. The women's clothes were just from Paris, and the men's from London, but their customs, I suppose, were national; the women sat on one side of the table and talked across it to the men, while they ate and drank, and then each sex grouped itself apart and talked to its kind, the women in those hardened vowels of a dialect from which the Andalusians for conversational purposes have eliminated all consonants. The sun was setting red and rayless, with a play of many lights and tints, over the landscape up to the snow-line on the Sierra. The town lay a stretch of gray roofs and white walls, intermixed with yellow poplars and black cypresses, and misted over with smoke from the chimneys of the sugar factories. The mountains stood flat against the sky, purple with wide stretches of brown, and dark, slanting furrows. The light became lemon-yellow before nightfall, and then a dull crimson under pale violet.

The twitter of the Spanish women was overborne at times by the voices of an American party whose presence I was rather proud of as another American. They were all young

men, and they were making an educational tour of the world in the charge of a professor who saw to it that they learned as much of its languages and history and civilization as possible on the way. They ranged in their years from about fifteen to twenty and even more, and they were preparing for college, or doing what they could to repair the loss of university training before they took up the work of life. It seemed to me a charming notion, and charming the seriousness with which they were fulfilling it. They were not so serious in everything as to miss any incidental pleasure; they had a large table to themselves in our refulgent banquet-hall, where they seemed always to be having a good time, and where once they celebrated the birthday of one of them with a gaiety which would have penetrated, if anything could, the chill of the other diners. In the evening we heard them in the billiard-room below lifting their voices in the lays of our college muse, and waking the strains of our national ragtime. They were never intrusively cheerful; one might remain, in spite of them, as dispirited as the place would have one; but as far as the *genius loci* would let me, I liked them; and so far as I made their acquaintance I thought that they were very intelligently carrying out the enterprise imagined for them.

X

I wish now that I had known them well enough to ask them what they candidly thought of the city of which I felt the strange witchery under the dying day on the afternoon which I have left celebrating for the moment. It seems to me at this distance of time and space that I did not duly reflect that in places it was a city which smelled very badly and was almost as dirty as New York in others, and very ill paved. The worst places are in the older quarters, where the streets are very crooked and very narrow, so narrow that the tram-car can barely scrape through them. They are old enough to be streets belonging to the Moorish city, like many streets in Cordova and Seville, but no fond inquiry from our guides could identify this lane or that alley as of Moorish origin. There is indeed a group of picturesque shops clearly faked to look Moorish, which the lover of that period may pin his faith to, and for a moment I did so, but upon second thought I unpinned it.

We visited this plated fragment of the old Moorish capital

when we descended from our hotel with a new guide to see the great, the stupendous cathedral, where the Catholic Kings lie triumphantly entombed in the heart of their conquest. It is altogether unlike the other Spanish cathedrals of my knowledge; for though the cathedral of Valladolid is of Renaissance inspiration in its austere simplicity, it is somehow even less like that of Granada than the Gothic fanes of Burgos or Toledo or Seville. All the detail at Granada is classicistic, but the whole is often of Gothic effect, especially in the mass of those clustered Corinthian columns that lift its domes aloof on their prodigous bulk, huge as that of the grouped pillars in the York Minster. The white of marble walls, the gold of altars, the colors of painted wooden sculpture form the tones of the place, subdued to one bizarre richness which I may as well leave first as last to the reader's fancy; though, let his fancy riot as it will, it never can picture that gorgeousness. Mass was saying at a side altar as we entered, and the music of stringed instruments and the shrill voices of choir-boys pierced the spaces here and there, but no more filled them than the immemorable sculptural and pictorial facts: no more than a certain very lively bishop kneeling on his tomb and looking like George Washington; or than a St. Jerome in the Desert, outwrinkling age, with his lion curled cozily up in his mantle; or than the colossal busts of Adam and Eve and the praying figures of Ferdinand and Isabel, richly gilded in the exquisite temple forming the high altar; or than the St. James on horseback, with his horse's hoof planted on the throat of a Moor; or than the Blessed Virgins in jeweled crowns and stomachers and brocaded skirts; or than that unsparingly realistic decapitation of John the Baptist bloodily falling forward with the severed gullet thrusting at the spectator. Nothing has ever been too terrible in life for Spanish art to represent; it is as ruthlessly veracious as Russian literature; and of all the painters and sculptors who have portrayed the story of Christianity as a tale of torture and slaughter, the Spaniards have studied it closest from the fact; perhaps because for centuries the Inquisition lavished the fact upon them.

The supreme interest of the cathedral is, of course, the Royal Chapel, where on a sunken level Ferdinand and Isabel lie, with their poor mad daughter Joan and her idolized unfaithful husband Philip the Fair, whose body she bore about

with her while she lived. The picture postal has these monuments in its keeping and can show them better than my pen, which falters also from the tremendous retablo of the chapel, so dense with the agonies of martyrdom and serene with the piety of the Catholic Kings kneeling placidly amid the horrors. If the picture postal will not supply these, or reproduce the many and many relics and memorials which abound there and in the sacristy—jewels and vestments and banners and draperies of the royal camp-altar — there is nothing for the reader but to go himself and see. It is richly worth his while, and if he cannot believe in a box which will be shown him as the box Isabel gave Columbus her jewels in merely because he has been shown a reliquary as her hand-glass, so much the worse for him. He will not then merit the company of a small choir-boy who efficiently opens the iron gate to the crypt and gives the custodian as good as he sends in back-talk and defiantly pockets the coppers he has earned. Much less will he deserve to witness the homely scene in an area outside of the Royal Chapel, where many milch goats are assembled, and when a customer comes, preferably a little girl with a tin cup, one of the mothers of the flock is pinioned much against her will by a street boy volunteering for the office, and her head held tight while the goatherdess milks the measure full at the other end.

Everywhere about the cathedral beggars lay in wait, and the neighboring streets were lively with bargains of prickly pears spread open on the ground by old women who did not care whether any one bought or not. There were also bargains in palmistry; and at one place a delightful humorist was selling clothing at auction. He allured the bidders by having his left hand dressed as a puppet and holding a sparkling dialogue with it; when it did not respond to his liking he beat it with his right hand, and every now and then he rang a little bell. He had a pleased crowd about him in the sunny square; but it seemed to me that all the newer part of Granada was lively with commerce in ample, tram-trodden streets which gave the shops, larger than any we had seen out of Madrid, a chance uncommon in the narrow ways of other Spanish cities.

The guide, to whom we had fallen in the absence of our French-speaking guide of the day before, spoke a little English, and he seemed to grow in sympathetic intelligence as the

morning passed. He made our sight-seeing include visits to the church of St. John of God, and the church of San Geronimo, which was built by Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, and remains now a memorial to him. We rang at the door, and after long delay a woman came and let us into an interior stranger even than her being there as custodian. It was frescoed from floor to ceiling everywhere, except the places of the altars now kept by the painted retablos and the tombs and the statues of the various saints and heroes. The retablo of the high altar is almost more beautiful than wonderful, but the chief glory of the place is in the kneeling figures of the Great Captain and his wife, one on either side of the altar, and farther away the effigies of his famous companions-in-arms, and on the walls above their heraldic blazons and his. The church was unfinished when the loyal Captain died in the displeasure of his ungrateful king, and its sumptuous completion testifies to the devotion of his wife and her taste in choosing the best artists for the work.

I have still the sense of a noonday quiet that lingered with us after we left this church and which seemed to go with us to the Hospital of St. John of God, founded, with other hospitals, by the pious Portuguese, who, after a life of good works, took this name on his well-merited canonization. The hospital is the monument of his devotion to good works, and is full of every manner of religious curio. I cannot remember to have seen elsewhere so many relics under one roof, both bones of holy men and women, idols of the heathen brought from Portuguese possessions in the East which are now faded from the map, as well as the body of St. John of God shrined in silver in the midst of all.

XI

I do not know why I should have brought away from these two places a peacefulness of mind such as seldom follows a visit to show places, but the fact is so; perhaps it was because we drove to and from them, and were not so tired as footworn sight-seers are, or so rebellious. One who had seen not only the body of St. John of God, but his cane with a whistle in it to warn the charitable of his coming and attune their minds to alms-giving, and the straw basket in which he collected food for the poor, now preserved under an embroidered satin covering, and an autograph

letter of his framed in glass and silver, might even have been refreshed by his experience. At any rate, we were so far from tired that after luncheon we walked to the Garden of the Generalife, and then walked all over it. The afternoon was of the very mood for such a visit, and we passed it all there in those walks and bowers, and the black cypress aisles, and the trees and vines yellowing to the fall of their leaves. The melancholy laugh of water chasing down the steep channels and gurgling through the stone rails of stairways was everywhere, and its dim smile gleamed from pools and tanks. In the court where it stretched in a long basin an English girl was painting and another girl was sewing, to whom I now tardily offer my thanks for adding to the charm of the place. Not many other people were there to dispute our afternoon's ownership. I count a peasant family, the women in black shawls and the men wearing wide, black sashes, rather as our guests than as strangers; and I am often there still with no sense of molestation. Even the reader who does not conceive of a garden being less flowers and shrubs than fountains and pavilions and porches and borders of box and walls of clipped evergreens, will scarcely follow me to the Generalife or outstay me there. The place is probably dense with history and suffocating with association, but I prefer to leave all that to the imagination where my own ignorance found it. Of the whole Alhambra group the Generalife was strangest to me. A painter had told me once of his spending a summer in it, and he showed some beautiful pieces of color in proof, but otherwise I came to it with a blank surface on which it might photograph itself without blurring any earlier record. This, perhaps, is why I love so much to dwell there on that never-ending afternoon of late October. It was long past the hour of its summer bloom, but the autumnal air was enriching it beyond the dreams of avarice with the gold which prevails in the Spanish landscape wherever the green is gone, and we could look out of its yellowing bowers over a landscape immeasurable in beauty. Of course, we tried to master the facts of the Generalife's past, but we really did not care for them and scarcely believed that Charles V. had doubted the sincerity of the converted Moor who had it from Ferdinand of Aragon, and so withheld it from his heirs for four generations until they could ripen to a genuine Christianity at Genoa, whither they withdrew and became the patrician

family now its proprietors. The arms of this family decorate the roof and walls of the colonnaded belvedere from which you look out over the city and the plain and the mountains; and there are remnants of Moorish decoration in many places, but otherwise the Generalife is now as Christian as the noble Pallavicini who possess it. There were plenty of flower-beds, box-bordered, but there were no flowers in them; the flowers preferred standing about in tall pots. There was an arbor overhung with black forgotten grapes before the keeper's door and in the corner of it dangled ropes of fire-red peppers.

This detail is what, with written help, I remember of the Generalife, but no feature of it shall fade from my soul. From its embowered and many-fountained height it looks over to the Alhambra, dull red, and the city wall climbing the opposite slope across the Darro to a church on the hill-top which was once a mosque. The precipice where the garden clings plunges sheer to the river-bed with a down-look insurpassably thrilling; but the best view of the city is from the flowery walk that runs along the side of the Alcazaba, which was once a fortress and is now a garden, long forgetful of its office of defending the Alhambra palace. From this terrace Granada looks worthy of her place in history and romance. We visited the Alcazaba after the Generalife, and were very critical, but I must own the supremacy of this prospect. I should not mind owning its supremacy among all the prospects in the world.

XII

Meanwhile our shining hotel had begun to thrill with something besides the cold which nightly pierced it from the snowy Sierra. This was the excitement pending from an event promised the next day, which was the production of a drama in verse, of peculiar and intense interest for Granada, where all the scene of it was laid in the Alhambra at one of the highest moments of its history, and the persons were some of those dearest to its romance. Not only the company come to perform it (of course the first company in Spain) had been in the hotel overnight, the ladies of it gleaming and glooming through the cold corridors, but the poet had been conspicuous at dinner, with his wife, young and beautiful and blond, and powdered so white that her blondness was of quite a violet cast. There was not so much

a question of whether we should take tickets as whether we could get them, but for this the powerful interest of our guide availed, and he got tickets providentially given up in the morning for a price so exorbitant I should be ashamed to confess it. They were for the afternoon performance, and at three o'clock we went with the rest of the gay and great world of Granada to the principal theater.

The Latin conception of a theater is of something rather more barn-like than ours, but this theater was of a sufficiently handsome presence, and when we had been carried into it by the physical pressure exerted upon us by the crowd at the entrance we found its vastness already thronged. The seats in the orchestra were quickly taken; the gallery under the roof was loud with the impatience for the play which the auditors there testified by cries and whistlings and stampings until the curtain lifted; the tiers of boxes rising all round the theater were filled with family parties. Family parties they literally were, with the fathers and mothers in front and the children between them of all ages down to babies in their nurses' arms. These made themselves perfectly at home, in one case reaching over the edge of the box and clawing the hair of a gentleman standing below and openly enjoying the joke. The friendly equality of the prevailing spirit was expressed in the presence of the family servants at the back of the family boxes, from which the latest fashions showed themselves here and there, as well as the belated local versions of them. In the orchestra the men had promptly lighted their cigars and the air was blue with smoke. Friends found one another, to their joyful amaze, not having met since morning; and especially young girls were enraptured to recognize young men; one girl shook hands twice with a young man, and gurgled with joy as long as he stood near her.

As a lifelong lover of the drama and a boyish friend of Granadan romance, I ought to have cared more for the play than the people who had come to it, but I did not. The play was unintentionally amusing enough; but after listening for two hours to the monotonous cadences of the speeches which the persons of it recited to one another, while the ladies of the Moorish world took as public a part in its events as if they had been so many American Christians, we came away. We had already enjoyed the first entr'acte, when the men all rose and went out, or lighted fresh cigars and went

to talk with the Paris hats and plumes or the Spanish mantillas and high combs in the boxes. The curtain had scarcely fallen when the author of the play was called before it and applauded by the generous, the madly generous, spectators. He stood bowing and bowing on tiptoes, as if the wings of his rapture lifted him to them and would presently fly away with him. He could not drink deep enough of the delicious draught put brimming to his lips, and the divine intoxication must have lasted him through the night, for after breakfast the next morning I met him in our common corridor at the hotel smiling to himself, and when I could not forbear smiling in return he smiled more; he beamed, he glowed upon me as if I were a crowded house still cheering him to the echo. It was a beautiful moment, and I realized even better than the afternoon before what it was to be a young poet and a young Spanish poet, and to have had a first play given for the first time in the city of Granada, where the morning papers were now glowing with praise so ardent that their print all but smoked with it.

I was on my way down-stairs to witness the farewell scene between the leading lady and the large group of young Granadans who had come up to see her off. When she came out to the carriage with her husband, by a delicate refinement of homage they cheered him, and left him to deliver their devotion to her, which she acknowledged only with a smile. But not so the leading lady's lady's-maid, when her turn came to bid good-by from our omnibus window to the assembled upper servants of the hotel. She put her head out and said in a voice hoarse with excitement and good-fellowship, "*Adios, hombres!*" ("Goodby, men!"), and vanished with us from their applausive presence.

With us, I say, for we, too, were leaving Granada in rain which was snow on the Sierra and so cold that we might well have seemed leaving Greenland. The brave mules which had so gallantly, under the lash of the running foot-boy beside them, galloped uphill with us the moonlight night of our coming, now felt their anxious way down in the dismal drizzle of that last morning, and brought us to the plaza before the station. Here there was a wide puddle where I thought our craft should have floundered, but it made its way to the door, and left us dry shod enough within and glad to be quitting the city of my young dreams.

William Dean Howells.

WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY AND HENRY FIELDING

BY FREDERICK S. DICKSON

THACKERAY once said that his English would have been better had he read Fielding before he was ten. Apparently he did read him when very young for Mr. Grego describes a copy of the first edition of *Joseph Andrews* with marginal drawings by Thackeray, and these sketches, reproduced in *Thackerayana,* are quite in the manner of his school-days. The earliest reference to Fielding in any of Thackeray's writings is in *Caricature* and *Lithography* in Paris, which appeared first in the *Westminster Review* for April, 1839, and there is another brief reference in the *Paris Sketch Book* of 1840. It was just at this time, also, that Thackeray wrote his first extended criticism on Fielding, in a review of Thomas Roscoe's edition of the works, London, 1840, and printed in the *Times* for September 2d of that year. Here he tells us that "Fielding's men and Hogarth's are Dickens's and Cruikshank's, drawn with ten times more skill and force," and that "the picture of Amelia is the most beautiful and delicious description of a character that is to be found in any writer not excepting Shakespeare." And of *Tom Jones* he says:

> "Moral or immoral, let any man examine this romance as a work of art, merely, and it must strike him as the most astounding production of human ingenuity. There is not an incident, ever so trifling, but advances the story, grows out of former incidents and is connected with the whole. Such a literary *providence,* if we may use such a word, is not to be seen in any other work of fiction. It is marvelous to think how the author could have built and carried all this structure in his brain as he must have done before he began to put it on paper."

It was right that Thackeray should think well of Fielding for Thackeray owes more to him than to any other

person or thing, or to *all* other persons and things. It is clear that Thackeray made his first real study of the art of Fielding during 1839 and 1840, and up to that time, although Thackeray's English was of the best, he had not shown even mediocre abilities as a story-teller. For seven years he had been living from hand to mouth as a hack-writer for newspapers and magazines, and the best he could show was *Yellowplush, Major Gahagan, Catherine, Stubbs's Calendar, Barber Cox,* and *A Shabby Genteel Story,* the last his most ambitious effort. This latter story was begun in *Fraser* for June, 1840, and continued in July and August. During August, when he should have been writing his next number, he works instead over Fielding, reading, writing, pondering over the man and wondering at his work. This *Times* article of Thackeray's is no perfunctory bit of hack work but a serious study. In the clumsy Roscoe volume he reads *Amelia* and glows in his admiration for it. Without other evidence, without needing other, it seems clear that Thackeray realizing through this study of Fielding the hopeless defects of the story he had been working over becomes discouraged at it all and abruptly closes it out in the October number of the magazine. When the *Shabby Genteel Story* was reprinted in the *Miscellanies* Mr. Thackeray appends a note, dated April 10, 1857, which seems to imply that the story was abruptly finished on account of the illness of his wife, but in a letter to Mrs. Brookfield, written in November, 1850, he says that "twelve days after this Fielding article appeared in the *Times* my poor little wife's malady showed itself," and that would be on September 14th, but the end of the story appeared in the October number of the magazine and so must have been sent off, or at least written, before the middle of September.

In the same letter to Mrs. Brookfield he says: "The *Times* gave me five guineas for the article. I recollect I thought it rather shabby pay." So doubtless it was, and yet what the *Times* gave was nothing to what Fielding gave, for only this made possible the splendid achievements of the coming years. Almost immediately was begun the *Great Hoggarty Diamond,* the first number appearing in *Fraser* for September, 1841, and in December John Sterling writes: "What is there better in Fielding or Goldsmith? There is more truth and nature in one of these papers than in all Dickens's novels together," and Thomas Carlyle gives a grim nod as

he records it. Then in 1844 Thackeray makes a still greater advance in *Barry Lyndon,* and it will ever be a tribute to the ingrained stolidity of the Victorian era that this masterpiece was allowed to remain buried for eleven years in the forgotten pages of *Fraser.* In January, 1847, the first part of *Vanity Fair* appeared, and on its completion in July, 1848, William Makepeace Thackeray took his place by the side of his master, Henry Fielding.

Thackeray fully realized his debt to Fielding and acknowledged it at times generously, and at times curiously. Unfortunately in Thackeray's day little was known of Fielding, and what little there was was buried under a mass of things quite impossible.

So Thackeray was tireless in conjuring up pictures of the profligacy of Henry Fielding, clothing them in sparkling phrases and sending them forth to injurious result. With naught but the imagination to guide or restrain, he shows Fielding, even in the latter years of life, "in a watch or sponging home, fuddled most likely," or "in his tavern chair carousing with Heaven knows whom," "ready for a row, or a bottle, or what you please," "a young fellow upon town with very loose morals indeed, and never seems to have any thought of anything beyond the pleasure of living and being jolly." "If he led a sad, riotous life, and mixed with many a bad woman in his time, his heart was pure as he knew a good one when he found her." Now all this is pure assumption, mere romancing, and if *any* of it is intended to apply to aught but his youthful days it is distinctly untrue.

In a brief sentence in the lecture, Thackeray refers to the Lady Bellaston incident and in the *Times* article not at all. In the *Newcomes,* however, he speaks thus vigorously through the lips of Colonel Newcome.

> "*Tom Jones,* sir; *Joseph Andrews,* sir," he cried, twisting his mustachios; "I read them when I was a boy, when I kept other bad company, and did other low and disgraceful things, things of which I'm ashamed now. As for that Tom Jones—that fellow that sells himself, sir—by heavens my blood boils when I think of him. I wouldn't sit in the same room with such a fellow, sir. If he came in at that door, I would say, 'How dare you, you hireling ruffian, to sully with your presence an apartment where my friend and I are conversing together? Where two gentlemen, I say, are taking their wine after dinner? How dare you, you degraded villain!'"

All these vigorous words we find in Chapter IV. of the

first volume of the *Newcomes,* but if we turn back to Chapter II. of the same admirable volume we may read the biography of Thomas Newcome, Sr., the father of the Colonel. A successful merchant, with ample means, he is left a widower with one son. With no need to urge, he yet marries Miss Hobson, older than he, with no attractions of mind, manner, or person, simply because she is possessed of a quarter million of pounds sterling. Selling himself for this price he actually receives from his wife nothing save twins, and he lives the rest of his life in a state of humiliating subjection to her. The gardener bows politely to him, but takes his orders from the lady. When he comes to make his will he is forced, through fear of his wife, to divide his little fortune with the twins so that our good Colonel receives but a third of what should have been his just inheritance. Dying before his wife he fails to get any part of the price for which he thought he had sold himself. And Thackeray, venting his wrath upon Tom Jones for the hundred-pound note he got from Lady Bellaston, slaps Thomas Newcome on the back in hearty congratulation and tells us that " every one of his old friends, and every honest-hearted fellow who likes to see shrewdness, and honesty, and courage, succeed was glad of his good-fortune, and said, ' Newcome, my boy ' (or ' Newcome, my buck ' if they were old city cronies and very familiar) ' I give you joy.' "

Now the differences in these two cases were that one transaction was sanctified by the Church, and in the other no sanctity was pretended; one was a sale for life, the other but for a day or two; one bartered his honor for money he did not get while the other received payment in advance; one, unrepentant, continues the relation till death, the other, repentant, rids himself of it as promptly as possible. Fielding makes us see the evil in Tom Jones, while Thackeray himself never discovered the degradation of Thomas Newcome.

Sir Walter Scott makes the astounding discovery that the Lady Bellaston incident was due to " the unhappy circumstances of his life and of the society to which they condemned him," as if the Lady Bellastons were to be found amongst charwomen, rather than in high life. The truth is that this proves Fielding's intimate knowledge of high life rather than the reverse. Lord Chesterfield tells us

that the great Duke of Marlborough, when he was young John Churchill, ensign of the Guards, was, from the graces of his person, kept by the Duchess of Cleveland, from whom he received at one time no less than five thousand pounds with which he at once cannily purchased an annuity from the Marquis of Halifax. Later, when a duke and rich, he refused to lend the Duchess of Cleveland twenty guineas at basset, and, when an old man, walked to his lodgings at night from the Assembly-room at Bath rather than pay sixpence for chair hire, and all England honors the man who is provident. Miss Edwards, an unmarried lady of great fortune, openly kept Lord Ann Hamilton. General Braddock was kept by a Mrs. Upton, and when he meanly begged for more she declared she had but a few shillings, displaying her purse in proof. Snatching it from her hand he found concealed half a dozen guineas, which he took, and throwing the empty purse in her face exclaimed, "Did you mean to cheat me?" Horace Walpole, who tells the story adds, "And now you know General Braddock." And then again comes Horace Walpole with the story of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu being imprisoned, almost, and her letters opened by a young man *she* had been keeping. It is easy enough to see from all this where Fielding got his material for the creation of Lady Bellaston.

Henry Fielding, great grandson of an earl, a man of wit and education, who would have been welcomed in the ranks of high society, chose for his wife a simple country girl from Salisbury, and on her death married her maid, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, outraged that her cousin should have preferred such a woman to one of her own rank, writes bitterly after his death that "he could find rapture in the arms of his cook-maid," and on this Thackeray and others dwell upon the low character of Fielding's acquaintances. Now it is quite likely that Henry Fielding *did* prefer the Cradocks and even the Mary Daniels of that day to the friends of Lady Mary and Horace Walpole, and if he did it is much to his credit.

But Thackeray insists upon finding disreputable company for him. In the *Times* article he discovers him consorting with the Lady Bettys of Garrick's Company, and "often with other inhabitants of Covent Garden not even so reputable." Now Garrick's first experience as a manager was in the winter of 1747 and by that time Henry

Fielding had discontinued all connection with the theater, had written *Joseph Andrews* and was busy over *Tom Jones*. In the *English Humorists* Mr. Thackeray discovers Fielding "amongst the Oldfields and Bracegirdles behind the scenes." This is an even more unfortunate vagary for Mr. Thackeray. Mrs. Bracegirdle retired from the stage in 1707, the year of Fielding's birth, and only returned to it once in 1709 for Betterton's benefit. When Fielding's first play appeared he was twenty and the lady sixty-four, and it does not appear that he ever met her. Mrs. Oldfield did appear in Fielding's "Love in Several Masques," on February 12, 1728, and did so much toward the success of the play that Fielding acknowledged it generously in the preface. On March 16, 1728, Fielding was certainly in Leyden, from whence he returned about January, 1730, while Mrs. Oldfield died in the following October. During all this time Mrs. Oldfield was the mistress of Colonel Churchill, and the result was a son who married Mary Walpole, the natural daughter of Sir Robert Walpole and "Moll" Skerrit. Mrs. Oldfield was buried in Westminster Abbey, an honor which was denied to Thackeray and which, apparently, no Englishman ever dreamed of conferring upon Henry Fielding.

Indeed, barring the discredited Rigby-Walpole story and Lady Mary's ill-natured fling at the "cook-maid" there is no contemporary evidence at all of Fielding consorting with low or vulgar company. Had there been we may be sure that both Richardson and Dr. Johnson would have exploited it, writ large. As it is, they condemn Fielding for introducing in his stories such low characters as a footman, a coachman, a waiting-woman, and a tavern-keeper, and the fact that they conclude from this that he must have known all these people to be able to describe them proves that they could have no other evidence than this. As well might we condemn for low association the creators of Bill Sykes and Sam Weller, or of Captain Costigan and Fred Bayham.

As to Fielding's relations with women the only witness we have that we can call contemporary is Arthur Murphy and he says that, "though disposed to gallantry by his strong animal spirits and the vivacity of his passions, he was remarkable for tenderness and constancy to his wife and the strongest affection for his children." And the sturdiest friend of William Makepeace Thackeray could

not say more nor better of him. Asked to name Thackeray's heroines one instinctively begins with Becky Sharp and Beatrix Esmond, and then pauses, for it makes little difference who is named next. The good ones, the Amelias, the Ethels, and the rest, fail to interest, for in them all there is nothing vivid, nothing clear, nothing *alive*. Why, Blanche Amory, slight as she is, has more life in her than a dozen Lauras! On the contrary, try Fielding by the same test, and just as unhesitatingly we pick out the good ones, and name Sophia Western and Amelia Booth. Fielding's bad women, like Thackeray's good ones, are negligible. Though as much alive as the good ones they still do not count. We do not care for Mrs. Fitzpatrick, or Lady Bellaston, or Miss Matthews any more than we do for Laura Pendennis, or Ethel Newcome, or Amelia Sedley. It is clear that Thackeray best knew the shady-lady type and drew it with surer and stronger hand than he did or could draw the faithful wife and mother. So here is better evidence than either carping or fulsome critic can furnish as to one aspect in the lives of these two great men.

When Thackeray began to write *Vanity Fair* it was with the vision of Fielding's *Amelia* in his mind, and with the evident intention of reproducing in some measure at least the charms of the eighteenth-century heroine. He gave her the same name, as if determined that she should be loved for her virtues as was her elder, and yet, in the very first chapter, when Becky, the bad, tosses Johnson's dictionary at the feet of the astonished Jemima, we adore the little devil, and Amelia, the good, has lost her chance forever. Thackeray early realizes the hopeless nature of his task and frankly takes the heroine's crown from Amelia to place it on Becky's chestnut locks. In the end we all hope that Becky got enough out of that fool Joseph to make her comfortable. On the other hand, Fielding's Amelia is kept in the background and Miss Fanny Matthews holds the center of the stage for a couple of weeks before Amelia arrives unexpectedly in the prison parlor, and yet, on the instant, we love Amelia and detest Miss Matthews. From the beginning we are unable to understand the infatuation of Colonel James and finally we take infinite comfort as the lady grows "immensely fat."

Thackeray cordially admired Fielding for the lights and shadows of his character-drawing and says: "The virtues

which he exhibits shine out by their contrasts with the vices which he paints so faithfully as they never could have done if the latter had not been depicted as well as the former," and so when he sets out to tell what manner of man Fielding was he uses the same art to make Fielding's virtues more prominent, and if he fails to find the necessary vices for his picture he does not hesitate to invent them. For the sake of his art he will sacrifice the artist he so cordially admired. And in all this there is a brave show of candor and doubtless his voice trembled as he said, " Let us then not accuse Fielding of immorality," and he protests he cannot make a hero of him. " Why hide his faults?" he asks as he proceeds to invent new ones. Is this too harsh a sentence? Let us face the facts. Roscoe, whose memoir Thackeray had been reading in 1840, says " that Fielding was frequently known to return late at night from a convivial meeting and proceed to read and make extracts from the most abstruse authors before he retired to rest." This story Roscoe got from Murphy who got it apparently from hearsay. In any event there is nothing more to be known of the matter as Murphy apparently was the first to give it to print. Now this did not suit Mr. Thackeray's point of view at all, for it indicated sobriety and moderation, as no man when drunk can read and note abstruse authors, and therefore Mr. Thackeray writes in the *Times,* " They say he used to come home from a supper party, and after tying a wet cloth around his head would begin to read as stoutly as the soberest man in either of the Temples." Thereafter this figure became the central object on Thackeray's picture of Fielding. He uses again almost these exact words in the lectures on *The Humorists,* just as the lolling red tongue of the dog shines out in Sargent's famous portrait of Wertheimer, and Thackeray intended the stroke for just such an artistic purpose. There was nothing of malice in this, only too great devotion to art. Again, to lighten up a page in *Pendennis,* which Thackeray may have thought dull, he exhibits Fielding with his " wet towel round his head, dashing off articles at midnight for the *Covent Garden Journal,* while the printer's boy is asleep in the passage."

The outlines of Mr. Thackeray's picture being settled, he summons imagination to fill in the details. Thackeray sober must discover Fielding drunk. " His muse had sung the loudest in tavern choruses, had seen the daylight stream-

ing over thousands of emptied bowls and reeled home to chambers on the shoulders of the watchman." In *Amelia* we are told, as was Mr. Thackeray told, that "the watchmen in our metropolis are chosen out of those poor old decrepit people, who are from their want of bodily strength rendered incapable of getting a Livelihood by Work." It required the abounding imagination of a Thackeray to see such a one bearing homeward the stalwart form of Fielding. And the "emptied bowles by the thousands." This is creation. "Let there be bowles!" And there were bowles! That Fielding drank in his youthful days, as most Englishmen then drank, is most likely. Murphy testifies to this as does Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. But she knew nothing of his latter days, as she left England in July, 1739, not to return until after his death. Under the influence of drink many a genius has dashed off a short story or a poem, but the world has yet to see genius capable of sustained effort, such as we find in *Tom Jones,* while under the influence of liquor, or with a brain clouded by over-indulgence in the past. Either Henry Fielding did not drink as Thackeray insists he drank, or else some other hand than his penned *Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones,* and *Amelia.* The incongruity is so manifest that the early biographers from Murphy to Thackeray ought to have seen that the man, Fielding, could not have been what they were insisting he was, and yet have accomplished what they knew he did.

In all his historical efforts Mr. Thackeray avoids the use of dates, and, of course, they do in a measure hamper and retard the imagination. "Once I wrote a tragedy," confessed Herbert Spencer to Huxley. "I know the plot!" exclaimed Huxley. "Impossible!" insisted Spencer, "for till now I never told of its existence." "Yet I know," persisted Huxley, "it was a beautiful theory killed by a nasty, ugly, little fact." Thackeray tells us the stock story of Fielding's wife inheriting a little fortune from her mother, and Fielding at the same time a small one from his mother, amounting in all to five or six thousand pounds, and how he retired to the country and in three years spent it all on horses and hounds and riotous living, in all of which there is to be found scarcely any truth at all. Fielding's mother died in 1718, leaving six children and an estate of about £3,000. Three years later the net income of the estate was £150, giving £25 a year for the education of each child. On

February 12, 1735, Henry Fielding was living at No. 12 Buckingham Street, London. On February 25th the will of Elizabeth Cradock was proved and by it Fielding's wife got about £1,500. With this the couple probably retired to Fielding's little farm-house at East Stour. They scarcely could have remained there a full year, for by March 6, 1736, Fielding had written "Pasquin," leased a theater, gathered together a company of players, and had begun his career as a manager. He could not have spent all his wife's money, as he must have had some capital to enable him to secure this lease and form a company. Nor did he then spend his mother's estate at East Stour, for he only sold his interest in this property in Trinity term, 1738, after he had begun the study of the law, and with the proceeds of the sale he must have supported his family during the period of his study. On July 9, 1739, he wrote to Mr. Nourse asking for a house of a rent of £40, near the Temple, showing that even then his resources were not exhausted. Thus is the beautiful theory of horses and hounds, and liveries and revels, killed by "nasty, ugly, little facts." Chatting with Bayard Taylor about his projected *History of the Reign of Queen Anne,* Thackeray said: "I want to absorb the authorities gradually, so that when I come to write, I shall be filled with the subject and can sit down to a continuous narrative without jumping up every moment to consult somebody." This was Thackeray's conception of History; our conception of Fiction.

Thackeray fancies "young Fielding from Leyden rushing upon the feast with his great laugh and immense healthy young appetite, eager and vigorous to enjoy," and he describes the friends he won, the good clothes he wore, the debts he made, and the easy manner in which he borrowed from his friends, "and bore down upon them for a dinner or a guinea," and "to supply himself with the latter he *began* to write theatrical pieces." All of which is mere fancy and unkindly fiction, for Fielding began to write for the stage before he ever went to Leyden, and without waiting to get into debt. In the midst of his study there he wrote *Don Quixote in England,* which Mr. Thackeray might have learned by a glance at page 991 of the book he was reviewing, and this little fact would have left one less windmill at which to tilt. He comes from Leyden, about January 1, 1730, and on the 26th of the month is produced the

"Temple Beau" at Goodman's Fields, followed March 10th by the "Author's Farce" at the Haymarket, and later by "Tom Thumb" and the "Coffee-House Politician" at the same theater. Four plays, written and produced in one year, by a youth of twenty-three, leaves little time for intemperance, and less cause for borrowing or sponging. How unkind is the suggestion of "bearing down upon his friends for a dinner or a guinea," and how Thackeray would have shrunk, as from a blow, if one had described him as bearing down thus upon the Brookfields, or the host of the little brown house in New York! How we all delight in giving dinners to those of our friends who do not need them! Many's the dinner Thackeray got which the honest host was glad to give. How proud would one of us be, if we, or one of our grandsires, had been able to step into that little sunshiny arbor at Margate and to carry off Mr. Titmarsh to dinner, and to slip into his hands the hundred-pound note he needed so badly then, to be returned, of course, when fortune smiled upon him. And here is the real Ralph Allen—how we admire and envy him for sending £200 to Henry Fielding when, it is said, he then knew him not at all. And what a wise investment for Allen, assured thereby of fame as long as shall live Tom Jones and his left-handed uncle, Thomas Allworthy!

Mr. Thackeray declares that Fielding "would have been very successful at the bar, but for certain circumstances" and adds, "These ugly circumstances always fall in the way of men of Fielding's genius," just as they were to fall in the way of Thackeray's genius a little later. The truth is that both men were called to the bar in middle life and neither could afford to wait. "It is a pity Fielding did not live on his income," exclaims Thackeray, and here is the root of the whole matter: Fielding refused to be prosperous, and than that no man can commit a crime more flagrant in the eyes of an Englishman, and an American simply cannot understand such a creature at all.

An author realizes the danger in seeking autobiography in fiction and yet authors, of all men, seem most prone to this error. Thackeray constantly does this with Fielding and with no contemporary authority, save Lady Mary, who thinks she sees Fielding in Booth, and yet was out of the country during most of Fielding's married life, and so also Samuel Richardson, who, with no opportunity for judg-

ing, says, "Tom Jones is Fielding himself, hardened in some places, softened in others." Thackeray fastens lovingly on both theories and says: "He is himself the hero of his books; he is wild Tom Jones, he is wild Captain Booth, less wild, I am glad to think than his predecessor, at least heartily conscious of demerit and anxious to amend." And later he deplores "Jones's fondness for drink and play; Booth's fondness for play and drink, and the unfortunate position of the wives of both gentlemen." Now nowhere do we find Mr. Jones displaying the least fondness for either play or drink. Only once is he on record as taking too much wine, and that was on the occasion of Mr. Allworthy's recovery from serious illness, and this slip we can readily excuse. Evidently he did not take much too much, for within the hour he was sober enough to vanquish at fisticuffs both the Rev. Thwackum and Blifil, and instead of taking offense at this we cannot help wishing he had taken a mite too much long before. As for the "play," if we are to believe his biographer, he never gambled at all. But this satisfies not Thackeray. Tom Jones and Harry Fielding were one and the same, and in such an age Fielding must have drunk deeply and played heavily, and therefore Tom Jones did likewise, and if Fielding failed to record it he failed in his duty to the reader. This is Thackeray's attitude and if it is bad history, so much the worse for History.

Some biographers of Fielding think they find a touch of autobiography when the author says to Minos at the gates of Elysium that:

"I confess'd I had indulged myself very freely with Wine and Women in my Youth, but had never done an Injury to any Man living, nor avoided an Opportunity of doing good; that I pretended to Very little Virtue more than general Philanthropy, and private Friendship."

Now this may be autobiography and it may not be, but it is not a whit more likely to be such than is this passage from the *Paris Sketch Book* of Mr. Titmarsh:

"The life of the young artist is the easiest, merriest, dirtiest existence possible. Each gentleman has his favorite tobacco pipe; and the pictures are painted in the midst of a cloud of smoke, and a din of puns and choice French slang, and a roar of choruses, of which no one can form an idea who has not been present at such an assembly. How he passes his evenings, at what theaters, at what guinguettes, in company with what seducing little milliner, there is no need to say; but I know one who pawned his coat to go to a carnival ball and walked abroad very cheerfully in his *blouse* for six weeks, until he could redeem the absent garment."

And if both be true, what then? And if it was Mr. Michael Angelo Titmarsh who wore his *blouse* abroad and was with the questionable little milliner at the more questionable guinguette, what then? Was either less admirable as a writer? And should we who have not confessed as frankly be emboldened to throw stones? What did we expect from either man? Did we look for such a confession as was made by Mrs. Pilkington's grandsire, Colonel Meade, the father of twenty-one children, "a man of Fortune and in the Army," who declared on his death-bed "that he never had either when a Bachelor, or a Married Man, criminal conversation with a Woman; never was drunk; never broke his Word; nor ever us'd Tobacco." It is said that once the delightful Joseph Choate made some personal and complacent remark in the presence of the late Thomas B. Reed, sometime Speaker of the House, whereat an admiring bystander remarked, "My! I wish I could say that!" "Why don't you?" asked Reed. "Choate did."

Would we admire either Thackeray or Fielding more had their confession been as was that of the doughty Colonel Meade? And, in any event, do we want a confession from either? Be sure, their wives asked for none, so why should we? There is doubtless much in the novels of both men that they not only saw but bore a part in, but how much is truth and how much fiction, and which is truth and which is fiction, they being dead, no one on earth can say. For me I am content to believe that the best that can be found in Arthur Pendennis, in George Warrington, in Clive Newcome, or in Henry Esmond was Thackeray's own self, and that in the manliness of Tom Jones, in the devotion of Captain Booth to wife and children and in the faithfulness of Joseph Andrews, I am able to discover the real Harry Fielding. You cannot make such a sturdy creature as Fielding out of the weaknesses of Captain Booth, alone, any more than you can create the big and generous Thackeray out of nothing but the selfishness of Pendennis.

Probably we would fail to find in all literature two men more alike in manners, morals, and the way fate served them than these two—Henry Fielding and his admirable follower, William Makepeace Thackeray; and their points of contact, even the trivial ones, are more marked than the lines of divergence.

Thackeray's great-grandfather was Archdeacon of Sur-

rey, Fielding's was Earl of Desmond. Thackeray's grandfather a writer in the East India Company and President of the Board of Revenue; Fielding's was canon of Salisbury. Thackeray's father was a writer, collector, and judge of Ramgath in India; Fielding's a lieutenant-general in the English army. Good men, with good wit for both—Fielding with rather the best of it in English eyes.

When Thackeray was ten years old he went to Charterhouse, as did Fielding to Eton at twelve. Thackeray's father died when he was four and Fielding was eleven when he lost his mother. Thackeray had a stepfather and Fielding a stepmother after the usual proper delay. Thackeray spent a year and a half at Cambridge and Fielding about the same time in Leyden. Thackeray studied law in London and then gave it up, from distaste. Fielding studied law in Leyden and gave it up from scarcity of funds. At Eton and Leyden Fielding was studious. He says, "Tuscan and French are in my head; Latin I write and Greek I read." Thackeray was certainly less of a scholar, did not make as good use of his time at Charterhouse and Cambridge, and palpably envied Fielding's superior attainments.

Thackeray lost the money his father left him, said to be about £20,000, some at the gaming-table, and as much in unwise newspaper ventures. Fielding got rid of his little estates, of possibly £2,000 in all, in part by gentleman farming and the rest at the price of being called to the bar. Thackeray started life as an artist and failed, then as a writer of reviews, and sketches and what not, and struggled with misfortune for years. Fielding did support himself, barely, as a playwright, and struggled with misfortune just as Thackeray did after him.

Thackeray went back to the law and was called to the bar at the age of thirty-seven. Fielding went back to the law and at thirty-three was likewise called. At thirty-eight Thackeray tried strenuously for an appointment as magistrate. At forty-one Fielding was made magistrate. Thackeray married when he was twenty-seven and poor. Fielding was married at twenty-five and was just as poor. Thackeray's wife lost her mind when he was twenty-nine; Fielding's wife died when he was thirty-six. Thackeray's wife survived him thirty years; Fielding, marrying a second time, his wife survived him more than forty-seven years, dying on May 11, 1802. Thackeray died at the age of fifty-two,

and Fielding was forty-eight. With more of care both should have lived much longer, but both were careless.

Thackeray was generous and improvident and saved little or nothing until the lecturing days. Fielding was equally generous and improvident, and died poor, there being for him no lecturing days. Thackeray was jovial in disposition until he became prosperous, then less so. Fielding, apparently, was even more jovial, and, never becoming prosperous, remained jovial to the end. According to Dean Hole, Thackeray was six feet three inches in height, and his pictures show his broad shoulders. Murphy tells us that "Fielding was in stature rather rising above six feet, his frame of body large and remarkably robust."

Anthony Trollope accused Thackeray of idleness; Thackeray said Fielding was idle—both were wrong. Thackeray and Fielding both wrote under the urging of need. As successful stockbrokers neither would have doubtless written.

Thackeray was part owner in two newspapers, was editor of one magazine, and early in life was eager to try more. Fielding had four papers and did not rid himself of the habit till he had rid himself of his health. Thackeray produced his first great story, *Barry Lyndon,* when he was thirty-three. Fielding was thirty-five when *Joseph Andrews* appeared. Thackeray at forty-one gave the world *Esmond* and the world was gratified. At forty-two Fielding invented *Tom Jones,* and the world was more gratified, for, without *Tom Jones, Ivanhoe, David Copperfield* and *Vanity Fair* could not have been. Thackeray was forty-four when the *Newcomes* was completed; Fielding forty-four when *Amelia* was published. Thackeray went to Egypt and told of it in *From Cornhill to Grand Cairo;* Fielding went to Spain and told of it even more intimately in the *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon.*

Thackeray tells us that Fielding spent much of his time in taverns, and taverns were the clubs of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth, Thackeray belonged to the "Garrick," the "Reform," the "Athenæum," the "Travelers," "Our Club," and, appropriately, was a founder of the "Fielding." These six not sufficing, he dropped in at the Cyder Cellars, the Coal Hole, or Evans's.

"The best talker I ever listened to," said Dean Hole of Thackeray. "With more wit than all those you have named," said Lord Lyttleton of Fielding.

Where can we find two figures, looming large as these two, who could have changed places with so little loss to the world? Had Thackeray lived in the early eighteenth century the "Wolves and the Lamb" might have been acted at Goodman's Fields, and on the rest of the plays he would have written he might have lived. Under like conditions he could have invented the modern novel, and, unconstrained, have created a more sentimental *Tom Jones,* and reveled in it. Fielding, hedged in by amazing Victorian years, would have written a more ironical *Pendennis,* chafing, declaring to the world that "since the author of *Tom Jones* was buried, no writer of fiction among us has been permitted to depict to his utmost power a *man.*"

Others before Thackeray wrote of Fielding, and wrote as he did, but the difference is that Thackeray's views count and count for much, while those others count for little, or count not at all. Speaking of his own early work Thackeray said, "They were small potatoes," and then added, whimsically, "but they were good small potatoes." And they *were* good, so good that after more than half a century they still count, as the big potatoes of lesser men do not.

And if no one, save Thackeray, has said so many harsh things of Fielding, and as no one has said them with such convincement, so also no one has said so many fine things of the eighteenth-century genius, and said them so glowingly.

"He has an admirable natural love of truth, the keenest instinctive antipathy to hypocrisy, the happiest satirical gift of laughing it to scorn. His wit is wonderfully wise and detective; it flashes upon a rogue and lightens up a rascal like a policeman's lantern. He is one of the manliest and kindliest of human beings; . . . he respects female innocence and infantine tenderness, as you would suppose such a great-hearted, courageous soul would respect and care for them. He could not be so brave, generous, truth-telling as he is were he not infinitely merciful, pitiful, and tender. He will give any man his purse—he can't help kindness and profusion. . . . He admires with all his heart good and virtuous men, stoops to no flattery, bears no rancor, disdains all disloyal acts, does his duty uprightly, is fondly loved by his family and dies at his work."

Only one man could have written that fine passage—Henry Fielding! And of only one other man could he have written it—William Makepeace Thackeray!

Frederick S. Dickson.

ON THE PRIVILEGES OF REALISTS

BY HELEN SARD HUGHES

THERE is a query that raises itself in my mind again and again. It concerns itself with the sincerity of human nature and with those specious arguments men raise in defense of their own weaknesses. To-day I picked up *Moll Flanders* and read first Defoe's preface and then some chapters of the story. I had not read twenty pages before the old query was clamoring rampantly for consideration: How far does an asserted moral purpose justify the presentation of immoral material?

The Anglo-Saxon is traditionally credited with a strong ethical bent; with an instinct for reform; with a genteel habit of denominating a spade, a shovel. But is this accredited virtue his due, or has he builded this reputation for himself out of the stuff of loud assertions of a highly moral and didactic purpose while he continues to deal with material which pitch could not defile? The early English novelists pleased themselves and the public by setting forth in long introductions lofty sentiments on the conduct of life and on the hopeful aims behind the writing of their volumes and with inserting paragraphs of moral reflections here and there—drops of oil upon the troubled waters of their tales! But too often these idealistic reflections are utterly outweighed by the vivid realism that precedes and follows them. Psychologically considered, are these tales as a whole a *warning against* so much as an *example of* certain phases of life?

Richardson paints a romantically virtuous heroine and a realistically villainous hero, and he relies upon the holy meditations of the lady, his own running comment, and the final catastrophe to teach a powerful lesson. Yet whatever our other feelings may be on finishing the book, recognizing

Clarissa as "the incomparable lady," as she surely is, we cannot but admit a secret satisfaction that she *is* the only one of her kind, whereas Lovelace, "the vilest of men," claims, in spite of our "Anglo-Saxon prejudices," a bit of both our pity and our admiration.

Fielding again shows that arrant rascal, Tom Jones, with all the compensating advantages of attractiveness of person and disposition; his evil ways still further palliated by contrast with the villainies of less pleasing individuals and by his subjection to a judicious amount of undeserved misfortune. And then Fielding pretends, in stray chapters of profitable exposition, to warn the reader against emulating in any way this admirable fellow.

Defoe writes *Moll Flanders*—more intensely realistic than the work of either of his notable successors—a picture of the lowest life of London drawn with an accuracy and a gusto that hardly acquit the author of an interest in his material *per se*. And then he prefaces it with an introduction in which he gravely suggests "a few of the serious inferences which we are led to in this book, and these are fully sufficient to justify any man in recommending it to the world and much more justify the publication of it." As an example of these "serious influences" he continues: "All the exploits of this lady of fame in her depredations upon mankind stand as so many warnings to honest people to beware of 'em, intimating to 'em by what methods innocent people are drawn in, plundered, and robbed and by consequence how to avoid them." And again: "As the whole relation is carefully garbled of all the levity and looseness that was in it, so it is applied and with the utmost care to virtuous and religious uses."

This sounds well, but can we entirely reconcile these statements of lofty purpose with all the detail included in the accounts of Moll's life in London? And are the circumstantial details in Lovelace's letters and in Moll Flanders's autobiography rendered any more palatable by the author's introductions, footnotes, and parenthetical paragraphs than is the objective baldness of Flaubert at a later date?

The writers of Restoration Comedy had half a century earlier dealt with similar material in a different mood. Their treatment is absolutely and frankly devoid of any moral motive. Yet in spite of this their characters are more unmoral than immoral, lacking, as they do, the ele-

ment of actuality that would lead to judgment. Charles Lamb's expression of this conception in his essay "On the Artificial Comedy of the Last Century" has always seemed fair. He says:

"I could never connect those sports of witty fancy in any shape with any result to be drawn from them to imitation in real life. They are a world to themselves, almost a fairyland. Take one of their characters . . . and place it in a modern play and my virtuous indignation shall rise against the profligate wretch . . . because in a modern play I am to judge of the right and wrong. . . . But in its own world do we feel the creature is so very bad? The Fainalls, the Mirabels, the Dormants, and the Lady Touchwoods in their own sphere do not offend any moral sense; in fact, they do not appeal to it at all."

Congreve may be said, paradoxically, to exemplify an unmoral idealism that compares favorably with the moralistic realism of a century later. And by virtue of its lack of reality and individuality his treatment of questionable material seems the least offensive, yet his is a method French in style rather than English and free from that profound purpose which every true Englishman proudly asserts.

When I began to think on this subject I had not read *The English Rogue,* that early contribution to the English literature of roguery; but knowing of its English authorship and something of its content, I felt sure investigation would reveal a solemn statement of benefits conferred upon the reading public by that recital, four volumes long, of ingeniously varied violations of the Decalogue. And I was not mistaken, for in one of the prefaces the author states:

"—you have here laid before you a large catalogue of notorious rogueries; your own conscience may serve as a finger in the margin pointing directly to the guilt with which you are principally concerned; to deal plainly with you, had I lived in a less wicked age than this is, this book had ne'er been extant; it was the vicious practices of these corrupted times that gave it matter and form, life and being; . . . but since villainy improves itself daily, notwithstanding the lamentable examples monthly attending the commission thereof, I thought good to erect this monument of their shame and wickedness, which may serve instead of a continual Sessions and an everlasting Tyburne to fright these vile miscreants from their erroneous practices."

These authors, however, admit that they have met with some criticism of their methods of reducing crime by presenting it as clever and amusing, but they offer this conclusive argument for the rectitude of their purpose:

"—and if you will have a little patience you shall find . . . that no crime shall go unpunished, no particular person who hath been guilty

of vicious extravagance but shall have a punishment for their crime; . . . and then I hope all persons who make use of this book will be induced to forbear and decline their wickedness lest a just judgment overtake them as they find it hath done to these extravagants. This is the true design and end of the book in general, and whoever makes any otherwise construction does greatly abuse the real and true intent of their honest monitor, Fra. Kirkman."

Still, we cannot but feel that the authors do protest too much, and the perusal of even a few pages of the work leaves us to marvel that any pretext could make so evil a tree appear to bring forth good fruit.

But these very arguments with which the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries justified themselves are being offered to us to-day in extenuation of our problem novel and problem drama. A prominent playwright presents a play which is forced off the New York stage. Certain broad and artistic persons censure this boorish intolerance, insisting upon the great moral value of such a production as a lesson and a warning. Yet, we may question, how large a proportion of the audience who witnessed that play is in need of warning? Is the small proportion which is sufficiently versed to read it aright wholesomely sensitive to its truth? And is the large proportion, comparatively unread in these chapters of the moralities, made better by partaking of the fruit of the tree of knowledge in this artistic form?

As usual, reflection on my years-old query leaves me an uncompromising idealist. I have a good deal of sympathy with the remark of Lovelace, Richardson's villain, that "There is enough in the world to make our hearts sad without carrying grief into our diversions and making the distresses of others our own." And then, more seriously, I must believe in a positive—not a negative—teaching of a positive morality; that it is by lifting up our eyes unto the hills that our strength cometh rather than by peering down into the dank darkness of the morasses. I cannot but feel a weak fallaciousness and a mocking insincerity in the much-talked-of moral purpose of much of our problem literature; and I believe, in spite of Mr. Wells's eloquent defense, that modern realists too might well insert into their pages the naïve sentiment upon the title-page of *The English Rogue:*

> "Read but don't Practice; for the Author findes
> They which live Honest have most quiet mindes."

HELEN SARD HUGHES.

ASPECTS OF THE INCOME TAX

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

Few events during the past decade have impressed foreign students of American affairs with such a sense of real importance as the recent adoption of the income-tax amendment to the Constitution. Both from the political and the economic standpoint it has been hailed in Europe as a decisive development. Changing the American Constitution is an enterprise so beset with difficulties and delays that it had almost come to be regarded abroad as impossible. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century Americans have altered their fundamental law five times only. The first time was in 1804 when an amendment was ratified clearing up certain ambiguities in the method of choosing the President and the Vice-President. The next three occasions occurred in the sixties when the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments, registering the results of the Civil War, were added to the Constitution without either the assent or participation of the seceding Southern States. Then came an interval of over forty years during which the Constitution remained absolutely unchanged—a singular testimony either to the foresight of its framers, or its lack of adaptability to modern conditions, or to the innate conservatism of the American people. In the course of those four decades it was no doubt modified from time to time in spirit, if not in form, by judicial interpretation and the slow and subtle growth of custom. But it was never formally amended. In the past hundred and ten years the American Constitution had thus been altered once in a purely technical detail that involved no question of principle, and three times as the consequence of a terrible convulsion. The adoption of the income-tax amendment on February 3d may, therefore, be said to be the only instance in well

over a century in which the Constitution of the United States has been amended in any matter of genuine moment, under normal circumstances, and in accordance with the methods laid down by its framers. I need hardly add that this flickering of flexibility in an instrument so long looked upon as fossilized is welcomed in Europe as an auspicious sign that even in America things move and the dead hand is not omnipotent.

But on economic as well as political grounds the friends of America abroad regard the ratification of the income-tax amendment as a substantial step in the right direction. When the Constitution laid it down that no capitation or other direct tax should be imposed except by apportioning its incidence among the several States on the basis of their population, it raised the most effective barrier to any rational system of taxation that could possibly have been devised, and it practically forced the United States Government to depend for its revenue upon customs duties. Legal ingenuity, however, can get round anything; and the Supreme Court decided as long ago as 1789 that an income tax was not a direct tax and need not therefore be apportioned among the States. During the Civil War, by three successive Acts of Congress, taxes were actually levied on incomes and their constitutional validity was upheld by the Supreme Court. The worst of legal ingenuity, however, is that it cannot be depended on. In 1895 the Supreme Court reversed its decision of fifteen years earlier and incidentally shattered the fiscal programme of the Democratic party by pronouncing the income tax to be a direct tax, and therefore incapable of being levied except in strict proportion to the population of the various States, and therefore, in effect, incapable of being levied at all. There has been no more conspicuous instance in our time of the dangers of allowing a Court from which there is no appeal to determine the validity of a legislative enactment. The consequences of the decision of 1895 were to deny to the United States Government the right to tax incomes or personal property from whatever source and of whatever kind, to restrict it still further to indirect taxes as virtually its sole source of revenue, to deprive it of a power that might one day be vital to the safety of the Union, and to exhibit it in a condition of feebleness that was altogether incompatible with any sound conception of a sovereign State. All these disabilities

have now been removed, and the Democrats must surely feel that with the adoption of the income-tax amendment, a great obstacle has been cleared from their path. To-day, as twenty years ago, the crucial task that confronts them is the downward revision of the tariff. It can only be effectively accomplished if they possess and can exercise the power to offset the almost inevitable decline in revenue by the imposition of direct taxation. The ratification of the amendment gives them this power and I assume they will not be slow to use it. Just as the proceeds of the income tax enormously facilitated Great Britain's conversion to Free Trade so it seems likely that the Democrats will utilize the same source of revenue to balance their inroads upon the schedules of the Payne Tariff Act. It is true, as I understand the matter, that they will be embarrassed by some difficulties that did not affect the British statesmen of the 'forties, and particularly by the dual sovereignty that permeates the American form of government. One of the essential principles, apparently, of the American Constitution is that the Federal Government cannot tax the agencies and instrumentalities of a State Government, nor a State Government tax the agencies and instrumentalities of the Federal Government. Congress, in other words, in spite of the adoption of the income-tax amendment, cannot, if I am rightly informed, tax incomes derived from investments in State or Municipal bonds, any more than a State could levy on the salary of a Federal officeholder; and I apprehend that it may prove a matter of considerable difficulty and delay to draw the exact line between the taxing prerogatives enjoyed by the two authorities. But the great thing, after all, is that the Federal Government should at last be in a position to adopt what is perhaps, or what can at any rate be made, as equitable a system of taxation as any that has yet been framed.

The justice and expediency of a tax on incomes have so long been admitted by all the leading nations of Europe that the theoretical arguments for it and against it have almost ceased to be discussed. The principle of an income tax is all but universally accepted throughout the Old World; it is only its application and its results that now concern economists. One would scarcely anywhere in Europe find a journal of position arguing, for instance, as more than one New York periodical has argued within the last few

weeks, that taxes levied on income derived from industry are inequitable and oppressive, and disputing the old maxim that the burden of taxation should be distributed so as to bear most heavily on those best able to sustain it. But it may, perhaps, be useful, before taking up specific instances of the income tax in practice, to enumerate in general terms its advantages and disadvantages. It is claimed for it, then, that on the whole it is the fairest of all taxes; that a citizen's obligation to support the Government that protects him cannot be discharged more equitably than by making him contribute a certain portion of his net income; that the incidence of the tax automatically adjusts itself to the ups and downs of each individual's financial position; that it is the simplest thing in the world to graduate it so that it bears more hardly proportionately upon the rich than the poor; that it embraces persons and classes who would otherwise escape all direct taxation and thus stimulates a general interest in the efficiency and economical working of government; that its imposition, unlike most indirect taxes which are very largely taxes on consumption, does nothing to disturb prices; and that, while admittedly difficult to collect, it is eminently productive and places in the statesman's hands a potent instrument, if not of social justice, at least of social retribution. As against this, however, it is contended that to tax incomes is really to tax enterprise, industry, and energy, and to relieve the shiftless and the indolent, to mulct the honest and to let the dishonest escape scot-free; that the method of collecting it must to some extent be necessarily inquisitorial; that the ease with which the tax can be dodged invites to perjury and evasion—Gladstone, when he was meditating its total repeal, declared that it made a nation of liars; that it is essentially a piece of class legislation inasmuch as it presses very heavily on a few, less heavily on more, comparatively lightly on a still larger number, and not at all on the great bulk of the population; and finally, that it tends to drive capital abroad.

It is not difficult to bring these statements to the test of fact by reference to the case of Great Britain. The income tax was introduced into Great Britain by William Pitt in 1799 under the stress of the French war. It was abolished in 1816, when Waterloo had put an end to the pecuniary pressure, but Sir Robert Peel revived it in 1842 and Gladstone considerably extended it in 1853. From being a tempo-

rary war tax it has now become a permanent part of the British financial system, and is resorted to by every Chancellor of the Exchequer who finds himself in difficulties. Pretty nearly every one who has resided in Great Britain for more than a year on end is brought within its scope. Whatever his nationality the odds are that he will find himself placed under Schedule D of the income-tax assessment, bombarded with official documents that have to be filled up and returned to the local surveyor of taxes within seven days, and threatened with a host of penalties if he assaults the collector or makes "an untrue return." Schedule D casts a wide net. It does not matter whether you are a British subject or not, whether you live in the United Kingdom or outside of it, whether your "trade, profession, employment, or vocation" is carried on in England or abroad. Your income may come from the United States and you yourself be an American citizen, but if you live in England Schedule D will get you. Or you may be a Frenchman living in France, but if your income is derived from any form of business carried on in Great Britain, Schedule D will still circumvent you. All that you can do is to take the fullest advantage of the various abatements and deductions that are permitted or else to juggle frankly with your conscience. Most Englishmen do both. It is only the immaculate minority that declares its full income. The average man confronted with the income-tax papers takes a modest, a depreciatory, even a pessimistic view of his profits and of the extent to which he feels justified in disclosing them. None the less Mr. Gladstone's dictum that the income tax had made a nation of liars stands in need of certain deductions that have no small weight with such a being as man in such a world as the present. In the first place, it is not considered a grave offense against morality to put one's income, for the purpose of tax assessment, at somewhat below its proper figure. It is like the smuggling of the returned American tourist, a sporting compromise with one's conscience that does not necessarily argue bad citizenship or an abnormal degree of immorality. There are a few people whose better self regains the upper hand when they quietly contemplate their crime and who make restitution to the Treasury. You frequently see in the London papers an acknowledgment from the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the receipt of such and such a sum from such and such

a person, whose initials but not whose name are given, as "conscience money." But the mass of Englishmen wear their guilt in the matter like a flower, lightly and even jubilantly. And in the second place it must be remembered that the opportunities for a serious underestimate are not very great. There is one, not indeed infallible but tolerably accurate, test of a man's income—the house he lives in and the rent he pays for it. These two items are matters of public record and if a statement of income appeared to be in flagrant conflict with them, a hint from the local Surveyor of Taxes or a demand for the production of account-books would in most cases be enough to bring the two sets of figures into a more appropriate harmony. On the whole, therefore, I should not say that the exercises in mental and moral prestidigitation that accompany the filling up of the income-tax returns do any vital harm to the national character. From that standpoint Americans, I think, might risk it. After conniving for forty years at the monstrous frauds of the pension roll, and with their transcendent skill in ending the tax on personal property wherever it is imposed, my conviction is that they are amply barricaded against the contaminating influences of an income tax.

There is another point on which British experience is illuminating—I mean the alleged inquisitorial character of the tax. Once every year the British Government, taking stock of all the resources that may be drawn upon to build Dreadnoughts against Germany, to float a scheme of national insurance, to grant Home Rule to Ireland, and what not, lights upon my insignificant self and still more insignificant income as an asset that should be turned to account. It is the only occasion on which, as an average British subject, I am brought into direct contact with the national taxing authorities; and, frankly, I do not find that our annual momentary connection bears much resemblance to an inquisition. I am supplied by mail with the necessary papers; I fill them up and return them to the designated official; and there, nine years out of ten, the matter ends. I do not recall more than one or two instances in which I have been asked to explain how I arrived at a certain figure or in which I have felt impelled to protest against the assessment. The normal thing is for the Commissioners to accept my calculations and for me to accept theirs, and for the transaction to be concluded with a check for the amount

due from me. I am by no means any more eager than my neighbors to pay taxes in any form and unquestionably there are times when a man of moderate income, like myself, finds that it involves a real inconvenience to meet this particular impost. But as a rational being one recognizes that the Government must have money and one is altogether at a loss to say in what way the wealth derived from property and investments can be so adequately, so regularly, and so equitably laid under contribution. An income tax is unpopular just as every other direct tax is unpopular, but mingling with and mitigating its unpopularity is the sense that on the whole it is a just tax. What, however—to return to the point I was dealing with—helps most of all to take the edge off popular resentment is that about three-fourths of the amount collected is not assessed directly on the ultimate payers, but at the source of origin. I own stock, let us say, in a railroad company. The income tax is assessed on and collected from the railroad company in one sum and the burden of it distributed among the stockholders in proportion to their holdings. My dividends, that is, reach me "less income tax." In this way evasion is made extremely difficult, the productivity of the tax is largely increased, and its incidence is deprived of that personal element and of that immediate contact between the individual and the tax-collecting agency which are largely responsible for the unpopularity of imposts. It is, in short, quite vital to remember, when considering the inquisitorial character of the income tax, that the great bulk of its proceeds are gathered indirectly, not from the taxpayer but from the companies in which he has invested his savings.

Moreover, one must bear in mind that a wise statesmanship is never unduly stringent in its methods of enforcing the payment of taxes. There are many kinds of income to which the system of assessment at the source cannot be applied at all, or can only be applied very imperfectly; as, for instance, the profits derived from a private business, the income derived from a profession, and certain descriptions of income derived from abroad. In these cases the British Government has to rely largely on self-assessment by the taxpayer, and it is here that scope is found for fraud and evasion. Either there is a deliberate under-statement of the profits in the return; or no return is sent in at all, either with the hope of escaping notice altogether or with

the hope that, if an official assessment is made, it will be less than the real profit. "The evidence goes to show," reported a Parliamentary Committee that sat on the question some six or seven years ago, "that many people, who shrink from making a false statement, can yet reconcile it with their consciences to defraud their neighbors by mere passive neglect of their obligations." And besides all this there is also much avoidance of the tax due to ignorance, carelessness, or inability to understand and correctly fill up the forms. In this way there is no doubt a considerable annual loss to the revenue; but the authorities are for the most part content to put up with the loss rather than incur the unpopularity of adopting a rigorous procedure. The penalty for not making a return or for making an incorrect return is a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars and treble the duty properly chargeable. This is at once too slight a punishment for wilful evasion and too heavy a one for carelessness or ignorance. It is true that the Commissioners can, and often do, put pressure on the defaulters by making or raising an assessment whenever they have *prima facie* evidence that there is unsatisfied liability. But very often evidence is lacking; and the method of making a high assessment in the dark, as a means of compelling disclosure, is not altogether satisfactory and would be still more unsatisfactory if it were to be established as a general rule. Those, too, the whole of whose income is already taxed at the source, rarely take the trouble to make any return at all. It was estimated seven years ago that about a third of the forms sent out are put in the waste-paper basket; and the difficulty of discovering the cases of deliberate evasion is thus enormously increased. All these sources of leakage could be stopped. It might be made obligatory on every individual to fill up the forms under penalty of a small fine; the punishment for making incorrect returns might be increased; frauds might be publicly exposed; the revenue authorities might be given greater powers for levying a surcharge or supplementary assessment in cases of proved evasion; the whole machinery for detecting fraud might be improved. But Governments in a matter of this kind cannot advance an inch beyond public opinion; they are doubtful, as they well might be, whether "the man in the street" would support an energetic administration of an inevitably unpopular law; and they pre-

fer, and I think very wisely prefer, to err on the side of mercy, to tolerate abuses rather than wage open war on them, to develop at the same time the efficiency of their system so that misdemeanors may be headed off one by one and without any overt scandal, and to avoid anything that would stir up the public mind against the tax itself.

The income tax at present levied in Great Britain stands at 1*s* 2*d* in the pound, or a fraction over five per cent. The sources of income on which the tax is levied are divided into five schedules. Schedule A includes income derived from the ownership of lands and houses; Schedule B from the occupation of lands; Schedule C from British, Indian, Colonial and Foreign Government securities; Schedule D from business concerns, private employments, professions, and investments in railways and industrial enterprises; and Schedule E from the salaries of Government, municipal, and company officials. Of these schedules the fourth—Schedule D—is by far the most important, being responsible for well over half the gross amount of revenue brought under review. It is the Schedule which most closely concerns the average man who is not a landowner or a house-owner, or a public official and who has little money invested in Government securities but who carries on a business or profession, receives a salary, and puts his savings into railway and industrial companies. Let us see how he stands under it. First of all, if his income from all sources does not exceed $800 per annum he pays no tax at all. If it is between $800 and $2,000 he is entitled to an abatement of $800; if between $2,000 and $2,500 to an abatement of $750; if between $2,500 and $3,000 to an abatement of $600; and if between $3,000 and $3,500 to an abatement of $350. Furthermore if his total income is less than $10,000 a year he pays only ninepence in the pound (about three and one-half cents in the dollar) on that portion of it which is earned income; and if it is between $10,000 and $15,000 a year he pays only one shilling in the pound (five cents in the dollar) on that portion of it which is earned. The full rate of one shilling and two pence in the pound (all but six cents in the dollar) only begins to apply when the income exceeds $15,000 per annum. But when the income exceeds $25,000 a year a supertax of twelve cents is levied on every five dollars of income over and above $15,000. The features in the British system that are most worthy of note by Ameri-

cans at the present juncture are therefore (1) the total exemption of small incomes; (2) the abatements allowed on moderate incomes; (3) the distinction drawn between earned and unearned income; (4) the progressive and graduated character of the tax; and (5) the supertax on the large incomes.

The first thing that an Englishman has to do when grappling with Schedule D is to calculate his "income," and for this purpose he must remember that his wife's income is deemed to be his own. The way in which he is directed to proceed with his calculations is simple and fairly equitable. He begins by striking an average of the profits of the three past years arising from his "trade, profession, employment, or vocation." From this he is entitled to make deductions (1) for the repairs of premises occupied for the purpose of trade and manufacture and for the supply or repair of implements, articles, or utensils employed; (2) for debts proved to be bad and for doubtful debts at their estimated value; (3) for the rent of premises that are used solely as a place of business; (4) for two-thirds of the rent of any dwelling-house which is partly used for the purposes of business; (5) for wear and tear of machinery and plant; (6) for life-insurance premiums paid on the claimant's own life or on that of his wife, so long as the amount so paid does not exceed one-sixth of the net income from all sources; (7) for a reduction of £10 on account of each child of under sixteen if the total income is less than $2,500 a year; and (8) for "any other disbursements or expenses wholly and exclusively laid out for the purposes of the trade, etc." On the other hand, no deductions are allowed for any interest on capital, or for sums paid as salaries to partners, or for sums invested or employed as capital in the trade or business, or for sums expended on improving the premises or written off for depreciation of land, buildings, or leases, or for any loss not connected with or arising out of the trade, or recoverable under an insurance or contract of indemnity, or for any sum expended on domestic and private purposes. It will thus be seen that in Great Britain the income tax might much more fairly and intelligibly be described as a tax on profits and on profits ascertained by a three years' average, and that in ascertaining this figure there are substantial deductions to be made. If, for instance, you are a doctor and receive patients at home, you

may deduct two-thirds of the rent of your house, the whole of the rent of an outside office, the salaries of your assistants and locum-tenens, the cost of drugs, medical books, and instruments, and, I should say—though the Commissioners might dispute it—the keep or hire of your brougham or motor-car.

A few more words may be added to bring out various aspects and details of the British system. Thus it is interesting to note that the assessment of the tax on real estate is based on rental or rentable value, with deductions allowed for repairs, improvements, and other outlays of one-sixth on houses and buildings and one-eighth on land. The tax is collected from the tenant of the property, whether occupier or owner. I am myself, for instance, the tenant of the house in which I live and simultaneously with the income tax I am yearly levied on for a Property Tax and an Inhabited House Duty. The latter comes out of my own pocket; but the former I am entitled, after paying it, to deduct from the next quarter's rent due to the landlord. So far as government and municipal securities are concerned the procedure is equally simple, the bankers or agents being compelled to deduct the income tax before issuing the dividend warrants. Very much the same method applies also to railroads and industrial corporations carrying on business within the United Kingdom, except that the income-tax assessment is levied on the full profits of the undertaking, after a reasonable allowance for managerial expenses and depreciation, but irrespective of the amounts actually declared and distributed in the form of dividends. As it must frequently happen that the dividends from which the income tax has thus been deducted go to persons whose total income exempts them from all payment of the tax, the Inland Revenue authorities are constantly obliged to refund the moneys they have collected—to the extent of some $15,000,000 a year; and the business of advising and prosecuting such claims against the Treasury has grown into quite an extensive branch of commercial enterprise. One occasionally hears in Great Britain of economists advocating an almost universal income tax, to be levied on all wage-earners in receipt of over six or seven dollars a week and to be deducted from the pay-roll by the employer. But though undoubtedly something might be said for such a suggestion, it is quite obviously not within the sphere

of practical politics; and speaking generally, there is no decided movement of opinion in favor either of lowering or increasing the present limit of exemption which stands at $800 a year. The super-tax on incomes of over $25,000 is much more closely representative of the present trend of democratic politics, and in Great Britain, where it is a comparative novelty, it already produces over $15,000,000 a year. It cannot, however, be indefinitely extended except at the risk, which even now is an apparent risk, of driving capital abroad. This is not altogether the disastrous development it appears to be, because the more British capital is invested abroad, the better on the whole for the industrial prosperity and expansion of the kingdom. But from the standpoint of the Treasury it is open to the objection that an Englishman who invests his surplus in a foreign country, and allows his bankers or agents in that country to reinvest his dividends for him, escapes altogether the operation of the income tax. This is a tendency which the super-tax on big incomes seems likely to emphasize. It is, at any rate, rather too soon to be quite certain that a high rate of assessment on the millionaire may not defeat its own object by inducing him to remove his capital beyond British jurisdiction. For the rest, it is worth noting that of the $220,000,000 now raised by the income tax some $50,000,000 comes from incomes derived from the ownership of lands and houses, about $15,000,000 from home and foreign Government securities, and some $130,000,000 from business, professions, and ordinary investments; and that each penny of the tax brings into the Treasury nearly $15,000,000.

I have no means of knowing whether the American Democrats who clearly intend to try their hands at framing an income-tax law have studied the complexities of the subject, or have grounded themselves in the various problems of abatement, exemption, and graduation, or cherish the hope of wiping all such problems out of existence by simply levying a bold percentage on all incomes of over $5,000 a year. But whatever they decide to do they will probably find that one or other of the countries of Europe has been before them. There are as many theories and practices, one might almost say, in regard to the income tax as there are nations. In the German and Swiss confederations the income tax while levied by the separate States, forms part of the national sources of revenue. In Prussia it affects the whole in-

come of the taxpayer; elsewhere it is designed either to supplement existing taxes or to fall only on certain forms of income which otherwise would go free; in Austria it is a personal tax superimposed on six other taxes; in Bavaria it leaves untouched incomes already reached by other taxes on, for instance, land and industry; while in Spain and Italy it affects personalty only. The diversity in regard to the methods of graduation is equally great. In the German group, speaking broadly, the taxpayers are arranged in a number of categories, usually well over one hundred, according to the amount of income returned by or ascribed to them, and a definite sum of money is fixed as the tax in each category. In other States the categories are few in number and each one of them is taxed at a certain percentage rate which rises proportionately within the category and progressively at a few specified points; while in others the scale of progression is based upon, or combined with, the partial exemption of income from taxation. Practically all the States of Europe adopt some limit of exemption, but in every case it is lower than the British limit. In Saxe-Altenburg, for instance, it stands at $15, in Switzerland it varies in different cantons from $20 to $240; in Prussia it is $225 and in Saxony $100. Exemptions of a special character also obtain—municipal and charitable institutions, for instance, naval and military men, domestic servants, heads of families with children to support, or even, as in the canton of Fribourg, "agriculturists, printers, engravers, sculptors, and midwives"; and abatements are also allowed for continuous illness, debts, or special misfortune. Prussia with a rate of .67 per cent. on $225 rising to 4 per cent. on $25,000; Saxony with a rate of .25 per cent. on $100 rising to 5 per cent. on $25,000 and over; Austria with a rate of .6 per cent. on $260 rising to 4 per cent. on $20,000; Sweden with a rate of .2 per cent. on $275 and a maximum of 4 per cent. on $40,000; and Denmark with a minimum rate of 1.3 per cent. on $195 and a maximum of 2½ per cent. on $27,500 and over—may all be quoted as examples that depart widely from the British system. If one were to go deeper into the matter and to note the innumerable ways in which the income tax is differentiated—in which, that is to say, a different rate is levied on different kinds of income—and in which "unearned" income is taxed at a higher rate than "earned" income, this article, without touching at all on

the intricacies of assessment and collection, would be well on the way to becoming a volume. Enough, however, has already been said to show the complexity and the fascination of the task on which the Democrats are now free to embark and the urgent need, if European experience goes for anything, of their approaching it with circumspection and a clear idea of what it exactly is that they want to achieve.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

BY A. MAURICE LOW

IV

SOME REASONS FOR THE PRESENT DISCONTENT

PROBABLY never in the history of the world has there been such universal discontent as now exists. There has certainly been no period in American history when there was such general dissatisfaction with conditions; and there has certainly never been a time since the first settler came to America when the great majority of the people were so well off as they are to-day. Among the hundred millions that go to make up our population there is practically little suffering; starvation, or that perilously close approach to the border line between starvation and the barest subsistence, which is the terror of the lowest classes of all European countries, is unknown to us. Every man willing to work can find work at a remunerative wage, according to his capacity and skill; even the unskilled earns enough to enable him to live in a reasonable amount of comfort and to be well fed and decently clothed; the mechanic, whose trade requires special training or intelligence, is, some people believe, extravagantly paid. His earnings are sufficient to enable him to live very well indeed, to have a comfortable home, to bring up his children properly, to give them good clothing and good food and a solid education, and, in addition, to save something for the proverbial rainy day. Unskilled labor, skilled labor, the trades, and the professions are all better remunerated now than they have ever been, and money brings more. We have heard a great deal, too much in fact, about the high cost of living, yet the truth is we get more for our money than we used to, we live better, we enjoy more comfort and greater luxury than ever before. Things that we take as a matter of course and regard as necessities—and are properly to be regarded as necessary for health and comfort—were unknown a few gen-

erations ago. The working-man instead of living in an unsanitary tenement now has proper ventilation, electric lights, running water, hygienic plumbing. Instead of having to walk long distances to and from his work in all weather, drenched and frozen in winter, sweltering in summer, for a few cents he rides in a comfortable, swift-moving car. As with the working-man so with all other classes. Life has been made easier for all of us. And yet no one is satisfied. Not only is no one satisfied but, speaking generally and yet narrowly enough to be exact, nearly every one is discontented. Every one is in a restless, irritated frame of mind. Every one is in rebellion against himself and society. Every one wants something better. Every one finds fault with existing conditions. Every one knows that conditions ought to be different, but no one has a remedy. One man lays the blame on the trusts, another on the tariff, a third on the dishonesty of politicians. This man puts his finger on a weak spot; it is the enormous fortunes that a few of the more fortunate or more unscrupulous have been permitted to amass. That man knows it is the concentration of wealth in the hands of the favored that has brought about conditions which are intolerable. Every man has his own theory and his own remedy, but no two men can agree either on the cause or on the method to be employed to correct it.

It will be recalled what Burke said about a corresponding mental condition of his own people:

> "This state of things is the more extraordinary because no great external calamity has visited the nation; no pestilence or famine. We do not labor at present under any scheme of taxation new or oppressive in the quantity or in the mode. Nor are we engaged in an unsuccessful war; in which our misfortunes might easily pervert our judgment; and our minds, sore from the loss of national glory, might feel every blow of fortune as a crime in government."

The American people, similar to the English of more than a century ago, are at peace with all the world; it is only with themselves that they are at war. Sickness has not visited them nor hunger vexed them. Taxation does not press too heavily, although all taxation is objectionable, but then so is death, and the one can no more be avoided than the other. "Let us only suffer one person to tell us his story, morning and evening but for one twelvemonth, and he will become our master." We have unfortunately listened too long to the same story.

The world has worked itself into a curious mental condition, for I am convinced that the source of all our present discontent may be traced to an overcharged intellectual state. The world used to have hope, to have courage in the future, to believe in goodness; now it has only despair, it sees no future, and all is bad. It has lost its stoicism and gained no philosophy; it has lost its ignorance and gained no real knowledge. In place of idealism it has embraced materialism, and it finds the fruits of endeavor bitterness. Man is suffering from a too highly stimulated brain, not from too much knowledge, but from the little knowledge that is always dangerous. For generations man had been intellectually starved, he was avid for knowledge and a passion developed for cramming brains unfitted for their burden. No man is really educated who cannot think for himself. Pedagogues, ministers of education, teachers, principals, doctrinaires were swept away by the fallacious idea that if you put an uncorrelated jumble of facts in the heads of children and young men and young women they were educated and became more useful and more valuable citizens, ignoring the great principle that a fact is worth knowing only when the law of its creation is known, and that no educational scheme is worth the paper on which it is drafted unless it compels the exercise of the reasoning faculties. We have carried our intense passion for education to such absurd lengths that our public-school children are half baked. They are spoiled for being honest workmen and unfitted for being something better. I am not using that adjective in any snobbish sense or meaning that a workingman is not the equal of any other. God forbid that a believer in democracy should be guilty of any such heretical doctrine!

Nor am I decrying universal education. I believe in it. I believe that the more highly the masses are educated the better it is for the world at large, but it must be education of the right sort, and education in the true sense. The real function of education, I repeat, is not to teach children to remember the date of a battle, for instance, but to teach them to know the significance of that battle; not to throw them a fact as an intellectual meal as we throw a bone to a dog to worry over, but to teach them to pull that fact to pieces and find out what it is made of and what relation it bears to other things. The result of our educational sys-

tem superimposed upon our social system is that the son of a bricklayer is no longer content to be a bricklayer, but must be something better, something that lifts him a bit forward on the road to being a " gentleman." Here again I am not opposing what is a perfectly proper ambition. It is the duty of every man to try to improve his condition and to advance himself, but the bricklayer's son after he has left the public school is still a bricklayer in everything except the ability to do an honest job of bricklaying. That, of course, is a shocking thing to say in a democracy, yet the fact remains despite theory. The average boy, the son of a bricklayer, is not capable of climbing very high, but he has a sufficient smattering of education to feel that he is a better man than his father and entitled to better things, and because he fails he becomes one of the discontented. His education has taught him to read, yes, but to read what? The newspapers with stories of crime and scandal in high life and the extravagance of the rich; the popular weekly and monthly magazines, with their pictures of " stage favorites " as near nudity as a lax censorship permits, their flimsy fiction whose tepid passion is just passionate enough to excite the imagination of crude youth; whose " moral lesson " is preached by proclaiming—usually untruthfully—the dishonesty of business and the corruption of politics—this is what the bricklayer's son reads after he has been educated in the public schools. He reads, and every page he reads makes him more dissatisfied, more convinced that he is a victim, more certain that if he were given a fair show he would have countless pairs of trousers and neckties, which his favorite journal described in much detail as the possessions of the latest recruit to reach fame through the dazzle of the dubious pleasures of his sort, instead of the one suit and the one necktie that make up his wardrobe; and his scarcity of clothes is one of the reasons for his discontent.

This then is one of the effects of our universal education. Having been hungry man is now sated, but he is overgorged, and instead of having been quickened by education it has clogged him. It has made him just clever enough to know, but not clever enough to understand. He can take in much, but he is able to give out very little; and knowledge that is hoarded is as valuable to mankind as the miser's secreted coin. Our educated masses do not hoard their

knowledge because it is too precious to be parted with but because they are incapable of diffusing it. Knowledge to be of any value must be a man's possession first, and then by him given away so that it may be the possession of all men. The sciolists who are turned out by the public schools and have made millionaires of the proprietors of yellow journals and " family " newspapers and popular magazines are the fruitful ground in which the crop of discontent thrives, but it is thistles that the soil brings forth and not figs.

Yet, curiously enough, the greatest discontent now existing is not among the working-class, but is to be found in a class higher in the social scale, which for the sake of convenience may be called the middle class, that great human stratum which lies between the working-man and the prosperous and very rich; the great body of salaried men. I do not believe this is generally recognized; in fact, I think the statement will come as a surprise to the reader, yet I am convinced of the truth of my assertion, which is made only after a careful investigation begun to ascertain the causes of the present discontent. I suppose similar to most persons who have given the matter any thought the writer believed that it was the working-man who formed the great element of discontent, who was the source of agitation, and who by giving heed to the demagogue made it possible for him to continue his profitable trade of arousing class hatred and keeping alive the belief in injustice. While the artisan and the mechanic are in a dissatisfied and resentful mood they are less angry than the class above them, for the working-man never has the hope that the other has, and it is this disappointment that has resulted in so much bitterness.

The salaried man, whether he be clerk, salesman, bookkeeper, drummer, buyer, begins life with some education and a certain superficial polish, and he must have these qualifications to retain his place. It is not always easy to classify him socially. He is not a working-man, although his father may be a working-man earning his daily wages by laying bricks or using a mallet and chisel; he may have been born in the class of which he is now a member by occupation or he may have worked into it, but he is always entitled to the courtesy title of " Mister," which marks the distinction between the working class and the middle class. He begins life with ambitions and high hopes. Suppose him to be a salesman for a large wholesale house, the " drum-

mer " as he is popularly known. Salesmen he knows have made themselves so valuable to their employers that they have been admitted to partnership, why may he not hope for equal good fortune? It is more than hope; he has the feeling of certainty that his industry, his fidelity, his ability will be rewarded, and that his partnership is ahead of him. He is twenty-five years of age, at thirty-five perhaps, at forty surely, he will have arrived.

No man feels the weight of life as long as he is climbing upward; it is only when he is beginning to go down that life drags its chain. At twenty-five years of age courage is unbounded and ambition is limitless and hope is the motive power to fresh endeavor, and life smiles. At twenty-five a man may have achieved success, but he cannot have made a failure. At twenty-five a man looks at life as a sum in geometrical progression. If after having worked seven years, say, and in that time having had his salary advanced until now at twenty-five he is making so much, at the same rate of progression—and of course, he argues, he will be more valuable during his second seven years than he was during the first—at thirty-two, then, he will be making so much plus; really not bad for a fellow of his age with something bigger still ahead. It is when he reaches his thirty-second year and finds that the progression has been arithmetical—and he is in rare luck if there has been progression of any consequence—that he feels the chain tightening and hope sings less blithely. But the average man—and of course one deals with the average, not the extraordinarily brilliant in his particular line or the extraordinarily stupid, or the dishonest, or indifferent, but the man who is conscientiously trying to do his best and is encouraged to believe that fidelity and intelligence will be rewarded—this man in youth is an optimist. He always cuts his garment to suit his cloth. So superb are the hope and confidence of youth that petty economies neither embitter him nor are a hardship; they are simply looked upon as temporary inconveniences. If the house is small, then he is quite sure that next year, or at least the year after, he will be living in a better house. Must his wife dress plainly, the time will soon come when he can give her what he knows is hers by right. The novelty of life, the zest with which he enters into it, the joy that can be got from small things because they have not yet become common enough to pall, more than

compensate for the absence of those things that later will be missed.

At thirty-five life is very different from twenty-five. At thirty-five a man wants more and sees less chance of getting what he wants and the things he ought to have. It is not the high cost of living in those ten years that makes his income smaller and procures him less; it is that his burden is greater. A small child can be made happy with a stick of candy or with a toy that costs a few cents, but a growing boy scorns the penny stick of candy and turns his back on the trumpery toy. The man at twenty-five is like the child who can get enjoyment out of very little, but at thirty-five he is more sophisticated, and knowledge has to be paid for. At twenty-five his son is " baby " and is no appreciable financial burden; ten or twelve year old Jack, who is kicking his shoes out at a lively rate, is a distinct charge; so is his sister Mary, so is her younger brother George. They have to be clothed and fed and doctored, their education is now a problem to be considered. The decent father wants his children to be " better " than he was, to have the advantages which perhaps he was denied. The public school is very good; still the private school is better, and Jack is smart and will make a successful lawyer or doctor or electrical engineer if he is given his chance, and that means college and the university. The father is now forced to admit to himself that there is small hope of his being able to give his children money, but he can give them a fair start in life, and the rest is with them. So he makes sacrifices, denies himself and saves, wears the old suit or last year's straw hat, that Jack may have his education.

The drummer who at twenty-five saw his partnership and an assured future ten years away, at thirty-five is rather worse off than he was earlier. But no man despairs at thirty-five. Hope, the first gift of the gods to man, which lives after passion is dead, has not deserted him, and forty is youth, and life still calls. He sees forty, forty-five, and fifty, and now comes the grand climacteric. At fifty he no longer has illusions. Whatever chances he might have had in youth have gone, partner he can never expect to be, a salaried man he may remain, but every year his tenure becomes more precarious. Competition is keener, pressure greater; youngsters are pushing to the front; gray hairs are no recommendation. The alert, audacious, ingenious, smooth-

cheeked boy—" the live wire "—is a great deal more valuable than his senior who, it must be honestly admitted, has grown a bit stale and has fallen into a rut, to whom fatigue comes easier, and who is less enthusiastic over " booking " a large order than when he was on his mettle determined to show his seniors how easily they could be beaten at their own game.

At fifty or fifty-five what is there for the average salaried man? Tragic as it is to make the admission, if we are honest we cannot deny that he lives in fear. Prudent and economical although he has been his salary has never enabled him to save; by rigid self-denial, often by foregoing actual necessities, he has managed to keep up a few thousand dollars of life insurance so that his wife shall not be absolutely penniless at his death. But that is the extent of his saving. If he should lose his place, in a few weeks he would be a pauper; his furniture and his clothes are all that he has to show for his life's work. And that fear is a fear that never leaves him. It is not imaginary; it is very real. As I have already shown, his age instead of being in his favor is now against him; he can hope for no increase in salary; he is indeed thankful if it is not reduced. Against what we may call the natural fate of the salaried man he is powerless, but there are artificial causes always to be dreaded. The death of a partner brings a new element into the firm, a younger and more vigorous element that inaugurates the new régime by cutting out the dead wood, that is not necessarily brutal but is always business, and judges men by the ledger balances of their customers. Or a firm goes out of business or is merged with another, or the corporation is reorganized and a new sales manager is appointed, or a board of directors demands larger returns, or times are hard and money can be saved by employing a cheaper man. The salaried man of fifty who loses his job is hard pushed to find another; rarely indeed does he find another. Youth is in the saddle and age must take his dust.

There are certain men who never can lose hope because the nature of their occupations is a gamble and so long as they play there is always a chance to draw a great prize, but the salaried man is not of them. At fifty or sixty the inventor may make his great invention; the scientist may at sixty make the discovery for which he has been groping for the last thirty years or may blunder on it by accident;

the writer, whose life has been a failure, or at best only a moderate success, may come into his own at an age when it might be imagined his powers were exhausted; opportunity may bring fame to the mediocre politician, but for the salaried man there is no opportunity.

Apart from the fear he has of finding himself without occupation and unable to earn enough to support himself and his wife and those of his children who are not yet self-sustaining, the monotony and hardship of the salaried man's life make him bitter and discontented. If he is a drummer he spends the best part of his time on the road and sees little of his wife and children; if he is a clerk or a salesman in a large city he lives in the suburbs and is a commuter, he leaves home early in the morning and returns late at night, usually too tired to care to go out again after he has had his evening meal, too poor to be able to spend money on the theaters and other amusements even if he had the inclination, and the inclination must be stifled because it means a tiresome journey by train or trolley, which adds to the expense and brings him back home at an hour that curtails his sleep and sends him forth the next morning ill fitted for the day's work. He seldom if ever is a member of a club. His social acquaintances are limited. His evenings are generally spent reading the newspapers and the popular magazines, chiefly those that make a specialty of the corruption of politicians and "big business" and the extravagance and wickedness of the rich. Like the working-man and the office-boy, he is influenced by what he reads, so that his reading tends only to increase his conviction that he is a victim, that he has been exploited by his employer, and that if justice were done him instead of living from day to day in fear of the future he could face the future with serenity. The position of the salaried man is really worse than that of the working-man when you compare the two. He works on an average ten hours a day as against the working-man's eight; frequently he has to work overtime, but he gets no overtime pay; his salary is not much larger than a working-man's wages, yet he is required to maintain a higher standard of living; the working-man always has his club, for he may without loss of caste join his fellows in a friendly glass at a convenient saloon, but the salaried man who should drink at a bar would soon find himself in his employer's blackbooks.

It is among salaried men—to distinguish a class from the wage-earning working-man—that the greatest discontent exists at the present time, and that is the most disturbing feature of the social unrest. For the members of the salaried class are good fathers and husbands, the bulwark of respectable society, the great majority leading sober, useful lives, trying to do their duty faithfully, rendering valuable services to society, the support of the church, who give to charity within their means, and who naturally ought to be the most conservative element of the body politic; for the middle-class, salaried man is by temperament as well as by association, by his environment and the nature of his occupation, more vitally concerned in the preservation of the *status quo* than any other class. In all countries conservatism is more deeply rooted in the middle class than at either end of the social scale. The working-man can easily be made to believe that he has little to lose by change and that any change is always to his advantage, so that it is not difficult to persuade him to give encouragement to radicalism. The man who is his own master, the speculator, the empire-builder, the captain of industry, is popularly supposed to be conservative, yet, as a matter of fact, his success is due to his ability to turn every new condition to his profit, so that he becomes conservative only after he has made his fortune, but not during the time that his fortune is in the process of making. It is the salaried man who supports the muck-raking weekly and monthly magazines and who has yielded to their demoralizing influence, who has suffered the same person to tell his story morning and evening for a twelvemonth and has become the slave of discontent. It is not the working-men who in any considerable numbers buy and read the muck-raking magazines; they, it is true, read their newspapers, which do equally as much harm as the more pretentious magazines, but the latter would quickly seek the haven of the bankruptcy court were it not for that huge middle class from which to draw; who subscribe to this literature because it chimes in with their mood. It irritates and soothes them to be told that the cost of living is high and the corruption of politics is responsible, it justifies them in being discontented when the reason for their discontent is so concretely stated.

Is there a remedy for the plight of the middle-class man?

A. Maurice Low.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

EPOCHS OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE ART. AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF EAST ASIATIC DESIGN. By ERNEST FRANCISCO FENELLOSA. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1912.

THE death of Ernest Fenellosa five years ago was an irremediable loss. Not only was he a teacher by divine right, stimulating and illuminating both, not only a man of great charm and persuasive grace, so that listening to him it was impossible to withhold conviction, but he was furthermore an instrument fashioned with curious exactitude for interpreting the East to the West. Of mingled race, Spain and New England ran together in his blood and gave him the keen, dry passion, the impulse to take sides, the necessity to enforce and convert, no matter what the issue. After the highest honors at Harvard and experience of the Divinity School and the Art Museum in Boston, he studied, in Japan, Buddhism under an archbishop of the esoteric sect, and Japanese painting under Kano Tomonoke, the last of the great line of Kano painters; and, to crown all, he served on the Imperial commission which examined and catalogued all the treasures of Japan, all the great works of Japanese and the greater works of Chinese artists laid up in temples and private collections, not, perhaps, to be unrolled or unwrapped again for a generation or two. With everything to make him feel, he had every opportunity to know. The great work he should have written was already drafted when he died, and has been faithfully and piously made available by Mrs. Fenellosa. At last it is accessible. To those who never heard him speak it will seem infinitely rich and suggestive—impossible to read continuously because it is so packed with substance and so charged with ideas that send the mind very far, voyaging through the strange seas of thought alone, before the eyes come back to the page. But to those who remember his discourse it will seem chill and fragmentary and impoverished. So strong is personality.

There are a few things to regret besides the loss of the living man, and they may as well be dismissed at the outset. It is natural, it is inevitable, that Mr. Fenellosa should have preferred to name the great Chinese painters as all his Japanese friends named them—but it was hardly fair to his Western readers. The time has come for Europeans to study the supreme art of China directly, through documents, through paintings, and not take all at hearsay from an English-speaking Japanese. Europeans will no more consent to know Wu Tao Tzu and Li Lung Mien through the transliterations of Japanese than they will take Homer and Euripides from a modern Greek bootblack's reading; nor call Livy, *Tite Live,* or a late pope *Pie Neuf,* because some very clever contemporaries of ours on the Continent do so. The consequence is a real difficulty in correlating

this work, of infinite worth, with what else of worth has been written in English and French. Back of this and bound up with it, as like effects of a single cause—Mr. Fenellosa's impassioned loyalty toward Japan—lies an unfortunate attitude of real injustice toward Chinese thought, an ungraceful insistence on dislike to Confucius and all his works, and a deplorable violence of utterance in speaking of modern China. Spain and New England have bred a great partisan, and if he is not always fair, at least he is always clever. Nobody ever claimed for the Japanese originality of thought or religiosity of temper—this is how he puts it: "Japan had never been rich in original philosophers who can devise great speculating systems or found new fanatical religions." Could Loyola himself show better the art of disparaging what you cannot possess?

But fault-finding is brief as it is perfunctory, and the delight of the book is inexhaustible. Its avowed purpose is never forgotten—to study the abstract qualities of pattern and space-composition, and *notan,* or "spotting"—the cunning distribution of dark and light. The parallels with Western art, both old and new, are particularly rich; they shed much light and range very wide. "As a purely artistic school of impressionism adapted to great mural decoration, future critics will doubtless place it [Korin's School] ahead of everything that the world has ever produced. Greek, Florentine, even Venetian wall-painting, however gorgeous, is just a bit too tangible, just a bit too much like colored sculpture. Magnificent decorations of line and color, which only soak up as much of natural suggestions as they care to hold, here show for the first time what the art of the future must become. Even Besnard is too conscious of being a negative pole to nature, a kind of bravura defiance of realism. Koyetsu is both as naïve, as positive, as sumptuous, as Shakespeare. Perhaps Whistler if he could have had opportunity to work along the mural line would also have worked in that sphere. As for Hangchow, it lacks the full orchestration of color; it is great church music." In this sort of thing it is fatally easy to write nonsense, but no nonsense is here, rather soundest sense. After reading this you have several clear and distinct impressions about both Koyetsu and the art of Hangchow.

The earliest art of China is full of Pacific forms, the same that reappear in New Zealand and Mexico and Alaska. Under the Han dynasty Chinese commerce penetrated not only to the highlands of Baktria, but to the Mesopotamian plain, whence came in Persian and Greek and Assyrian influences. In fact, the Chinese just missed getting to Rome a century before Christ because they were blocked by the Parthians, as later they just missed getting there again because they were blocked by the Arabs. Buddhism came early from India, and with a second Buddhist influx a few centuries afterward came waves of that mysterious Greco-Buddhist art of which we know and shall always know so little except the beauty. From the great age of Tang, that touched a golden moment under the Emperor Hsuan Tsung (713 A.D.), have come down perhaps directly, certainly through magnificent Sung copes, the solemn landscape of Wung Wei; the grand mystical male Kwannon of Yen Li-Pen, seated; the lovelier descending Kwannon of Wu Tao Tzu. Examples of both these last are in the collection of Mr. Freer and will ultimately come to the nation, along with the original of what is perhaps the most glorious and troubling picture in the book—the "historical Buddha" by

Wu Tao Tzu. But of Northern Sung and Southern Sung and the immeasurable spiritual distance between the two, of the strange sheltered life of conscious beauty and mystical passion that flowered at Hangchow, of the migration northward again into austerer air and more intellectual ideals, of the delicate, corrupt, declining grace of Ming—and of all the splendid art of Japan, from the rude horses on clay chafing-dishes found in shell-heaps to the Monkey-bridge of Hiroshige, there is no space to speak here. The story is written out full with many more matters in these two volumes, and set through with pictures admirably chosen and exquisitely reproduced. For many a year, probably for more than one generation, this will be the one book indispensable for compactness, breadth, personal knowledge of the paintings, and critical estimation and interpretation by an artist, a poet, and a religious soul.

Cardinal Manning. The Decay of Idealism in France. The Institute of France. Three essays by John Edward Courtenay Bodley. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.

The three essays contained in this goodly volume are interesting not only because they are able, instructive, and rarely well written, but because they contain, over and above the matter of the essays, the personality of the writer. Personality to-day is almost as absent from literature as is idealism, according to Mr. Bodley, from France. To let the self shine through, to betray between the lines of one's writing a temperament, an individual history, a philosophy of life, is to cram one's book with double measure of interest, and that is what is done here.

Mr. Bodley had undertaken an exhaustive work on France, the country in which he had spent the twenty-two last years of his life. The work was interrupted by dreary wastes of ill-health, and the two essays in this volume may be the only portions of the work given to the public.

For the essay on Manning, Mr. Bodley was fitted by a long and intimate acquaintance, dating from the author's first year at Oxford and lasting till the death of the Cardinal. To the average reader of character, Manning is not a pleasant figure. He was subtle and successful. He was never known to espouse an unpopular cause or to stand by any brother laid under suspicion of new or original thinking. His attitude toward Cardinal Newman, which was definitely an asset to Manning during his lifetime, has been a reproach to him ever since his death. His complaint is pathetic but a little contemptible to the author that one of the bishops had spoken of him as "a good young man, but a forward piece," while the old Cardinal in whom the phrase long rankled counted upon his fingers: "I had been captain of the Harrow eleven; I had got my first at Balliol; I was the leader in debate at the Oxford Union; I had been a fellow of Merton and Archdeacon of Chichester—and all they could say of me was that I was a 'forward piece.'"

Mr. Bodley feels that Manning's distrustful and unkindly attitude toward Newman was wholly excusable. "The history of the Christian Church would have been meager but for the quarrels of persons of apostolic temperament," he writes, feeling that history is made up of misfortunes, clashing, and war. Mr. Bodley says the inherent antagonism between the two men whose external history offered so many parallels

was due primarily to the natural conflict of an objective and subjective mind. According to Mr. Bodley, Newman was unwholesomely centered upon his own soul, while Manning was interested in converting England to Romanism. From an outsider's point of view the difference would seem more nearly to be that Newman was by nature spiritual, preoccupied with supermundane thoughts and feelings, while Manning was born, bred, and lived a man of the world. Not even the standing of his church in England quite divorced him from worldly ambitions and pretensions, as witness the importance put upon Manning's precedence on the Queen's sign-manual of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes.

Mr. Bodley has many little spurts of vivacious temper and malice at the Cardinal whom he did not love. "It would perhaps be an exaggeration to say," he writes, "that Newman's conception of heaven was a beatific Oxford Common-room, where he elected the members and also chose the wines—as he did at Oriel—which in that sphere would symbolize the cordial virtues of friendship."

Of Manning, the essayist says: "He was the only good man I have known intimately—though one or two others have crossed my path whom I suspected of goodness—and I have known one or two good women." This is one of the little bursts of personal confidence that give the book an added value and endear the writer to his audience.

He is not always as kind to women as in this paragraph, being doubtless one of that class of mental invalids who is willing to grant virtue but not intelligence to the weaker sex. In his essay on the "Decay of Idealism" he disclaims any intention of flying "with abstractions three hundred feet above the level of facts." "An excursion in those arduous regions," he says, "is an easy and ordinary incident in the life of that inquiring sex which in this country crowds the courses of M. Bergson—just as the honorable women of decadent Greece, in the rich cities of Macedonia, deserting the Thracian Bacchus and the gods of the neighboring Olympus, were the most eager disciples of the traveling professor of Tarsus.

Mr. Bodley's thesis in the second essay is that throughout the world, but especially in France, there has been a complete victory of the concrete and the practical to the utter destruction of the abstract and the ideal. Iron and steel works have conquered university culture, and a mechanical age has mastered and annihilated the supremacy of intellect. In 1881 he thinks there was still a remnant of idealism gasping in France, and altruistic virtues laid some restraint upon man's desire to "arrive." The *arrivistes* are no longer confined to the Hebrew race. "Arriving" has become a cosmopolitan habit, and has spread ruthlessly and unabashed over the world. That there must some day be a reaction, a new birth of delicate scruples, and a new fervor toward ideals, all cultured people join with the author in hoping.

A Wanderer in Florence. By E. V. Lucas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

Mr. E. V. Lucas, if a somewhat desultory observer, is at all costs a charming writer, and so perhaps few things would be more delightful

than to substitute, upon a first visit to Florence, this volume, so amply and charmingly illustrated, for the usual Baedeker. It contains two good maps and an excellently prepared historical chart. A sentence in a *Synthetical Guide-book* circulated in the hotels of Florence expresses, so Mr. Lucas tells us, what he would like to say of Florence better than he could hope to express it. "The natural kindness, the high spirit, of the Florentine people, the wonderful masterpieces of art created by her great men, who in every age have stood in the front of art and science, rivalize with the gentle smile of her splendid sky to render Florence one of the finest towns of beautiful Italy." These words written by a Florentine and "inspirated," as he says, by patriotic feeling, are perfectly true according to E. V. Lucas, and his own book is written to fortify their truth and lead others to test it.

So the wanderer begins in the City of the Miracle, and goes about among buildings and paintings, giving us glimpses of past days and grand pageants, terrors, murders, treacheries, old loves, and cloistered virtues.

The book is a guide-book in the form of literature, and does not disdain to add charm and humor to taste and learning.

The illustrations by Morley in color are exceedingly lovely, and the photographic reproductions are wisely chosen and not too hackneyed.

The Medieval Church Architecture of England. By Charles Herbert Moore. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

Why, when something is both true and useful, should it not be delightful as well? Like the earlier works on Gothic Architecture in France and Renaissance Architecture in general, this book is gravely hurt by a few crotchets of the author. All that he says is true and valuable, and undisputed. The careful discussions of stone structure, the profiles of mouldings, the study stone by stone of great English work, is all important and calls for gratitude that it will never get. Mr. Moore cannot bring himself to admit that anything is Gothic except the absolute perfection of the type, and then he cannot forgive everything else for not being equally perfect. He fairly scolds at what he calls Anglo-Saxon architecture, and he cannot keep away from what he disapproves. In this volume he analyzes very carefully from the structural side most important parts of Canterbury and Lincoln, and compares and dismisses more briefly a number of other great churches. The upshot is that English builders never reached the pure strain-and-thrust type that Amiens stands for. They always built their walls solid enough to carry their vaults—and then let them carry them, serenely suppressing the vaulting-shaft between the great pier and the springing of the arch, sometimes—they built, that is, with mass and not with force. Well—why, after all, should they not? They made thereby something different from French Gothic and nearly as pleasant to sit in. The Gothic of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, most of Spain, and all of France except the Royal Domain, lies open to the same objection. Why make an objection of it? Why, because Raphael painted fair hair, insist that only fair-haired figures shall be named Madonnas? But Mr. Moore cannot leave the question alone. Finally he comes to a brief chapter on timber roofs, and a new grievance crops up. The king-post, it seems, should dangle from the apex and swing, the

tie-beam should be bolted to that to hold it up. But English builders preferred either to hold it down, by letting the king-post push and not pull, or to suppress it altogether, like the vaulting shafts mentioned above. The roofs are still firm, but they are all wrong.

On the other hand, the concluding chapter is very admirable, in which he praises with discrimination and defines with exactitude the Early-English style—it is lucid and yet scholarly; it is thorough and yet not dull, and it had not been done before. The drawings are pleasant, with a personal, appreciative quality in the line; the half-tone plates are distinct and very well chosen and taken; the diagrams are plain, though they are not picturesque. Professor Simpson can make a diagram picturesque, and the late G. E. Street when he made a plan of a church made a thing of stately beauty. But it is barely possible that his life as a bit of an artist and a working architect tended more to grace and geniality than most professions. And precisely because of its real seriousness and worth is this objection filed against this book—because it will be so useful, and it is, after all, so good.

THE JUDGMENT HOUSE. By Sir GILBERT PARKER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913.

Fundamentally, romance with a meaning makes the same sort of claim as realism—that sheer truth of detail which asks us to regard it as always significant in itself. Mainly, the difference seems to be that romance, like a sentimentalist, is given to pretending a greater depth of meaning, of character, than it really has; while realism, cynic fashion, tends to disclaim any standards of character, and therefore any ulterior meaning, at all. This is a difference of temperament, and differences of temperament are seldom so clearly defined as we imagine. We sometimes catch the "tough-minded" philosopher sentimentalizing, and the "tender-minded" poet has his moments of being as sternly actual as anybody. Into the realistic story creeps the romantic point of view, while the avowed romance-writer is occasionally found making the assumption that the portrayal of the thing exactly as it appears is an end in itself. We are disposed, therefore, to scrutinize very carefully the professedly realistic story, in order that we may be sure that its claim not to be romantically misleading is well founded; and the romance that obviously aims at being more than merely glamourous we weigh somewhat suspiciously to see whether it really has that worth and validity which sincere realism, even at its muddiest, is usually felt to possess.

It is undoubtedly as romance with a meaning that we must consider *The Judgment House,* by Sir Gilbert Parker, his first novel since *The Weavers.* Indeed, except for a certain bigness of effect, a certain largeness of view, we might feel, after reading a dozen pages, that we were dealing with romance in quite an ordinary sense. We are at Covent Garden, where an unknown and unheralded singer of poetically suggestive name—Al'mah—is making her triumphant début in "Manassa." At the end of the first row of stalls sits "a fair, slim, graciously attired man of about thirty." He strokes his golden mustache and surveys the house with a smile of satisfaction "which in a less handsome man would have been almost a leer." This is Adrian Fellowes, and of course we distrust

him. We watch him long enough to perceive that there is some sort of secret understanding between him and the singer; then we turn to a group of people in the box opposite the royal box: Jasmine Grenfel—can she be other than flower-like and frail?—Ian Stafford, her lover, a rising diplomatist, keen, polished, and solid-seeming; Stafford's friend, the "South-African nabob," Rudyard Byng, not long from the veldt. Of all these people we get impressions clear and emotionally suggestive—emphatically so. When Byng leaps from the box to the stage to save the life of the singer whose robe has caught fire from a candle, we respond with a thrill; and back of the thrill is a satisfaction in the incident as drama—as properly expressive of character and as adapted to further the interest of situation. This, to be sure, is romance—illusion, vivid picture, thrill, and all. It is romance, moreover, heightened in ways not altogether unfamiliar though used with power. Such is the effect of the opening scene; and from beginning to end the story seems to strive as frankly as an Elizabethan drama for what is striking in scene and situation. But naturally we expect more from Sir Gilbert Parker than what we facilely call a "good story" or than what the reviewers somewhat too facilely call a "dramatic" story. However superior may be the quality of the "goodness" or of the excitement, we are not satisfied with romance from the author of *The Weavers* and *The Right of Way* unless it be romance with a meaning.

Here then is a story strong in illusion, strong in its appeal to our admiration for heroism, to our sympathy with temptation, to our tenderness for womankind; and at the same time we require it to be a commentary—a glowing commentary—upon life. We ask whether the meaning shines out intensely, or is obscured, in the glare of passion and the glitter of superficial brilliance. This is the problem that romance with a meaning has to solve: such romance may be in its way almost as lurid as melodrama; but if it burns down a city we expect that by the light of the conflagration something will be revealed.

In *The Judgment House* surely there is no lack of intensity or variety of light. There are the red glare of battle, dull glow of hatred, warm reflections of love and sentiment, white search-lights of self-revelation—we should applaud it all as stage effect if it were nothing more. But does all this light really illuminate character and life? Are we really beholding a soul on fire or merely an ingenious pyrotechnic display? The very question perhaps implies a criticism; but in fact we cannot well doubt that the soul is there. The people portrayed by Sir Gilbert Parker have spiritual reality. This he makes us feel through romantic means, through the very glamour, the emotional suggestion, the sentimental appeal of his story—through the confused struggle of personal motives and the clash of big events.

For *The Judgment House* is essentially a story of people who try desperately hard, with more or less consciousness of the effort, as people will, to be true to themselves, and are forced at last to transcend themselves—those who can—none eluding his destiny.

It was inevitable that Jasmine Grenfel, in her search for self-fulfilment, should break faith with Ian Stafford, whom she really loved, and marry the South-African millionaire, Byng—a man whose primitive force and simplicity of character attracted her almost as much as the opportunities

his wealth offered her. It was inevitable that, feeling Ian's scorn of her, she should endeavor to bring him once more to her feet. But the love and scorn and the desire, deeply as they are inwrought into the brain and nerve of these three, and calling for sympathy as emotions deeply human, are not, after all, the fundamental things that to those affected by them they seem.

These people in other circumstances might perhaps have gone on living smoothly enough; but if there is fate in human affairs, as we obscurely feel, then surely to the Jasmines and the Ian Staffords and the Rudyard Byngs no such easy destiny is apportioned. Their very intensity of thought and feeling precludes it; the conditions which will reveal them to themselves will surely come to pass. Jasmine no doubt loved Stafford as sincerely as her deceived soul would allow, and in no very different way, if in a less degree, she loved her husband. But in neither love was there anything to save her from falseness to both, and the man through whom she is false is Adrian Fellowes.

The crisis of the situation comes simultaneously with a crisis in world affairs—the outbreak of the Boer War. Through the bigness of the issues involved we see, as through a magnifying-glass, the real importance, the real difficulty, of the individual's conquest over self. Stafford has almost brought to consummation a far-reaching diplomatic scheme through which England's safety will be made sure in preparation for the approaching struggle. He needs only the consent of the ambassador of Moravia; but here he is effectually held in check by the representative of another power. In his extremity he accepts the help which Jasmine, wild to win back his trust, holds out to him. She, cool and skilful as he, by her personal allurement wins over the Moravian, and Stafford's great stroke is accomplished. Between them, they have saved England, but they have not fathomed their own souls. Passion draws them together again with its old force intensified.

Then comes one of those events which illuminate like a flash of lightning. Adrian Fellowes is in reality a traitor to England—a hired spy for Oom Paul—and the secret agent who has bribed him is Byng's servant, Krool, a Boer of Kaffir blood whose life his master has saved in the old days in South Africa. Now that Oom Paul's ultimatum has been sent, Krool, hating his fellow-traitor, turns against him. He leaves for Byng to find a letter of Adrian's to Jasmine which Jasmine has lost.

And so it happens that Ian, coming to keep his tryst with his friend's wife, meets what looks like Nemesis, for he has no doubt that the letter which Byng furiously thrusts into his hands is his own, and that the weapon in Byng's hand is intended for himself. Then he finds that fate has given him something harder to do than merely to die, and in persuading Jasmine's husband (against his own belief) that toward Fellowes Jasmine has been merely indiscreet, he achieves the impossible, transcending himself.

He cows the craven Adrian Fellowes, extorting from him a promise to leave England. In a passion half of indignation, half of renunciation, he bids Jasmine be true to her husband. Later it is he who puts fear into the heart of the other traitor, Krool. Fellowes' mysterious death occurring soon after the discovery of his letter, sets a fresh problem for Ian Stafford's clear head and perturbed soul. The shadow of crime rests

upon both Jasmine and Byng. Suspicion lies darkly between them. Meanwhile, Byng's South-African associates have discovered Krool's treachery, and they bring him to trial before them. Stafford, sensing the danger to Jasmine, desperately guessing, plumbs Krool's knowledge and his purpose and turns the wretch's weapon—the suspicion of murder—against him.

Brought to judgment, Krool pays his penalty—pays, not more heavily than the others pay, but more obviously. It is not for this Caliban to transcend himself: a soul in a relatively low state of evolution, he has touched his highest in a doglike personal faithfulness to his master, not inconsistent with betrayal of his master's country and his master's wife. Yet even he, lashed to the street with the sjambok—the cruel South-African whip of rhinocerous hide—in the hands of his "Baas," even he pays his penalty to the mysterious force in man that makes for a higher righteousness, a higher civilization.

Throughout the story human nature, compact of good and evil, gives rise to drama and asserts its right to sympathy. Even Krool has his faithfulness, and Stafford's heroism is not an original impulse. If there is one person in the story who impresses us as good by nature it is Al'mah—yet it is Al'mah who kills Fellowes. A woman instinctively good—unselfish enough to ransom from a Boer prison the husband who has abused and deserted her, primitive enough to kill without scruple or regret the lover who has taken the best she had to give and trampled it in the mire.

As for Fellowes, he is not, assuredly, the conventional villain, but a phenomenon much truer—the apparently soulless man. Self-satisfied and untroubled in his wickedness, this physically beautiful creature with the mere wraith of a personality—a personality that is nothing but a more or less changeful desire—impresses us not as a caricature of human nature, but as a genuine portrayal, among many such the grimmest and not the least convincing.

It is in the Transvaal that Jasmine and Rudyard and Ian find their true selves, through heroic service. Especially and fittingly heroic is the death of Ian on the battle-field; yet the note of personal heroism, always in itself liable to become a trifle blatant, is here effectively submerged in a greater harmony. Where so many men are dying bravely there can be no hysteric emphasis upon the sacrifice of one.

Largely conceived and written with power, *The Judgment House* can hardly fail to produce upon the minds of most readers its intended effect, justifying the claim which, in the manner of romance, it seems to make somewhat insistently—the claim to a meaning beyond the obvious. We cannot, however, suppress a certain doubt as to the method and the manner. In a way the story impresses us as romance caught in a whirlwind of real forces—glamour twisted and torn to shreds. This, indeed, is the fate of romantic illusion in real life; but when it overtakes the kind of romance which in fiction we are accustomed to accept quite naïvely we feel perhaps unduly bewildered. The manner, too, we may sometimes wish less like the manner of ordinary romance, of ordinary drama. There are passages of genuine freshness—such as the bit of spontaneous speech that Jasmine draws from Byng early in their acquaintance: "Hearing gets to be the most acute of all the senses with the pioneer. If you've ever been really dying of thirst, and have reached water again, its sound be-

comes wonderful to you ever after that—the trickle of a creek, the wash of a wave on the shore, the drip on a tin roof, the drop over a fall, the swish of a rain-storm. It's the same with birds and trees. And trees all make different sounds—that's the shape of the leaves. And it's all music, too."

More of this quality we might ask for in preference to the less natural rhetoric needed, no doubt, to develop plot and theme of a story so elaborately designed. Yet seldom does one write for us with such grasp of events and character, such power of feeling and visualizing, as Sir Gilbert Parker.

THE ADVANCE OF WOMAN. By JANE JOHNSTONE CHRISTIE. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1912.

Mrs. Christie says in her preface that her book may "seem unduly harsh to man." It does. Her book loses force by reason of her inability to write English and to see two sides of a question. The information upon which the book is founded is superficially drawn from Karl Pearson and Havelock Ellis.

An author willing to make such a statement as "Germany has no romance, no history, no poetry, no art, no beauty, no gallantry, no tenderness," cuts herself off from serious consideration.

The tone of the book implies that all men are evil and have wilfully and with malicious intent enslaved women, while all the good in the world has been accomplished by women who combine saintliness with heroism. Despite the undeniable truth of much that Mrs. Christie wishes to convey, her book by its temper, superficiality, and carelessness is likely to do more harm than good to the cause she has at heart.

DANCING: ANCIENT AND MODERN. By ETHEL L. URLIN. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1912.

Now that the dance is taking its place once more as one of the legitimate arts, its history and development have become of fresh interest. In the present small volume Miss Urlin traces the dance through the Primitive Folk Dances, the Imitative Dances (such as the Astronomic, Funeral, Marriage Dances), the Sacred or Church Dances, Folk Dances of the East and West, to the modern revival of dancing to which she gives about one-half the book.

The book, though small and cursory, is exact, scholarly, and well written. It is adapted to quick and easy reference rather than to consecutive reading, and valuable for any one interested in the art.

The volume is prettily gotten up with a charming silhouette on the cover of Maud Allan, the queen of the lyric dance, in one of her buoyant poses.

THE FASCINATION OF BOOKS. By JOSEPH SHAYLOR. New York: G. P Putnam's Sons, 1912.

This is a most alluring title. One inevitably looks forward to the delightful discourse of a man of letters who is willing to confide his

soul's adventures in the paths of great literature. Alas, it is a volume not about reading books, but about selling them and the delights of the modern commercialization of literature.

The subject-matter is chiefly book-sellers and book-selling, Christmas books, early-Victorian book-selling, publishing, trade-dinner sales, the use and abuse of book titles, the life and death of books, hymn-writers and hymn-books, and reprints and their readers.

To say frankly that the book is for the trade rather than for the literary man, and that its opinions, no less than its contents, are for the trade, is not to say that the volume has not pages of delightful anecdote and amusing incident. The true story of how Rossetti came upon and finally made the fame of Fitzgerald's *Omar* is told in full, probably for the first time. The entire chapter on titles is suggestive and amusing.

A Little of Everything. By E. V. Lucas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

It is evidently important to Mr. Lucas to produce three books a year, and in order to keep the record one of these books consists usually of original essays, one of a volume of travel, and the third is an anthology or a collection of some sort.

A Little of Everything is a collection of good bits, sketches, descriptions, anecdotes from his previous volumes. He draws from *Over Bemerton's, Listener's Lure, Mr. Ingleside, A Wanderer in London, A Wanderer in Paris, Highways and Byways in Sussex, Old Lamps for New,* etc. In the main, his taste is unimpeachable. It is a large part of Mr. Lucas's stock-in-trade as a literary man that he knows a good thing when he sees it. Was it not he who discovered, by the mere shift of deciding to buy a book in the next bookshop, whose number was the same as the years of his age, on the shelf as high as his heart, Giles's *Dictionary of Chinese Biography?* And did it not supply him with several chapters of *Over Bemerton's?*

Mr. Lucas is a light, versatile, charming, and witty writer whose pages are lightened with the kindliest of smiles.

WEST ROXBURY BRANCH

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

NO. DCXC

MAY, 1913

THE NEEDED CURRENCY REFORM

BY AMOS K. FISKE

Our present national banking and currency system was hastily devised under the financial stress of the Civil War, primarily to sustain the Government in a dire emergency. It was intended to support the public credit by assuring a market for a large volume of Government bonds and supply a national currency to replace the inadequate and largely discredited issues of State banks. This was to consist of notes issued by a new system of banks organized under Federal authority on security of these bonds to more than the full amount, deposited with the Treasurer of the United States. A strong inducement was offered in the high rate of interest on the bonds and relief from the direct obligation to redeem the notes on demand.

The state of public sentiment forbade establishing any central institution like the old United States Banks or copying the plan of the great dominating banks of European nations. The model had to be drawn from the incongruous medley of State banks, and not the best plan among these was selected for the simple reason that it was not best adapted to the immediate purpose. Under a general suspension of specie payments a preliminary step had been taken by an issue of Government legal-tender notes which were to serve as reserve money in the absence of coin. The

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national banking and currency system may almost be said to have been improvised in 1863, by men who were not experts at the task, to meet a financial emergency with which the Government was desperately struggling. It was somewhat improved in the following year, but has undergone only slight modification in its essential features since.

Since it was established there has been a vast industrial and commercial development, with an enormous multiplication of daily transactions in the exchange of values and credits. The use of drafts and checks upon bank deposits as a means of making payments by the transfer of credit from one to another has grown to vast proportions, until from ninety to ninety-five per cent. of business transactions are effected by means of them. The full significance of the use of these orders upon bank deposits as a credit currency is not generally appreciated. It should be understood that the deposits themselves consist only in small part of money, not at all of money which continues to belong to the depositor. They are credits granted by the bank to its depositors and are largely created by loans to them upon their credit satisfactorily secured. Whatever cash may be deposited goes into the funds of the bank and helps to maintain its reserve for meeting demands for cash payments.

Checks in common use are orders upon banks for payments to those in whose favor or to whose order they are drawn, and they effect a transfer of credits from one to another in the same bank or in different banks. They may be paid in money if it is demanded, but for the most part they are received in deposits and simply transfer credit from one to another, the bank assuming the task of collecting from other banks when the checks are not drawn upon itself or its own depositors. Drafts upon persons for money due are handled in a similar way through the banks. The volume of checks and drafts continually flowing into and out of the banks, transferring credits and being exchanged and balanced against accounts, constitute the great bulk of the currency of the country for trade purposes. It passes from hand to hand to only a limited extent by indorsement, and, as coin is hardly used except for small payments, there is need of a convenient "circulating" medium in the form of notes with which ordinary payments may be made. While this requirement is small compared with the volume of transac-

tions effected by checks and drafts, it is nevertheless of large magnitude and importance. There is need of a considerable volume of convenient currency to pass from hand to hand in the multitude of daily payments. The best form for this is that of circulating notes issued by banks, payable by them in coin on demand, and so secured that they will always be redeemed in actual money whenever the demand is made.

Our present banking system has two chief defects. One is the lack of note issues which can be adjusted by normal expansion and contraction to constantly varying needs. The other, by no means of less importance, is a plan of cash reserves held against deposit liabilities which seems to have been ingeniously devised to cause trouble in time of disturbed confidence. Under the old State system cash reserves, consisting invariably of coined money, were chiefly regarded as a provision for redeeming notes. Deposits were made mostly in bank-notes and paid in the same medium, the genuine notes of all banks being indifferently accepted and paid out. There were no definite reserves held against deposits, and requirements for those kept for the redemption of notes differed in different States, where there were any legal requirements at all.

When the national banking system was established it was required that a certain percentage of "lawful money" be held always at command for the payment of deposits in cash. As there was then a suspension of specie payments and the Government's own notes were a legal tender for the payment of debts, the reserves consisted chiefly, in most of the country wholly, of these notes, or "greenbacks." None of them were held as a means of redeeming the notes of the banks, which were secured by the deposit of Government bonds with the Treasury at Washington and were redeemable only there. A number of reserve cities were designated by name, only sixteen at first for the whole country, but subsequently increased in number from time to time until now there are over forty. New York, Chicago, and St. Louis were designated as Central Reserve Cities, and no additions have been made to these.

All national banks outside of reserve cities were required to have cash reserves equal to fifteen per cent. of their deposits, but they were permitted to keep three-fifths of these on deposit in banks approved by the Secretary of the Treasury in some reserve city, making it unnecessary to

hold more than two-fifths in " lawful money " in their own vaults. Reserve city banks were required to have cash reserves equal to twenty-five per cent. of their deposits, but one-half of these might be kept on deposit in banks in one of the central reserve cities, the other half only being held in their own vaults in " lawful money." Thus three-fifths of the reserves of what are commonly called " country banks," or those outside of reserve cities, might be in the form of mere credits held as deposits in reserve city banks, while half the reserves of the latter might be credits constituting part of the deposits of central reserve city banks, against which their own reserve of twenty-five per cent. was held. Owing to the tendency of exchange operations to New York, as the financial center of the nation, the ultimate resort of reserve money was to that city. This consisted virtually of legal-tender notes of the Government, until the resumption of specie payments in 1879, and provision for the redemption of these notes in coin. Since then they have consisted more and more of coin or gold and silver certificates representing coin deposited with the Treasury to the full amount. Another complication was due to an increasing number of State banks having different reserve requirements, which centered largely upon the " approved reserve agent " banks of the national system.

Of the working of this reserve plan there has been plenty of experience, and it is easy to understand. Since it was established the number of national banks has grown to nearly seventy-five hundred, with an aggregate capital of over a billion dollars and deposits of about six billions, and there are more than twice as many State banks. Each bank in the national system is independent in its operations, except so far as it is made subject to examination and supervision by the Comptroller of the Currency, with a view to enforcing compliance with the law, or it voluntarily submits to the rules of a Clearing House Association in cities where such organizations exist. In ordinary times of confidence and steady business there is no strain upon bank reserves and they are easily kept up to the legal requirements. There is little direct demand for " lawful money " by depositors, and the chief effect of the legal limitation is to put a restraint upon undue extension of loans, which are credited to borrowers as deposits to be drawn upon. That part of country bank reserves on deposit in reserve

cities and the reserves of reserve city banks on deposit in central reserve cities are kept in use as if belonging to the current funds of the banks in which they are deposited so long as the percentage of final reserve is maintained. In addition, the country banks may have other funds deposited in reserve and central reserve city banks to meet the requirements of exchange or to be loaned out when that can be profitably done.

While all works smoothly in ordinary times, this reserve plan creates a precarious situation. Whenever there is an unusual demand for money away from reserve cities, and this occurs every year in what is called the "crop-moving season," there is a heavy drawing upon the deposits kept in reserve cities and through them upon deposits in the central reserve cities, and especially at the main reserve center, New York. This is apt to occur when money is most in demand in those cities. The banks there have to yield up the reserve deposits on demand, and this may be required in "lawful money" to strengthen reserves elsewhere, and they have no resource of their own for strengthening reserve except acquiring gold or retrenching their loans. The effect is to advance money rates and restrict borrowing, and the rigid currency system prevents relief by expanding issues of bank-notes.

The effect of this annual strain is costly, but it is as nothing compared with what happens when there has been an undue extension of credit through overtrading, speculation, or other cause, and confidence becomes seriously impaired. This makes a financial crisis, which might otherwise be averted, withstood, or comfortably tided over, a disastrous affair through the attendant panic. There is no final resource beyond the banks to pin confidence to, and the banks have no means of associated effort except what they may improvise for the emergency. In the disturbed state of mind everybody wants to be paid what is due him and nobody wants to pay more than he is obliged for the time being to pay. The banks need to be exceptionally accommodating at such a time, but it is out of their power. Depositors make demands for actual cash in unusual number, which draws upon reserves and restricts loans. Country banks call home the reserves held on deposit in reserve cities and reserve city banks have to draw upon their reserve agents in central reserve cities. The whole strain con-

verges on the financial center at New York, where the banks have no resource but to unite their energies by voluntary association through the Clearing House and otherwise, to get Government deposits so far as they can, to import gold so far as they have the means, and to issue certificates based upon securities for settling balances with one another, or sometimes to serve in a limited way as currency. They must strengthen and sustain the weak places in the fabric of credit to prevent breaks which might cause a collapse of the whole structure affecting the industry and trade of the country, from which it would require years to recover.

It is not necessary to descant upon the causes or calamitous results of crises, panics, and depressions. It is enough to be reminded that in this country for forty years and more these have been partly caused and greatly intensified by our defective banking and currency system, which has left the financial community almost helpless to avert, resist, or overcome the tendencies developed in bringing them on, even when they are foreseen and counted upon. Such crises are the dread of bankers and of all men of large business responsibilities, and yet they are sometimes fatuously accused of causing them for their own benefit or advantage.

What is to be done to cure these defects and give us a safe and sound system of banking and currency? That is the main question now to be considered. The legal-tender notes of the Government are safe so long as the public credit is high and unimpaired, but it is desirable to get rid of them while that condition prevails. Redemption of the $346,000,000 and more outstanding is secured by a gold fund of $150,000,000 in the public Treasury, but they are redeemed only to be reissued, and the demand debt continues unpaid. The gold supply is now plentiful, and they could be gradually withdrawn and canceled without disturbance, their place being taken by gold coin, or certificates representing coin to the full value. The uniform bond-secured notes of the national banks are also a safe currency, but it is a rigid mass, which can only be expanded by investing capital in more bonds and contracted by taking these up and putting them on the market or holding them as a low-rate investment. There is no occasion for haste in their retirement, but it could be made gradually without loss, while the bonds were refunded at three per cent., which, with their limited volume, would maintain them at par as a

"gilt-edged" security for trust funds. The cost to the Government would be far more than compensated by the permanent benefit to the business of the country, and cost to the Government means cost to the people of the country.

So long as the volume of these notes was kept well within the steady currency requirement the quality of elasticity could be attained by a supplementary issue based upon bank credit and secured by banking resources, with adequate provision for constant redemption. Gradually the bond-secured volume could be reduced and that of credit circulation increased until the latter entirely replaced the former, if that is deemed desirable, without the least disturbance to confidence or stability. Whether individual banks should still be allowed to issue circulating notes at all, whether only those with a certain capital should have the privilege, or whether that function should be confined to one institution acting as a central agency for the whole system, is a question to be determined. It is intimately connected with the question of a proper reserve plan and a legally organized association of the banks to unify the national system and give it strength and power under proper regulation.

One thing has to be accepted as the result of conditions which have been developed in the fifty years' experience with national banking. The system cannot be turned topsy-turvy. We cannot displace the thousands of banks, with their local attachments and connections, and establish one great central institution with branches, to which all others shall be subservient or be crowded out of existence, however such an institution might be associated with the Government and made subject to official supervision. There cannot be another United States Bank of the old type, adapted to new conditions. There can be no exercising of banking power from the top down, from the apex of a financial pyramid to its broad base. The representative principle must be adopted and adapted, and the power must be exerted from the base to the apex, or, to change the figure, from the circumference to the center. With the vast extent of the country, the multitude of existing banks and the great variety of local conditions and local interests to be served, it is necessary to have, not one comprehensive association for the whole nation or union of States, but several associations within defined territorial limits, united in a central association to serve their common purposes.

This is a necessity of the situation, and it brings us to the controverted question of method of accomplishing a purpose upon which there is substantial agreement. The National Monetary Commission, which was created by Congress in 1908, devised a plan, reported at the end of 1911, which has not proved generally acceptable. That Commission, instead of being composed of a small number of competent experts in financial history and practice, was made up of nine Senators and nine members of the House of Representatives, few of whom had ever given serious study to the subject. Few took any active part in the Commission's work. A good deal of time and money was expended in gathering a voluminous mass of material, which would have been quite unnecessary for a competent body of experts, and which proved to be of little use. Still, a few men, capable of learning, worked up the plan which was unanimously signed by the members of the Commission and submitted to Congress. This costly work need not be thrown away, for it presents a useful outline and contains some good suggestions.

It proposes to associate the banks of the country together by districts, each with a convenient center where a central organization shall be maintained in corporate form. It provides a central agency or "National Reserve Association," in which the district associations shall be duly represented, to be located at Washington and have certain fiscal relations with the Government. This central agency would operate chiefly through branches, one at the center of organization of each district. These are in outline necessary features of the proposed system of which details may still be regarded as undetermined. Limits of space forbid dwelling here upon any but the most general considerations affecting the purposes to be attained; but, with these kept in mind and partisan rivalries excluded as wholly irrelevant to the objects aimed at, it ought not to be difficult to reconcile differences regarding essential details.

It may be said in a general way that the corporate organization of each district association should fairly represent the banks constituting it and the business community which the banks serve. It should, through competent committees, exercise supervision over its members with a view to soundness and safety in banking operations in the district, and serve as a means of communication and of working rela-

tions with the central association through its branch at the district center. The central association as a corporate body should be representative of the district associations. Their members should hold its capital stock pro rata of their own capital, and they should have the controlling voice in its organization and direction. It should also act as a fiscal agency of the United States Government, which should be duly represented in its management and should exercise a defined supervision in behalf of the public.

The manner of working out details of organization and management may be here left open, and attention directed only to reasons why this general form of a unified and centralized system is necessary. For the issue of a banking currency the central agency is not absolutely essential. This function might be safely retained in the individual banks in their several districts, provided an effective plan of redemption through the district centers was maintained. But for an effective system of reserve the central association is most important. There could be a plan for the holding of a certain percentage of cash reserve by each bank in its own vault, for current requirements, with a supplementary reserve at the district center, to be drawn upon at need; but the effect of this would be an attempt at dividing the banking operations of the country into sections. They do not and will not work in sections, and it is not desirable that they should. It would be liable to develop a rivalry of sectional interests. Our domestic exchanges and the continual interchange of credits cannot be confined within State lines or sectional lines. They flow constantly to and fro in response to the demands of a business which fluctuates but never stops. If reserves are to be mobile and fully to serve their purpose, they must be movable from place to place and from district to district or section to section, and there must be a central agency for their transfer, with a reservoir of its own for their storage, to and from which they may move so far as may be necessary to meet changing requirements.

There is another potent reason why this central organization is essential. One great defect in our banking system, which has attracted little attention because we have been so long inured to it, is the lack of means for making commercial paper assets and bills of exchange liquid and transferable by indorsement and rediscount. That is a matter

of great importance. Such a means could be supplied in a limited way by districts or sections through organized associations with their financial centers; but, as in the case of reserves, it cannot be effectively applied within such divisions of territory, because the purpose which it is to serve cannot be so confined. For an effective means of rediscount there must be a central national banking agency, not a score or more of district or "regional" agencies. There is need, not only of a means for the rediscount of commercial paper which will tend to equalize money rates throughout the country and to distribute reserve money according to requirements, but there is need of a central agency for dealing in foreign exchange and effecting international banking operations. Wtihout a central institution, with capital and resources of its own and with branches at the centers of district association through which to work, no rational banking reform can be accomplished, and to be lasting it must be rational as well as national.

If such an institution is to be had, whether it be called a "Reserve Association" or by some other name, it must have certain defined functions and the means of exercising them. It must have a large capital, which may best be contributed by the banks that it is to serve in proportion to their own capital. They should hold its stock. It must keep deposits of the member banks and have the means of rediscounting their paper, and these deposits may safely be reckoned in some part as reserves of the banks to which they are credited. It must itself have a strong reserve of "lawful money," which should consist entirely of the world's medium of exchange, gold, in the form of standard coin or bullion, and it must have the means of replenishing this by the legitimate exercise of its functions. It should be the fiscal agent of the United States Government and the depository of its Treasury funds. It ought to have the power to issue circulating notes of its own, whether those of individual banks were continued or not, secured by an ample gold reserve and constantly redeemable on demand. Their issue would greatly facilitate the operation of rediscounting for the banks through their associations, and their redemption would be effected through these at the branches.

The deposits of the banks with the central reserve agency would serve the purpose of reserves for them in a proper proportion and could be counted as such. It is a mooted

question whether its notes in the hands of the banks should be reckoned as part of the reserve money in their own keeping. Assuming that the central agency, or association, had at all times an adequate reserve of its own, with a proper ratio of gold set apart for the redemption of its notes, and about this no doubt should be left, it would be entirely safe, as well as convenient, to allow the individual banks to count those notes in their reserves against deposits. The purpose here is not to draw hard-and-fast lines, but to indicate the main outlines which must somehow be conformed to, if our banking system is to be put upon a solid and enduring basis.

Amos K. Fiske.

SOCIALISM AND THE STATE: A FRENCH VIEW

BY JULES ROCHE, DEPUTY, FORMER MINISTER OF COMMERCE, COLONIES, POST, AND TELEGRAPH OF FRANCE

AT the end of the third volume of Macaulay's admirable *History of England* occurs this passage, written just after the disturbance of 1848:

"The proudest capitals of Western Europe have streamed with civil blood. . . . Doctrines hostile to all sciences, to all arts, to all industry, to all domestic charities, doctrines which, if carried into effect, would, in thirty years, undo all that thirty centuries have done for mankind, and would make the fairest provinces of France and Germany as savage as Congo or Patagonia, have been avowed from the tribune and defended by the sword. Europe has been threatened with subjugation by barbarians, compared with whom the barbarians who marched under Attila and Alboin were enlightened and humane. The truest friends of the people have with deep sorrow owned that interests more precious than any political privileges were in jeopardy, and that it might be necessary to sacrifice even liberty in order to save civilization."

The doctrines mentioned by Macaulay, after keeping in the background for a time, have now come to the fore again, grown little by little in force, until they have burst forth into new splendor, have given birth to organized parties which are striving every day more energetically to transform the idea into permanent acts and facts, and displaying in this work so much perseverance and audacity that, if the English historian were a witness of what is now going on, he would experience a deeper anguish than that which he expressed so eloquently sixty-four years ago.

It is now some time since the Socialist movement has shown itself in all countries, in a more or less intense form and in an apparently new shape, that of State Socialism. It is true that Socialism really remains what it has always been and what it must always be—that is, revolutionary;

for its very definition makes it so, since it proclaims itself to be the systematic enemy of all the principles necessary to the existence of civilized society and declares its platform to be their destruction.

Is it, therefore, possible to imagine that the State in a civilized country can adopt and apply the principles of Socialism? Is there not an irreducible contradiction between the two? In order to make this contradiction clear to all eyes, it is first necessary to point out the essential principles of Socialism.

What, then, is Socialism? Those who see in it only its political platform do not get beneath the surface; this is only the minor side of the matter; its least strong side. What we must discover in Socialism is the cause of this platform. This cause is simple; it is an idea, and a profoundly false one, concerning the origin of evil. At bottom, Socialism is especially a philosophical doctrine, almost a sort of religion. It believes and teaches that the inequality of conditions among men arises from laws emanating from Governments; that the State can create riches and regulate at its will the distribution of these riches; that capital is the enemy of labor; that " the development of the capitalist order is responsible for the working class "; that, in a word, all the evils, or nearly all, from which mankind suffers, are produced by " society," and that it depends upon the legislator to reorganize this society arbitrarily, in accordance with a new plan in which the State will be all and the individual nothing, when universal felicity will reign. In a word, Socialism is a peculiar conception of the nature of man, and of the rôle and the power of the State. This is its particular stamp, the essential of its errors and dangers; what follows is simply the consequence of this. Laws which put an end to property and inheritance; the nationalization of mines, factories, railways, and banks; the organization of a system of universal functionaryism—all this, and still other legislative proposals of the Socialist parties, is but the application to particular cases of the ruling idea. It does not suffice, therefore, to combat these projects separately, though this is of course necessary, for in this way you simply push them back for the moment; they crop up again immediately. The only effective remedy is to destroy the initial error which engenders all the others. This is not an easy task, as it cannot be accomplished in a day

and is an old story; for, it should be remembered, that the doctrines of the Socialists of to-day have always been known. They have invented nothing new; their conceptions are as old as human illusions.

I would not say that laws have never been or are not now unjust, that they have never established privileges for some and doomed others to inferior position and even to servitude; but these laws, which were in fact Socialistic, for they organized society though arbitrarily by violating liberty, no longer exist, at least in the United States, in France, in Switzerland, nor even in civilized monarchies, where we find only political inequalities, which are without influence, when compared with natural things, on the conditions essential to the happiness of the individual.

In order to grasp the full truth of what I say, to see it with the mind's eye as well as with the ordinary eye, we have simply to glance at the state of humanity to-day and at its state in the past. As, according to Socialism, " the capitalist organization " is the root of evil, this evil would not have existed at the beginning of our race. So the greatest well-being and the least misery should be found to-day in those parts of the globe where the capitalist régime is the least developed.

When it is stated in the presence of thousands of workmen, whose infantile imagination is enflamed by ardent words and whose untrained reason is misled by sophisms, that the difficulties of this life spring from the present social order, the inference is that humanity was born in a terrestrial paradise and that we have but to turn to the tribes of Asia, South America, Africa, and Oceania, who have kept nearest to the primitive state and furthest away, consequently, from " the capitalist state," to find there the happiest of beings dwelling among the pleasures of Eden. But I should like to see these fiery apostles of Socialism reduced to the lot of the Fuegians, the Bushmen, and the Australian aborigines, who are so completely protected from the evils of the capitalist!

On the contrary, what should be said without cessation to the workers, to those who have the hardest time in life, is that all progress implies capital, all capital implies work, all fruitful work implies liberty, all liberty implies property, and that the ideal of the human race is not behind us but before us.

The nearer man is to nature, the more he is under the domination of his enemy, the more miserable he is and the more he is the foe of his kind. Without going into a profound analysis of the human passions, we have only to regard the most visible and most certain phenomena of life to perceive that the decrease of the evils which afflict our race is in direct proportion to the development of this capitalist order whom the Socialists are never weary of anathematizing. There is no worse error than that of Rousseau. The most unfortunate, the most feeble, the most suffering of men, is the primitive man, who lives from hand to mouth, without arms, without instruments, with no capital to shield him from want for the moment while he has time to look about him in order to improve his lot. What the philosopher of Geneva saw so badly, the admirable mind of Lucretius grasped immediately and without error. What a faithful picture of the condition of man before the capitalist régime was born is traced by the powerful poet of "The Nature of Things," ignorant of all the geological and prehistoric archæological discoveries of our times, who sang:

"Then our first ancestors did not yet know how to master things by fire, nor to use skins and to cover their bodies with the skins of the wild beasts; they lived in the woods, in caves, in the forests, and hid in the brushwood their rude limbs, obliged to flee the attacks of the wind and rain."

It is from such conditions, and not from the Golden Age, that we are sprung, and if, little by little, we have reached the point where we now are, it is due to capital, which began with the first flint hammer; it is due to the incessant efforts of human genius, which tamed by degrees the forces of matter and bent them to our needs, which conceived and spread the ideas of justice, liberty, love of neighbor, conceptions so different from the ferocity and the state of soul of our first parents. But instead of continuing in this way of progress, Socialism would destroy the necessary elements and conditions which make it possible. In defiance of the most constant facts and the most profound forces of the human heart, Socialism pretends to build up a complete Utopian city, which would in fact be the worst sort of a prison, where would be confined the mind, and which would soon become the theater of the deepest misery into which humanity has ever been plunged.

No; evil does not spring from society or even from laws, which does not mean, however, that the legislature cannot better the laws. Evil springs from nature, not yet sufficiently mastered by science; it is in us, not yet sufficiently purified, sufficiently elevated by reason, by the arts, by thought; it is in the mind, in the very heart of these thaumaturgi who declare it to be in the laws and would have us believe in their chimerical power to remove it if we only confide the making of the laws to them! If ever there were a true remark, it is this: "Socialism, that is the enemy!"

But I would not have my readers say that I hold that all is for the best in the best of worlds; that evil no longer exists, that there is no injustice, that there is no social progress to be realized. All that I wish to say is that Socialism, far from curing human suffering, will only make it worse, that its innovations would produce only misery, because they would suppress the conditions which alone have been able to diminish this misery.

Having thus established, even from out its own mouth, just what Socialism is, the question may now be pertinently asked whether the State can become Socialistic without placing itself in direct contradiction with the laws of nature and the conditions of its own rôle. The whole problem lies right here. What is the State and what is its part in its relations with the individual? What is the respective sphere of each? It is not the first time that the subject has been under discussion. Long before Montesquieu, Plato and Cicero had applied their genius to the problem. Still nearer our day, William von Humboldt, in his celebrated essay which appeared in 1792, devoted all his powerful faculties to an attempt to decide what are the limits of the action of the State. About 1858, the great English philosopher, John Stuart Mill, in his excellent little book, *Liberty;* in 1884, Herbert Spencer in *The Man versus the State;* and before him that wonderful mind, too much neglected to-day, and to whom my generation owes so many generous and noble ideas, Edouard Laboulaye, in *The State and its Limits,* published in 1863, explained every hidden corner of this difficult problem.

Regardless of any special doctrines, history shows, for its part, how dangerous are the theories and illusions so much in favor to-day, not only among the charlatans, which is quite natural, but among many disinterested and well-

intentioned people desirous of progress and justice. Historical observation of this kind plainly reveals the errors of the conception of a Providential State and the benefits to be derived from a régime of complete individual liberty. Alas! how the unfortunate are deceived when they are led to believe in the all-powerfulness of the State and are promised an end of all their trials and woes through State intervention! The State has not and cannot have this chimerical power. Without entering into a philosophical and theoretical discussion of principles, of the " rights " of the individual and the " duties " of society, let us glance for a moment, purely and simply, at material facts, at the things which one sees with the eye and touches with the hand.

By whom were brought about all the progress, all the discoveries, all the conquests which have, little by little, ameliorated the lot of primitive humanity, and which shelter us to-day, in part at least, from famine and the attacks of the enemy, Nature? Who has made it possible for men to vanquish cold, time, space? Who has succeeded even in softening the habits and ferocity of the early ages? Who has caused to penetrate into our very souls love of fellowman, the sentiment of justice, the conception of the rights of others, the sublime idea of sacrifice? It is not Governments that have accomplished this, nor States, in any period of the world's history or in any country. This was the work of individuals, of private persons. It was some unknown genius who discovered the art of making fire, of forging iron, of plowing, of crossing the oceans, of spinning, of sewing skins together, of weaving. It was some poet, philosopher, wise man, nun, who charmed our hearts with song and formed our souls by noble examples. These are the true benefactors of the human race, the real authors of civilization and progress. And how often, far from being encouraged, were they thwarted, impeded, even persecuted in their divine tasks by the blind, ignorant, cruel heads of States, as is even too frequently the case to-day with men of all conditions. It is true, fortunately for the honor of humanity, that we do frequently find wise, well-meaning Governments. But the best they could do was to aid these great men, the individuals of powerful genius, laboring for the general development of progress and the conquest of civilization.

In a civilized nation, the rôle of the State is to assure public order and to guarantee to every individual the full exercise of his faculties, that is, to see that he enjoys liberty and that the independence of his nation is not infringed upon. As for creating wealth and regulating its distribution, the State is as absolutely and unquestionably powerless as it would be in trying to change the sequence of the seasons, to modify the temperature, or to influence barometric pressure. It is only the individual who can create wealth, by his intelligence and his labor, and the freer the individual is in the exercise of his natural faculties, the more can he ameliorate not only his own situation but also the general condition of humanity. This is what history teaches us with striking evidence from the time of the earliest cave-dwellers, and it suffices, regardless of all metaphysical considerations, to determine in their grand lines and governing ideals the rôle and the limits of the State and the individual.

It is true that in answering the questions which I formulated above, the same reply does not hold good for all ages and for all countries. It is not unique, invariable, permanent, like a theorem of geometry. It admits, however, of durable elements, of varieties of experience which are constant, so that to-day we may consider certain facts so well established that they appear to have become laws. Let us specify some of the principal ones.

I repeat that universal observation shows us that nearly all the progress which has improved the material lot of man is due to individual effort, and very rarely to any intervention of the State; quite the contrary. We have seen that these efforts were often combated and retarded by the State. How many are the scientific discoveries whose authors were at first officially condemned. The long list may be said to begin with Philolaus and Aristarchus of Samos, who lived more than two thousand years before Galileo, and both of whom were exiled for having taught that the earth turned on its own axis and revolved around the sun. State action never, or almost never, appears as a creator of progress. The contrary is true. Progress is the work of the individual. But State action is eminently salutary and fecund in an indirect fashion when it comes forward as a guarantor of security and peace, which render possible the free play of individuals capable of doing things—but how

rare such individuals are!—in a word, as an efficacious principle of public order.

What is true of the scientific domain properly so called, *viz.*, mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, astronomy, and so forth, is not less true of the moral domain. The idea of justice, duty, charity, love of neighbor was instilled little by little into the heart and mind of men by the noblest intelligences, by the highest and best souls, who, by the very fact that they are the best, are the least numerous; and yet how often are these grand spirits persecuted by the makers and executors of the laws!

Has the State, which has never created progress, either moral or scientific, known how to aid happily moral or material works, in conformity with or depending on the laws of progress, observing the conditions of true progress, that is to say, rendering possible the free action of the best individuals? Here again observation reveals the same results—the incapacity of the State, in fact its very nocuousness.

Direct, actual, immediate observation, as was the case with historical observation, shows that all human material progress proceeds from property and freedom of labor. You have simply to open your eyes to perceive that everywhere and always the lot of the greater number is bettered in proportion as economic liberty and security develops. There cannot be found a single example to the contrary. On the other hand, how many instances are there of progress being checked by attacks on the liberty of labor and its consequences! How long it was before this principle of principles dawned on the human mind, *viz.*, the freer individual action becomes, the more the whole community profits by it; whereas, the more collective action, that is, the State in whatever form it shows itself, paralyzes individual action, the more the community suffers from its own intervention!

For instance, if at first glance any enterprise seems to belong properly to the State, to the legislator, to the Prince, it is the providing of food for the public—in a word, all subsistence arrangements. It was the great care of the governments of the past. The Roman Republic, the Consuls, the Senate; Cæsars and Emperors, from the divine Augustus down to the lamentable Augustulus overturned by the barbarians; the kingdom of France during the whole period of

"the thousand-year monarchy," one and all considered it their first duty "to feed the people." Every effort, every institution, every system; all sorts of administrative machinery, whether the most powerful, the most subtle, or the most ingenious; all imaginable laws for arranging, interdicting, encouraging, recompensing, and punishing; all that irresistible force, hostile art, implacable will were able to invent, perfect, and combine in order to protect against famine King Populace,—all this and much else besides was set to work; and this went on from the time of the edicts of 438 B.C., down to the interminable prescriptions of the Theodosian Code, including the taking over by the State of all the fleets of the seas and the rivers. And what was the result of it all? Complete disaster! Agriculture was killed and pauperism was developed. The character and energy of the individual were enfeebled to such a point that universal servitude followed. The strain on the public treasury was so great that the State was bankrupt. Italy, the Provinces, the Empire were ruined, and fell an easy prey to the Heruli of Odoacer. Socialist laws, anti-militarism, State ownership killed the colossus.

In France, "the sons of St. Louis" were not less unfortunate. With the advent of Philip the Fair, the inventor of the income tax (1294 and January 12, 1295), by the aid of which this coiner of base money decreed in 1304 a series of measures tending "to the greatest relief and greatest providing of provisions for my poor people," the history of France from that time on is full of "laws" with the same end in view. To be convinced of this, one has only to read the ordinances of 1410, 1419, 1455, 1507, 1571, 1573, 1689, 1690, 1693, 1709, 1720, 1723, 1731, 1737, 1763, etc., etc.; to read the correspondence of Louis XIV.'s reign, the letters which passed between the ministers and the intendants, and those of the Comptroller-General of the Finances, from 1683 to 1715; and then one perceives that all that which the boldest Socialist and radical "reformer" puts forward to-day was conceived by the "reformers" of the old régime in their aim "to feed the people," to "assure the subsistence of the people" and "at the lowest possible price"; and that the most rigorous measures were taken to secure the faithful observance of these "Socialist laws." But all this met with the same fate as the ancient edicts of the Empire. In a word, State corn, State flour, State millers, State

bakers, State aid, and State benefactions of all kinds; no matter whether the State be a republic, an empire, a monarchy, an oligarchy, a democracy, an ochlocracy, or a tyranny,—the result is found to be the same, that is, the very contrary of what was sought! Instead of an alleviation of the ill, there was an aggravation thereof; a destruction of the only force capable of curing it; precipitated crises; ruin!

So many and such persistent lessons finally produced fruit; minds that were particularly open and penetrating became enlightened and were convinced that the only efficacious spring to human effort is liberty and responsibility, that the individual must be made to understand that the bettering of his lot depends solely on himself, that he must help himself before he asks Heaven to help him, that the more the Prince or the State usurps the place of the individual, enervates the spring of his action and leads him to believe that they can supply his wants, by so much they weaken the individual and prepare his misfortune.

This was the grand discovery of the economists of the eighteenth century. After long struggles, " the new spirit " finally triumphed, publicly and officially, when Turgot came into power in 1774. This is an important date in the history of civilization, for, for the first time, the economic rôle of the State was at last understood and set forth with an incomparable power of truth and a breadth of view. We read in the preamble of the ordinance of 1774:

" The more commerce is free, animated, and extensive, the more promptly and efficaciously does it find abundant markets; prices are more uniform and depart less from the average price on which salaries are necessarily based. The plan of the Government furnishing provisions cannot be a success. The attention of Government is too divided among many things and cannot be so active as that of the merchant wholly occupied with his own business. Consequently, when Government monopolizes the transport and guard of grain, it compromises the subsistence and the peace of its people. It is only commerce and free commerce that can correct the inequality of crops."

The language of this ordinance made a profound impression on the public mind. One might have thought that the century-old superstitious faith in the Providential State had now vanished forever, that the servitude of man to the Prince, whether this Prince were a single person or were represented by a collection of persons, was at an end; and

that labor was finally unfettered, as it already was in fact, awaiting the moment when it would be also by law. But this illusion did not last long. Two years later, Turgot was vanquished and discharged from the ministry. Unfortunately, Louis XVI. could not bring himself to wait until these great truths had time to produce their fruits. Free commerce, industry, and labor return to the old yoke of governmental quacks, only to secure their liberty in 1789, and to lose it again under the Jacobin rule of 1793; so difficult is it to conquer and retain this prime *summum bonum* of the people, this sacred force, this unique source of all progress. But Turgot's revenge came, as I have said, in 1789, when the Rights of Man were proclaimed in France in all their plenitude, after having been proclaimed in the United States on July 4, 1776, as being the very basis of the State and not a condescending gift therefrom. Free thought and free labor, which are but the essential forms of the free possession of man by himself; and the security of property, which is but the product of that free possession, were henceforth regarded in France as axioms of civilization and progress and were announced at the head of the Constitution. And then happened in the history of France events whose political effect is of such importance that they should be meditated upon by all nations in order that these nations may draw therefrom a lesson that will save them from similar faults and cruel experiences.

The home and foreign events of the early months of 1793 had so profoundly troubled the country that their inevitable consequences were felt on every side. It was equally inevitable that the persons whose "political science" consists in exploiting public misfortune and popular credulity by promising miracles in order to secure the support and the favor of the masses, would profit by these circumstances. The "heelers" of the popular quarters of Paris appeared in the galleries of the Convention, to find on the floor accomplices not less bustling and ardent than themselves. The Jacobin delegation from the suburbs terrorized, on April 30th, the Assembly, essentially cowardly like all assemblies, by the declaration of the conscious "boss" who headed it and who exclaimed in a threatening tone: "I come in the name of ten thousand men, who are at your doors, to demand that you re-establish the maximum. If you do not do it, we will declare an insurrection!" This threat sufficed.

Four days later was issued the decree of May 4, 1793, which required every farmer, merchant, and miller to declare the quantity of grain in his possession; which provided for committees appointed by the municipalities to revise these declarations and to fix the average price of grain in accordance with the average in each department, from January 1st to May 1st; which pronounced the most rigorous punishment—death, even—for those who should conceal or destroy corn; which offered rewards to informers—in a word, a decree containing the whole series of measures which characterize "Socialist laws" engendered by those baleful "well-wishers of the People."

Once again, material things revolted; the famine simply increased. Then the lawmakers grew stubborn. The decree concerning grain was followed, one after the other, by decrees concerning wood, coal, peat, oats, oil, butter, vinegar, meat, cattle—all kinds of imaginable merchandise; these decrees meting out penalties, fines, imprisonment, the holy guillotine, and offering bounties for the "patriotic" soup kitchen; the decrees, in a word, running the whole gamut of radical panaceas. But finally the most obstinate were forced to see things as they really were; like Philip the Fair, the Convention had to repent. The dire disasters which these "Socialist laws" brought down on the land opened the eyes of the lawmakers and with their own hands they put an end to their stupid and deadly work. On December 25, 1794, the committees of Public Safety, General Security, Legislation, and of Commerce and Finance held a joint meeting and recommended to the Convention through their chairman, Joannot, the total suppression of all the decrees relating to subsistence. The text of the report deserves to be quoted. It runs as follows:

"The short-sighted members, who, yielding to popular demands, voted in favor of the establishment of the maximum, have not had to wait long to see their mistake. . . . Thence have sprung all the laws, destructive of commerce and industry, which followed one another so rapidly. . . . If trade had not been hampered by fetters, if it had only been left to itself, if the most innocent speculations had not been regarded as crimes by the ignorant [applause on the left], the activity of the merchants would have provisioned France, notwithstanding the disasters of war, as they have done more than once in the past. But the Government usurped the place of the merchants, thereby destroying individual industry and its own riches, which it then found itself unable to restore." [Loud applause.]

It is unnecessary to add anything to such a striking lesson in order to demonstrate the inevitable disaster sure to follow the intervention of the State in opposition to the natural laws of economic phenomena. Nor was the lesson lost. Little by little, among all nations, whatever their political form may be — monarchy, empire, republic — the axioms proclaimed in America and in France in 1776 and 1789, and determining the rôle of the State, have become part and parcel of public law. They are inscribed to-day in all Constitutions and are victoriously making the tour of the globe. And now, simultaneously in all parts, is a revival of the ancient and coarsest of errors. A furious assault is being made on the principles which alone give life. And by whom is the battle waged? By monarchs who have lost their absolute power? No! By the very enfranchised people themselves! It is the emancipated Number become Sovereign who is striving to put new irons on the individual; who would destroy the rights of man, the instruments for the bettering of his lot, the means of general progress, by destroying free labor and the liberty of contract. Formerly, the enemy was the Royal Power; to-day, it is the Uncountable Power. And the latter has recourse now to the same arms as those used by the former in the past, *viz.*, the law. It was in the name of the law, which he himself imposed, backing it by force, that the king, in times gone by, enchained liberty. It is in the name of the law, of which he has become the all-powerful creator, that the contemporary Number undertakes to destroy liberty. The nefarious work is already begun. In the countries where he can act efficaciously, in France, for instance, the first effects are beginning to be felt. Individual effort is slackening, production is diminishing, the burdens of life are growing heavier, the ascending movement is checked in proportion as the State superstition revives and spreads. If it finally triumphs, it will be a new invasion of the barbarians, in another form but similarly disastrous; and it is advancing! Many pretend not to see it, because it does not march armed with torch and ax, but with the Law in its hand; and this is the very reason why it is the more dangerous. But there is some comfort in the knowledge that the will of man is powerless here; that what these innovators preach is in contradiction with Things; and the former cannot avail against the latter. It is the old battle over again, the free com-

merce of grain vainly proclaimed by Turgot in 1774. It is untrammeled science and its works which feeds the nations and checks famine, as far as the laws of nature permit. No written law or State can do anything here. The same thing is true of all economic phenomena and of all that can be done to improve the lot of man. The solution can be found only in the free efforts of individuals.

The material facts which are happening before our very eyes are new proofs of this, new proofs of what has occurred in all epochs and in all countries. Let us turn, for instance, and note the results obtained in America by private effort as compared with those obtained in Europe, in the countries where the hand of the State weighs everywhere more or less heavily and where it often exercises a positive harm. Such a comparison redounds strikingly to the credit of private initiative and to the discredit of State interference. We first turn to France. In France the telegraph is a State monopoly; in the United States, the contrary is the case. In France, there are about 450,000 kilometers of wire, whereas in America I find that the figures surpass 2,700,000 kilometers, in taking into account only the most important companies. In France the telephone was at first a private enterprise. But the State is jealous when it sees anybody doing anything new, so it monopolized the telephone, as it did the telegraph; and here is the result. In France, with its 40,000,000 of inhabitants, there are about 130,000 kilometers of telephone wires and 232,743 telephones. In the United States, my statistics show 22,326,000 kilometers of wire and 7,596,000 telephones for 93,000,000 inhabitants. That is to say, in the United States private industry furnishes one telephone for about twelve inhabitants, while in France there is one for about every 171 inhabitants. In France the State has a tight grip on the railway systems. They owe their existence to the State and live under its authority, it might almost be said under its legislative and administrative absolutism, cramped in some directions by contracts which the State is ever ready to violate. And what do we find? In 1910, we had about 50,000 kilometers of railways, or one kilometer for every 800 inhabitants, while in the United States, where railways enjoyed until 1887 an almost absolute liberty and where, luckily for the country, they are freer than anywhere in Europe, we find that in 1910 there were about 403,000 kilometers, or one for

every 230 inhabitants. When compared with the whole of Europe, the showing is still better. Thus, there are about 330,000 kilometers in all Europe—that is, the 93,000,000 inhabitants of the United States possess 70,000 more kilometers of railways than the 450,000,000 Europeans! And yet it was in Europe that the locomotive was invented and that railways were first built. But the United States soon outstripped all Europe. At the end of 1847, the United States, on account of the freedom of individual enterprise, and the absence of all legislative and administrative hampering, had in operation more than 8,400 kilometers of road, while England had 5,318, Germany 5,291, France 2,018, and all Europe 14,205. But at the end of 1883, things had greatly changed. According to the official tables of our Ministry of Public Works, all Europe then had 183,131 kilometers and the United States 194,000; that is, Europe was 11,000 behind, while to-day it is 70,000 behind.

To whatever field of human activity one turns, the same thing is found to be true—superiority of individual initiative and liberty of work, inferiority of State action, always heavier, slower, more costly, less fecund. What, then, would not be the disastrous consequences if the day ever comes when the State, no longer satisfied with simple intervention and moderate regulation, should become the sole, direct, and universal agent of labor and of the economic product of a people?

Thus the conclusion of our examination is decisive. The incapacity of the State as a creator of progress, whether material or moral, is a fact beyond question. The works which pertain to this sphere of civilization are foreign to the rôle of the State and belong exclusively to the individual left free but protected. The part of the State is to assure order, and it is an important part, for without order, the efforts of the individual creators of progress are lost in the chaos of blind home or foreign disorder. Hence, in the front rank of the duties of the State stands the defense of the frontiers, the protection of the nation from an outside enemy, and at the same time, a similar protection of person and property at home. There is no " Socialist law " which can dispense with the necessity of the soldier, cannon, marines, ironclads, the constable, the policeman, the gendarme, the judge.

None of us are prophets. Nobody can say what will be

the condition of our race thousands of centuries hence. But we know what it always has been and what it cannot be in the present state of the world. It is absolutely subject to the law which requires all to labor. By obeying this law, man has been able, up to the present, to better his lot, and it is by continuing to obey it that he alone can hope to make further progress. Those who dream of obtaining this progress, not only through their own effort but by the aid of the State, are dupes of the most dangerous error. Outside the limits of its rôle as I have defined it the State becomes the great fiction, where everybody tries to live at the expense of everybody. Those who pretend to be statesmen but who make laws and govern regardless of the nature of things will not succeed in transforming the State into a Providence, but into a Scourge.

JULES ROCHE.

THE CHANGING ARMAMENTS OF EUROPE

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

"By reason of the events which are taking place in the Balkans the balance of European power has been shifted." It was in these words that the German Government on March 28th officially opened its explanation of the enormous, the unparalleled increase in military strength and equipment for which it had resolved to secure the sanction of the Reichstag. The explanation has the rare merit of really explaining. The war in the Balkans has not only shifted the balance of European power, but has shifted it profoundly to Germany's disadvantage. It has done so in four obvious and well-defined particulars. In the first place Turkey has been eliminated from the chess-board of European politics, possibly not as a problem, but certainly as an active military Power of any account. All the friendship and fostering protection which Germany has lavished on the Ottoman Empire are now proved to have been profitless. They brought in a certain commercial and political return for many years, but in the final reckoning they have turned out a bad investment; and all the hopes of military assistance and co-operation that went hand in hand with them have likewise been dissipated. It is to-day, and in all human probability will forever remain, beyond the power of the Turks to hold the Slav States of southeastern Europe in check in the event of a war between the Dual and the Triple Alliance. So long as they could effect that much Austria-Hungary was virtually relieved from apprehensions on her southern frontier and was in a position to move her armies when and where she chose. From the standpoint of the Teutonic Powers, therefore, the Turkish *débâcle* is equivalent to the removal of a prop on which they confidently expected to rely in the hour of need.

But it is also much more than that. Not only have the Turks been obliterated, but their place has been taken by vigorous Slav States whose policies are little likely to be attuned to the needs or wishes of either Vienna or Berlin. Not only, therefore, has the Triple Alliance lost a friend, but it has found a whole series of potential enemies. It is, of course, always hazardous to speak of nationalities in terms of races. The history of the Balkan peninsula has repeatedly shown that men are Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins, and so on, before they are Slavs, and that the sense of a common kinship, and even—in those regions a much more vital matter—of a common faith, does not prevent them from quarreling both with one another and with Russia. None the less it is palpable that the events of the past six months have resulted in a signal uplifting of the Slav race as a whole as well as of certain Slav peoples in particular. The prestige of Slavdom has been immensely enhanced, its power fortified, its aspirations and energies revived and strengthened beyond computation; and in all these items Deutschthum has undergone a corresponding eclipse. Russia has gained, Germany and Austria-Hungary have lost. And their loss is very much more than an intangible and sentimental loss of authority and repute. It is direct, menacing, material. Rightly or wrongly the world of European diplomacy has long looked upon Rumania, with its excellent army of over a quarter of a million, as virtually a fourth member of the Triple Alliance; and Rumania herself has persistently claimed to be regarded not as a Balkan State, but rather as the most easterly of the Powers of Europe. But in the new situation that has arisen with the rise of aggressive Slav States immediately beyond her southern frontier, it is clear that Rumania could only espouse the Teutons against the Slavs at the utmost peril to herself; and while, so long as King Charles lives and reigns, there is not likely to be any change in Rumania's policy of sagacious neutrality, and while the combinations of Balkan politics in the future are beyond prediction, the broad tendency of events appears decidedly to favor the idea that Rumania will drift away from the central European Powers and will throw in her lot with the enlarged Balkan States. At any rate, she can no longer be counted on with anything like the old confidence as an asset on the Teutonic side.

But, besides this, the emergence of a Greater Bulgaria, and especially of a Greater Servia, flushed with victory, of tested military efficiency, and with unexpected resources to draw upon, necessarily throws out of gear the whole scheme of Austro-Hungarian strategy. Along her most vulnerable frontier the Dual Monarchy sees the erection of States whose peoples not only nourish an historic enmity against her, but are united by ties of the closest sympathy and kinship with many millions of her least loyal subjects. Even in times of peace every domestic difficulty with which the Germans and Magyars of Austria-Hungary have to contend in preserving their ascendency over the Slav majority cannot but be greatly intensified by the magnetic neighborhood and intrigues of the new Slav States. But in time of war those difficulties would instantaneously react on the military situation. A conflict between the Triple Alliance and Russia might then prove a signal both for a rebellion of the Slav subjects in the Dual Monarchy and for an attack from without by the Slav Powers of the Balkans. Both these possibilities, of course, have existed before, but never in so formidable a degree as now. It was one of Moltke's dicta that owing to the interests which Austria-Hungary had to protect in the south and east she could not always act as an ally with the whole, but only with a part, of her full strength. But even Moltke did not foresee a time when the Balkan States, having crushed Turkey on the battle-field, would girdle the southern frontiers of the Dual Monarchy with a force at least seven hundred thousand and possibly over a million strong. Had he done so he would probably have admitted that such a development had reduced Austria-Hungary's effectiveness as an ally to not far from the vanishing-point and that the necessity of safeguarding her territory against the invasion of the southern Slavs had become so onerous as to leave her with little strength or thought for the major campaign against Russia. The struggle in the Balkans, therefore, has deprived the Teutonic Powers of the help that Turkey might, and almost certainly would, have rendered them; it has seriously weakened, it may before long prove to have severed, the ties of self-interest that for thirty years and more have bound Rumania to the Triple Alliance; it has registered the highest point of power and influence yet reached by Slavdom; and it has studded Austria-Hungary's flank with States whose concerted action

in the event of a war between the Great Powers would need pretty well all the attention that she could give it.

All these are developments exceedingly detrimental to German interests. Moreover, they have happened at a time when a variety of circumstances have combined to magnify their capacity for harm, and when, even without them, the statesmen of the Wilhelmstrasse and the Ballplatz might well have had grounds for uneasiness. Of these other factors the most disturbing is the extraordinary recovery of Russia since the disasters of the Far-Eastern war. The dying down of the revolutionary agitation, the steady progress in the work of internal reform, and the vastly improved condition of Russian commerce and finances, have been accompanied by a sweeping and effective military reorganization. In training, equipment, in material and personnel, and above all in initiative and confidence, the Russian army, which stands at a peace strength of some 1,500,000 men, is beyond comparison better prepared for war to-day than it was a decade or even half a decade ago. Communications, it is true, though much improved, are still comparatively backward, and the consignment disadvantage of a faulty distribution and of a tardy mobilization has not yet been overcome. But the Germans are as well aware of the improvement in the Russian forces as they are of the revival of the national spirit throughout the Czardom which preceded, and has been strongly reinforced by, the prestige accruing to the Russian name through the Slav victories in the Balkans; and from their point of view the rehabilitation of their eastern neighbor is all the more disquieting because the wire that in the shrewder Bismarckian days was never for long permitted to get out of order between St. Petersburg and Berlin was strained all but to breaking a few years ago when Germany sprang " in shining armor " to the side of her Austrian ally in order to prevent Russia's intervention on behalf of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Not only, therefore, is Russia more powerful to-day than perhaps at any time in her history, but she is still smarting under the humiliation of 1909 and has resumed her old place in the councils of Europe, and something more than her old place in the affairs of the Balkans, in a spirit of anything but gratitude or friendliness to German policy.

Simultaneously with all this, Italy, never a very wholehearted member of the Triplice, never quite at ease in the

forced company of Austria-Hungary, has become absorbed in the responsibilities she has contracted in Tripoli and finds herself in closer sympathy with Russia, France, and Great Britain than with her own allies. Nor when the Germans turn to the other, the western, quarter of the horizon is the sky much clearer. For France has undoubtedly in the past eighteen months been seized with a spirit of self-reliance and energy so different from her mood of 1905, when at Germany's bidding she sacrificed the ablest Foreign Minister that the Republic has yet produced, as to seem almost like an attack of Chauvinism. It is not really that, but unquestionably it indicates an attitude that would make any repetition of the manœuvers and pinpricks that Germany resorted to during the Morocco crisis an extremely hazardous venture. France does not meditate a swoop upon Germany for the recovery of the lost provinces, for revenge, or for any other purpose; but she has grown into a firm belief in herself and her army and she is in no mood to be browbeaten and dictated to. All round the circumference of her Continental interests Germany, in short, finds herself menaced as never before. She sees opening before her a disastrous prospect of the "inevitable" conflict between Teuton and Slav occurring under conditions more unfavorable to her chances of success than any that have obtained in the past forty years. The upheaval in the Balkans has placed her at a conscious disadvantage, and the grim possibility of a war on two fronts once more oppresses her. Always to some extent an imprisoned Empire, she now feels as though she were literally held in a vise. Her friends and allies have been robbed of much of their power to succor her and her enemies have suddenly multiplied in numbers, might, and daring. Not for a hundred years has Germany faced any such crisis, and the spirit in which she has risen to grapple with it gives us more than a little insight into the qualities of tenacity, providence, and self-sacrifice that enabled her to struggle from under, and finally to overthrow, the Napoleonic domination.

Such, then, are the chief causes of that prodigious increase of armaments which Germany regards—and no one, I think, will say unjustly or hastily regards—as indispensable to her security. She has met the dangers that threaten her by bringing forward the biggest Army Bill ever proposed in the history of Parliamentary Government. The

total increase in her military forces which has been decided upon consists of 4,000 officers, 15,000 non-commissioned officers, 117,000 corporals and private soldiers, and 27,000 horses. This means that about 163,000 new recruits are to be taken annually in order to increase the peace strength of the existing army and to create certain new units. I do not propose to go into the details of the new measure. It will be enough to say that it raises the total peace effective of the German army to over 800,000, that it brings the proportion of men serving with the colors to almost exactly the one per cent. provided by the Constitution, that it will enable the frontier regiments to be kept on practically a war-footing, and that it involves a non-recurring expenditure of some $260,000,000 and a permanent annual increase in the army estimates of nearly $50,000,000. Germany's military problem is precisely the opposite of that of France; it is a problem not of men, but of money; and while German opinion has frankly recognized the necessity of the immense additions demanded by the Government, yet the financial scheme for carrying them out has met with a good deal of criticism. What the Government proposes is to raise the whole of the non-recurring expenditure by a tax of one-half per cent. on the value of all property worth more than $2,500, supplemented by a special levy on incomes of over $12,500. These provisions demonstrate better than anything else the severity of the crisis which the German Government conceives itself to be facing. A single enforced tax on the capital of property, including the assets of all public companies, is not a device that any economist has ever been known to favor except in times of war or of great emergency when almost any expedient that does not defeat its own object is justifiable. It is without precedent in Germany in normal times; the only occasion on which it was resorted to being the patriotic uprising of Prussia against Napoleon a hundred years ago; and its adoption to-day emphasizes the growing disparity between the national resources and the national expenditure, overrides the arrangement which hitherto has relegated property taxes to the Federated States for their own revenue purposes, and proclaims, as some German papers have been quick to point out, the virtual bankruptcy of the national Treasury. When it is remembered that an issue of Prussian bonds at over four per cent. a few weeks ago was a complete failure, that the German money

market has for months been in a state of desperation, and that all German commerce is conducted on a credit basis, it will be seen that the required $260,000,000 cannot be raised from individuals and corporations except by methods that will make a much larger inroad upon capital than even that enormous sum. Nor do the ways and means proposed for meeting the permanent annual increase of $50,000,000 at all modify one's estimate of the critical character of the situation. What the Imperial Government suggests is that fresh contributions should be made by the Federated States in the form of property, income, and inheritance taxes; that the reduction of the sugar duty, which by legislation less than twelve months old was to take effect on or before October 1, 1916, shall be postponed by one year; and that the Imperial War Fund shall be increased by issuing $30,000,000 in silver and the same amount in paper. These are all drastic provisions. They will be sanctioned by the Reichstag because all Germany perceives the need of a special effort in face of the new international perils that encompass her and because the whole country is in a glow of legitimate pride and enthusiasm over the celebration of the great deeds of a hundred years ago. But their character indicates a coming period of pressure and counter-pressure such as Europe, much as she has suffered under the burden of armaments, has never yet experienced.

The effect of the German move was instantly felt throughout Europe. Russia promptly added on three army corps, say, 100,000 men, to her military forces. Austria-Hungary made provision for an extra 75,000 men to her peace effective. France, as the country most directly menaced by German preparations, at once took the supreme step of reverting to the three years' system of compulsory service and of voting a special credit of $100,000,000. For her the German challenge involved nothing less than the issue of life or death. With an army already considerably smaller than Germany's, with a population that has increased by barely ten per cent. while her rival's has increased by sixty-five per cent. in the past forty years, and inexorably condemned to face alone and at a moment's notice the first full shock of a German invasion, France had no option but to abandon the two years' service that she adopted in 1905. Only so could she make good her deficiency in numbers and confront the German hosts with a force not plainly inade-

quate to its responsibilities. Had the new German Army Bill come into force without any countervailing action on the part of France, the Republic would have found herself with nearly 350,000 fewer soldiers under arms than her principal antagonist. This ominous disparity could not be overcome by enlarging the area of enlistment, because France already drafts practically all her able-bodied men into the army and all exemptions and privileges were abolished by the law of 1905. It could only be overcome by a frank return to the three years' term of service. The French Ministry discussed all possible alternatives, but quickly, and by a process of exhaustion, reached the conclusion that this was the only feasible solution. The result of it will be to raise the French peace effective to some 700,000 (as against the German 800,000) and to place at the disposal of the Republic the largest possible number of the most efficiently trained troops—better trained, man for man, than the German forces. The only important exemption is a curtailment of from six months to a year in the service of youths in families of five or six children. Otherwise the new law applies indiscriminately to all physically sound Frenchmen and embraces retroactively the men who are now serving their two years with the colors. So stupendous a burden has never that I know of been shouldered by any nation in times of peace, and that it should be shouldered to-day by France, a democracy and a Republic, not only without any real opposition, but with alacrity and a great outburst of patriotic devotion, is surely one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history.

The fact is that France for some years past has been undergoing a national and wholesome revival. The way in which she rebuilt her shattered fortunes after the war with Prussia, the ease and readiness with which she paid off the indemnity, the earnestness with which she remodeled her military forces, and the skill with which she safeguarded her international position were splendid but exhausting achievements. They left the nation drained. There was a time, and not so very long ago, when France seemed to dwell apart from realities in a soft and plausible dream-world, when national vigilance relaxed under the seemingly overwhelming guarantees of the Dual Alliance, when faction and corruption got the upper hand, and when a profound lassitude and pessimism had penetrated the popular

mind. But always and before it was too late there has come the awakening. One might have thought, for instance, that after the Panama scandals the soul of France was dormant, if not dying. The national decadence seemed to be accepted as a clear if curious fact, just worth the trouble of analyzing and of tracing back to this cause and to that. The smiling genius of the land had passed, it appeared, into a total eclipse of hopelessness. It was a time when France, from sheer *ennui,* might have welcomed a Pretender. There came, instead, the Dreyfus case, probing and stirring the most heedless conscience, hurling men against naked realities, shattering parties, raising everywhere the extremes of fratricidal strife, but energizing the national character with a new will and steadfastness and evoking the display of the most heroic as well as of the basest qualities. The Dreyfus affair brought to a sudden head almost all the ills from which the country suffered. Thanks to its rough and radical surgery, she was able, after a supreme struggle, to throw them off. The ordeal wrought many changes in internal politics and external relations, but the greatest change of all was in the moral tone and conscience of France. It has not been by any easy road, and not without momentary panics and stumblings, that France has reached her present position of assured and confident strength. M. Waldeck-Rousseau did much for her; M. Clémenceau's Premiership did even more; it stiffened the national backbone, put heart into the Republic, and stopped the dry-rot that threatened to eat into the services; but perhaps the greatest instrument of French regeneration has been Germany and her policy in the Morocco question and the undisguised pressure she put forward to compel France to drop the *entente* with Great Britain. France submitted for a time, but when the provocation was repeated her nerves steadied themselves, she perceived that she must either cease to exist as an independent Power of the first rank or assert her freedom of action in unmistakable form, and throughout the Agadir crisis she faced and did not flinch from the imminent possibility of war.

From that moment France has never looked back. M. Poincaré's accession to office as Prime Minister in January of last year, and his more recent election to the Presidency, have quickened the national sense of a regained authority and power. There is now a more robust and realistic temper

and mode of life in France than at any moment in the past four decades. Is it also a more Chauvinistic temper? I do not think it is. There is nothing provocative about it; and if Germany were to abandon her new Army Bill France would thankfully respond by an indefinite postponement of a return to the three years' service. It is true that one hears in Paris to-day a good deal more talk than there used to be about the chances of recovering the lost provinces, that the martial spirit is more in evidence, and that there are two plays running at the Paris theaters with war and Alsace-Lorraine and patriotism as their motive. But it is perfectly safe to say that outside the ranks of the inveterate Jingoes nobody in France desires war. Nobody, on the other hand, desires any repetition of the unpreparedness and the consequent humiliation when Germany pounced upon France in 1905. The national feeling is against aggression and adventure; but it is equally against a tame submission to a challenge or an insult. France demands of her Executive sufficient firmness to forestall or ward off the sort of treatment she has received, and been forced to submit to, from the hands of Germany more than once in the past few years. She has no thought of brusquely asserting herself in European affairs. But she is confident of her strength, she is self-reliant without bravado, and any attempt to hector or intimidate her would be promptly resented and repelled.

I do not myself believe that Germany meditates any such attempt. She is sufficiently cognizant of the changed situation to be aware that weapons which it was dangerous to use even five or eight years ago it would be sheer madness to employ to-day—unless, of course, which is scarcely credible, she deliberately intends to provoke Armageddon. What, then, is the net result of the pace she has set in the competition of armaments? Relatively the result is nil. The instantaneous counter-strokes of France and Russia leave Germany, so far as her two chief antagonists are concerned, precisely as she was. But her action has produced or seems likely to produce other and less negative consequences. Absorbed once more in her military problem, it is probable that she will be obliged to slacken off in her naval rivalry with Great Britain. Whether that will relieve the United Kingdom from participating in the gigantic increase of military armaments to which all Europe is now committed is a question that threatens to precipitate a sharp contro-

versy among British statesmen and publicists; and, indeed, the whole position of Great Britain, an island State, safeguarded by an apparently invincible navy, no longer capable of playing any very effective part in a Continental land war, but at the same time bound both to France and to Russia by somewhat indefinite ties of mutual interest and keenly apprehensive of all that a German victory over either Power would mean for herself, is one of singular and arresting anomalies. Meanwhile the piling up of armaments on this colossal and unprecedented scale fills all minds with a tense foreboding that they may prove as much an incentive to war as a preventive of it. Well over $1,500,000,000 is now being spent by the leading nations of Europe on preparations to wage war or avert it; and peace itself is in danger of becoming a luxury too expensive to be borne. That is an amazing commentary on the madness of the world in which we live, on the persistence of force in the midst of what we are pleased to call our civilization, and on the inexorable influence over the minds and actions of mankind which is still exercised by the idea of nationality. Americans, I imagine, viewing the spectacle which Europe presents to-day, would hardly for one moment be tempted to exchange their happy and remote security for the imminent contentions, the charged and sullen atmosphere, and the intolerable and wasteful burdens that oppress the older world.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

REUNITING THE CHURCH

BY THE REVEREND HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

THE most significant movement among the churches to-day, whether it be considered with reference to the causes which prompt it or to the results which are likely to follow it, is the campaign for federation and unity. The movement is significant if only in the striking contrast that it presents to the interdenominational spirit with which our fathers were acquainted. In serious controversy and sometimes in trivial squabbles, the differences between denominations used to be taken with a seriousness that projected their consequences into eternity. It is even to be feared that Ruskin's experience, the turning-point, as he calls it, in his revolt against the evangelical creed, could have been duplicated in many places in Europe and America. He writes in his vexation:

> "A little squeaking idiot was preaching to an audience of seventeen old women and three louts that they were the only children of God in Turin; and that all the people in Turin outside the chapel, and that all the people in the world out of sight of Monte Viso, would be damned."

And now, in a way that to our fathers would have seemed unbelievable, the dissevered sections of the Church are talking, praying, working, and perhaps most momentous of all, singing for unity.

The prevailing factors in this new movement for unity are the same forces which are reshaping all our modern world. The Church, as a mystical communion of the saints, may escape the compelling effects of democracy and science; but the churches as organizations, visible, corporate, and very human, can no more evade the transforming influences of the modern world than can the institutions of politics and business. Churches, as organizations, are the children of their age, and always have been. If to-day forty per cent. of

all Christians in the United States belong to communions democratically governed, it is not because in some independent moment of vision they saw their duty and did it, but because they have been constrained by the unevadable progress of popular rule. As in the democratizing of the churches, so in their unifying, Christians may guide the movement, but they neither caused it nor can they stop it. The forces which are making inevitable concentration, interdependence, and co-operation, dominate the modern age, and act upon churchly institutions with transforming effect as impartially as they do upon big business and international relationships.

One immediate effect of the rapidly changing social and intellectual environment in which the churches are set is to make obsolete many of the issues which divide the sects. The causes which launched the several denominations are all historic, many of them merely local, most of them without any lively interest for modern minds, so that wrangling churches to-day bear increasing resemblance to belated football-players, who continue an inconsequential scuffle, after the ball has been carried a long way down the field. How often do our modern denominations merely incarnate old national antipathies that were institutionalized into separate churches centuries ago, or old speculative theological controversies that to men now are quarrels between tweedledum and tweedledee! Only occasionally, at least among Protestants, does a denominational peculiarity coincide with a burning conviction of living men. The world has outgrown the causes which laid the boundary lines of the sects, and in large part, they are just about as important in modern life as are the boundaries of ancient Indian tribes in the present political system of Massachusetts.

Not only in general have the progressive forces of the modern world left far behind many of the ancient quarrels of the churches, but in particular, democracy and science, the two master powers of our age, are compelling the churches into federation. Old provincialisms, which depended for their existence on the isolation of small communities, inevitably disappear as science makes intercommunication easy, breaks down segregating walls, until far-sundered people are neighbors and allies. That there should be sixteen small Baptist bodies, all of which can be traced to local and temporary causes, and none of which has spread

far from its original habitat, is explicable in a day of segregated communities, but that these provincial dissensions, the outcome of a bygone segregation, should be perpetuated when the whole world is being made into a neighborhood, is to the new generation unintelligible. Only in the most remote villages of Scotland, and among the older people, will you hear the Celtic tongue still spoken; and the forces of our cosmopolitan civilization which drive out ancient and cherished languages and cause men to seek a common speech, are to-day, whether we will or not, making obsolete and untenable our denominational provincialisms. Real differences of conviction the new age can comprehend, but not twelve kinds of Presbyterians and eighteen kinds of Methodists in the United States. How many of our divisions are of this character! Without a single change in doctrine or polity," says Dr. Carroll in his *Religious Forces of the United States,* "the eighteen Methodist bodies could be reduced to three or four; the twelve Presbyterian to three; the twelve Mennonite to two." Let all the dissevered denominational families be reunited into single households again, and instead of one hundred and forty-three sectarian titles in the United States, we would have but forty-two. The differences, institutionalized in these subdivisions of the sects, are not now nor have they ever been truly representative of genuine and significant divergency of thought. They are the relics of old isolations, the vestiges of a bygone day before it could be said, "The nineteenth century made the world into a neighborhood, the twentieth will make it into a brotherhood."

With this unifying influence of the new cosmopolitan mind, democracy joins her prodigious power. Democracy insists on service as the goal and test of every institution. Even government has no value in itself; the divine right of a royal family to rule is gone; neither the glory of a king nor the integrity of a dynasty is a sufficient reason for any policy of State; all government has but one use, by the fulfilling or denial of which it stands or falls,—it must serve the people. This same transformation of ideals is taking place within the churches. Where once the propagation of a special creed, or the perpetuation of a ritual, seemed a sufficient *raison d'être* for a denomination, to-day all churches are subjected to a single test, a test at once Christian and democratic; they must prove their right to live

by the service that they render. Which is the True Church was once debated with opposing texts; now it is seen that the True Church will be picked out, not by arguments from the past, but by power to render service in the present. The True Church is being selected now by the survival of the fittest, and the law that governs the selection is an eternal one, "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant." As ministry to the real needs of men is thus emphasized as the objective of the Church, all speculative quarrels over niceties in metaphysics and all consuming interest in the perpetuation of a polity or ritual that makes no real difference to life, give way, gradually but certainly, before the desire to be of use. Men who could not and who should not in the interest of unity make any dishonorable surrender of cherished and significant belief, discover that men of most diverse beliefs can be united, not in creedal subscription but in practical service, not in doctrine but in deed. Church unity is not by any means a matter of our choice alone; it is being forced on us by the democratic test of service. The churches can co-operate in programme, if they cannot unite in creed, and democracy insists that they must—or die.

With the new cosmopolitanism breaking down the churches' provincial isolation, and with democracy forcing upon them the test of service, the scientific demand for efficiency adds the final necessity against which in vain the opponents of federation and union are struggling. In these days the whole world has been so opened to Christian missions, thus demanding an international Christianity, and the churches have been so faced with the call for lively social service, which cannot with impunity be refused, that the demand for efficiency has become overwhelming. What sectarian divisions do to effective religious work is obvious. The pathetic spectacle of little villages whose numerous spires suggest inexcusable competition, rather than religious aspiration, and where, as Professor Bosworth has said, the minister finds, "Not a field, but a hole," has become unendurable. Whatever the abstract truth may be about the importance of denominational differences, this situation, both true and typical, is manifestly wrong; a town with twelve hundred people, ten church buildings, ten denominations, fourteen congregations, ten ministers, and an average membership of twenty-nine per church.

If this spoiling of the Church's work by sectarianism is clear at home, it is even more evident upon the foreign field. What shall we say, when, to a traveler in the Himalayas, a turbaned Indian insists that he is not a Christian, but that he is a Scotch Presbyterian? What is the answer to the Japanese nobleman, crossing the public square at Tokio, who, urged to become a Christian, sweeps his hand about the square where a score or more missionary agencies have their homes and asks, "Which Christianity?" Not much longer can the churches retain their self-respect if they continue to expend millions in propagating in the Orient western sectarianism which the Orient does not need, the Orient's aversion to which is sufficiently indicated by a series of quotations from missionaries at the Edinburgh conference:

"'The Chinese are prepared to go a great deal further toward unity than the foreign representatives'; 'The best and most intelligent Chinese leaders are ahead of the average missionary in desiring one Church of Christ in China'; 'If the missionaries fail to come to the mark, I believe that the Chinese will speak out for union with no uncertain sound.'"

"If the Western shepherds do not look out," said a missionary recently, "the Eastern sheep will all be in one fold."

These great forces of science and democracy which make the Churches' old quarrels obsolete, her old provincialisms untenable, which compel her to prove her right to live by the test of service, and which judge her divisions by their influence on her efficiency, are felt a long while before they are analyzed. Their first effect upon churchmen is a slowly changing sentiment, where, without knowing why, folk feel that denominations are not as important as they used to be. To-day, within the churches, sectarian partitions grow so diaphanous, that recently a single church, out of thirty new communicants coming by letter at one service, welcomed representatives of seventeen different denominations. Denominational loyalty yields readily to convenience, to changed family relationships, to the attraction of personal friendliness, and even to the desire for social aggrandizement. When they are regarded most seriously, the separated churches are often looked upon as political parties are looked upon by independent citizens: they are expedients for the service of a cause, to be used when they are usable, to be reformed when they are wrong, and to be abandoned when they become hopelessly intractable. No longer are

they arks of the Covenant, each one claiming to enshrine the only hope for this life and the next.

If this increasingly is the attitude within the churches, the attitude of men outside the churches is forcing upon ecclesiastics, even when they are loath to see it, the unescapableness of the new situation. The more men are interested as are the wage-earners in campaigns for social righteousness which make a difference to life, the more men are concerned as are modern thinkers, with religious problems immediate and urgent, the more they turn away from an institution belated in its emphasis, provincial in its dissensions, and inefficient because of its sectarianism. In an age when men are tremendously in earnest, it is a tragedy that religion is represented by sects divided over issues about so many of which no one can be in earnest.

The answer which the Protestant churches have already made to the new situation is not by any means inconsiderable. On the foreign field comity between the sects increasingly is practised. In the Philippines, for example, no church works in another's territory, but, combined in the "Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands," the denominations have so divided the ground that the Filipinos "scarcely know there is more than one Protestant Church." Hospitals like the one at Iloilo, jointly financed and managed by Baptists and Presbyterians; Medical, Normal, Arts, and Theological Schools of an interdenominational character now to be found in almost all the fields; and everywhere missionary conferences to promote fraternal co-operation, evidence the desire to escape competition and discover bases for union. At home the same sort of comity is being attempted when new territory is opened in the west. Actual amalgamation has already been achieved in whole or in part between churches thinly divided as were regular and Cumberland Presbyterians, or regular and Free-Will Baptists. Federations everywhere are being organized, from those founded for local purposes, to the more comprehensive "Federation of the Churches of Christ in America." Fraternal co-operation all the way from occasional affiliation, to great societies such as the Christian Associations, and extensive campaigns such as the Laymen's Missionary Movement and the Men and Religion Forward Movement, manifest clearly the new spirit of brotherhood. Even direct approaches to the main problem are being attempted as

in the "Christian Unity Foundation," under the tutelage of the Episcopalians. And there is at least one Theological Seminary, one of our largest and best known, which owns no sectarian affiliation, requires of its professors no creedal subscription, and has on its faculty representatives of all the largest denominations.

Canada is giving to the churches one of the most enheartening exhibitions of the possibility of union. In a movement to incorporate the Methodists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians of the Dominion into one body, the first two have already voted by overwhelming majorities in favor of the plan, and the last is waiting only until a substantial majority can be changed to practical unanimity. It is a clear certainty that soon there will be one church instead of three. Until recently four separate Theological Seminaries were maintained in Montreal by Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists. These four are now incorporated into one, and on the campus of McGill University a single building is being erected which will house them all. No one in touch with the strong currents of modern ecclesiastical life can fail to feel the irresistible set of the stream toward unity.

In the midst of our enthusiasm for church union, however, it is worth while for us to note that the modern movement which so inflames with a prophetic zeal the minds of liberal and progressive men is quite in opposition to the movement inaugurated by the liberal and progressive men of four centuries ago, and by them sustained at cost of martyrdom. In Milton's *Areopagitica* it was of sects and schisms he was speaking when he said:

> "What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men to reassume the ill-deputed care of their religion into their own hands again. I fear that this iron yoke of outward conformity has left a slavish print upon our necks—the ghost of a linen decency yet haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another."

With all our zeal for union, therefore, it is well for us to search the possible iniquities of union, well to remember that union in Christendom is not an experiment untried. Once there was one organization and none other. Once all power was vested in one Church, and that power growing by what it fed upon and exaggerating its scope with the access of its authority, brought on the darkest days of Chris-

tendom. The pendulum's swing against union is as inevitable as the pendulum's swing toward it, if union be purchased at too great a cost, and the modern movement will come to wreck if it forgets the days when union, not schism, was the curse, when like smothered men who strike out for more room to breathe, the noblest spirits fought through schism to liberty and counted sectarianism the highroad to release. A chain-gang at lock-step is not God's idea of the Communion of the Saints.

Now the elements which made men like Milton rebel against conformity are present in to-day's situation. They are found in all proposals for union on the basis of a common creed and in all efforts to proceed forthwith to unite Christians in one organization. These two propositions commonly made to-day are plans that will lead to reaction, or else blind alleys that will lead nowhere. "We must all think alike" is a cry that will not rally modern men. "We must all join the same organization" is a proposal that will issue as did the Tower of Babel. "We must all work together for the Kingdom of God on earth, we must count the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy and faith, worth more than our mint, anise and cummin; we are all here for the same purpose, dedicated to the same work, servants of the same cause; we must co-operate and not compete"; this is the only open door that leads toward union. We cannot get together on a unanimous statement of belief, however simple; we cannot devise an artificial organization that will assimilate us all; but we can be welded on the anvil of a common purpose by the hammer of the human cry.

That co-operation in programme is the immediate step toward union is indicated by the history of Christian sectarianism. At first, the sects were bitterly hostile, counting rack and thumb-screw arguments none too strong to prove their points. From hostility the churches moved into the age of controversy, when words were the pillories and logic was the branding-iron—an age whose praises Lowell sang as he compared it with its predecessor:

> "And most of all thank God for this—
> The war and waste of clashing creeds
> Now ends in words and not in deeds;
> And no one suffers loss or bleeds
> For thoughts that men call heresies."

From controversy, then, into the age of toleration the churches moved, the age of the porcupine attitude between the dissevered sects, when racks and thumb-screws were all in the museums and joint debates on election and free-will had grown uninteresting, but when mutual suspicion everywhere prevailed, and aloofness and rivalry were common practices. And now from toleration we have moved into the age of co-operation, when the consciousness of a single mission holds increasingly the focus of the Christian thought, and in a programme of co-operative work to get the Christian tasks fulfilled, our differences gradually melt into fringes of our thought and tend to disappear. No one supposes that this age is the last. The vision will not down that a day shall come when the separated churches all shall gather, each with her contribution of well-guarded thought and life, to build the larger church that is to be,

> "When all names lost in one Name
> The Kingdom draweth nigh."

But to state the creed or frame the constitution of that future communion is not this generation's task. From hostility to controversy, from controversy to toleration, from toleration to co-operation, from co-operation to the spirit of unity, and from unity to union, that is the progress of the Church.

The proposal to proceed with the restoring of lost union on the basis of a common creed plainly involves the mistaken idea that intellectual disagreements in the Church are less than they used to be. On the contrary, no previous age ever saw such a diversity of thinking among Christians. To be sure, scores of old differences have become dead issues, as we just have said, and are to modern minds, as obsolete as the circumstances that gave them birth. There are old disagreements, however, which vitally persist, and to these are added new dissensions, of which the last fifty years have probably been more prolific than any other half-century in Christian history. In times when there are real grounds for various opinions, you cannot get unanimous subscription to a creed without a most ignoble, syrupy compliance. The differences to-day between the denominations are paling, but within the denominations the divergence grows. A liberal Presbyterian and a liberal Congregationalist understand each other well, but liberal Presbyterians and reactionary

ones make the record of their annual gathering read like the report of a fair in Killarney. As in political parties, so in the Church, the disappearance of the causes which laid the former party lines does not mean that one party is now to arise, but rather that new parties are in process of formation. If the present denominational boundaries do not represent our real differences, we must not be deceived into false hopes. When the break-up of the present alignment comes, it will probably not be into immediate union, but into a new arrangement of diversity, into modern differences expressed in institutions.

One way is commonly proposed by which to escape this difficulty. Creeds are symbols of worship, some are saying, not restrictive statements of belief. As an ancient hymn is unanimously sung, although its sentiments may be foreign to our experience and the theology which it expresses may be alien from our thought, so a creed is an expression of adoration, not an assertion of definitive conviction. But this will never do. It is one thing to sing a glorious hymn of praise, even when one recognizes that the theology that influenced its words is no longer held; it is another matter in the solemnity of a service dedicated to the God of Truth, in a sanctuary across whose threshold nothing that maketh a lie should ever come, to stand and say definitely "I believe," and then make a series of statements in which neither the minister nor one in ten of the congregation does believe. We have a churchman's authority for the principle that just as one may begin a letter to his enemy with Dear Sir, so a clergyman may recite the creed which he no longer believes, and that "as the custom of departure from the literal meaning of creeds grows, there is less and less guilt in unveracious subscribing." We have this same churchman's explicit application of his principle, for says he, "Among the most numerous sections of the clergy, nothing can exceed the contempt with which the Thirty-nine Articles are commonly treated"; and yet, "Before being ordained or licensed to a curacy, or instituted to a benefice, a clergyman is required to say, 'I, A. B., do solemnly make the following declaration: I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.'"* The question may be discussed as to how long a man or church frankly accepting such a creedal basis can retain public confidence; but there is no

* *The International Journal of Ethics,* January, 1897.

question whatsoever as to whether or not the churches can be united on that basis. The writers of these old creeds would not thank us for this treatment of them. Those reverend words were written because men did believe them, so seriously that stake and fagot could not discourage the conviction of their precise and imperishable truth. "Which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled without doubt he shall perish everlastingly" was not written to be sung as a hymn. It is an obvious evasion and subterfuge when in any church the recitation of an ancient creed is perpetuated under the excuse that, while it is not an expression of present intellectual conviction, it is a symbol of worship, and to offer such a proposal as a basis for the reunion of the Church is to build a house on sand, against the day when the rains descend and the floods come. Already increasing multitudes of plain men, whose definitions of honesty are not perhaps sufficiently convoluted, have lost all patience with this pious fraud, and increasing numbers of clergymen are refusing to share in its unholy perpetuation. Too many Christians are convinced that "a church of make-believers would very soon beget a generation of non-believers," for them to allow the unifying of Christendom on the basis of creeds, sung as hymns, because they cannot be affirmed as convictions.

If the attempt to frame a new creed or to discover an old one, which shall be a basis for reunion, is a fruitless effort, so too is the attempt *de novo* to devise a compromise organization that shall comprehend us all. No one can attend conferences for the discussion of church union, however irenic and fraternal, without catching the note once voiced by a man who had quarreled with his friend. "We simply must be reconciled," he said, "and since I cannot be reconciled to you, you must be reconciled to me." In this road to unity by benevolent assimilation all sects believe.

The reason for this difficulty is deeper than any intellectual difference and is not to be ascribed simply to perversity. It lies in a realm of feeling not altogether ignoble. It is true that the churches have historic beginnings, in the causes of which we are not now vitally interested, but in the long course of the centuries associations have gathered, precious and beautiful to those who have been initiated into the knowledge and appreciation of them. Like old homesteads, they are flavored with the memory of ancestral joy

and sorrow, are made impressive alike by the tragedies and prosperities that have there befallen, and their hold upon the affection of their members is determined neither by the cause which launched them nor by the intrinsic value of their peculiar tenets, but by cumulative memories of ancient sacrifice and personal association, no less strong because often indefinable. All denominations have not only loyal members but casual adherents who feel for them a poetic rather than a rational allegiance, and poetic loyalty is often tenacious unto death.

This sense of community with the special movement in Christian history to which a man belongs does not prevent his entering with enthusiastic appreciation into the heritage of another section of the Church. He may even in this regard feel that Tennyson's sentiment is right,

> "That man's the best cosmopolite
> Who loves his native country best."

But this poetic allegiance makes impossible any extempore devising of a comprehensive organization that lacks the hallowing sanction of long history to give it power. The federal consciousness, the spirit of nationalism, has grown slowly in America, out of the confederation of the States, and in the Church as in the Nation, the retention of State boundaries, the doctrine of State rights, the cherishing of State traditions, even the bitterness of State jealousies, will long survive confederation for mutual defense and support. Confederation comes first; complete union afterward.

The fear is justified, therefore, that the immediate effort after a common statement of belief or a common polity may prove to be red herring drawn across the trail along which the real hope of union lies. If already the churches are so manifestly coming close together in a multitude of fraternal co-operations, the reason lies neither in the greater homogeneity of opinion nor in greater likeness of polity; the underlying reason is that with no less faith in immortality, the Church's emphasis is being shifted from the future life to this life, from postponed expectancy to present work, from interest in speculative theology to enthusiasm over her greater tasks, the building of moral character, and the social service of the people. By as much as this, her mission looms larger in importance than her differences of dogma and her dissimilarities of government by

so much is her unity made possible. A thousand differences of opinions, new and old, will make unanimity now, as hitherto, impossible, but the eager enthusiasms of the Church do not move in the realm where these dissensions lie. Rather her interest increasingly is centered around the sort of personal and social service that makes a real difference to human life, and with the increase of this stress on service, the unity of the Church grows in hopefulness and power. It progresses step by step with the shift of emphasis from speculative metaphysics to practical helpfulness, from eschatology to spiritual character and social righteousness. The one place where the churches to-day are actually coming together is neither creed nor polity, but work.

The enthusiasts for church union, therefore, will do the best service for their cause, by joining in the proclamation of a common campaign for the spiritualizing of human life, and in furthering every form of co-operation where the dissevered churches seek united effort on this their common task. As Great Britain's oppression was the unifier of the colonies so the social wrongs of this modern age, creating need for common defense and common aggression, must be the unifiers of the churches. When men of great wealth, selfishly obtained and selfishly expended say in spirit as Napoleon did, "I am not an ordinary man; I am an extraordinary man and ordinary rules do not apply to me"; when in a nation called Christian, men still work at grueling tasks twelve hours a day and seven days a week; when young children are sapped of all promise of a fine maturity by nights and days of exhausting labor at the loom until of many a man grown rich by their toil the prophet's word is true, "They sold a girl for wine and drank it"; when Senators buy their places as they do their automobiles and vice is by the guardians of the public made a source of profit, not an object of repression; and when at the dregs of it all young girls are sold into a slavery worse than death while still so young that they cry for their dolls; in the presence of conditions such as these from which the sensitive and philanthropic mind recoils blistered with shame and turbulent with indignation, of what value are our ecclesiastical divergencies of dogma and our peculiarities of polity?

The Task must be the unifier of the Churches.

Moreover, if the Church's mission to the individual is

clearly seen, in an age when men gain the whole world and neglect the springs of personal wealth and power which alone can make the whole world worth possessing, shall not her zeal for her redeeming mission, so greatly needed, make emphasis upon her differences seem ridiculous? For men now as ever can find no satisfactory interpretation for their lives except a spiritual interpretation, cannot think deeply, as Samuel Johnson said, without thinking religiously, and when their doubts are their only beliefs, and they live haphazard as they must, with lives quite uninterpreted, quite uninspired by any sure convictions, they lack not simply hope for the future but any basis also for positive endeavor now. To-day as in John Bunyan's time, Doubting Castle is kept by Giant Despair and his wife, Diffidence. If the Church has a message, therefore, well grounded in reasonableness and well authenticated in its effect on life, a message of assurance that the moral ideals are not mirages but realities, of valid and unconquerable hope that all sacrificial labor is a contribution which God uses and shall crown with triumph, a message that the principles of life exemplified in Jesus are not steam from a physical kettle, somehow automatically boiling, but the revelation of creative and eternal Spirit, let the Church tell men this, for this they need. These things are not man's luxuries but his necessities; not the banquet's macaroons and lady-fingers but the solid courses aimed at Life's elemental hunger.

This is the Task at home and in the islands of the sea and the Task must be the unifier of the churches.

Once let the idea take possession of the Christian people that they are not here to distribute passes to a future Heaven, but to help men begin now the kind of life that it would be worth while continuing in Heaven; let them be fully persuaded that they are not here to defend a speculative creed or to preserve a time-honored polity but to inspire men with a transforming faith in the spiritual meaning of life and to reconstruct society until it conforms with the implication of that meaning, and at once you will have at least this much union, that like the wheels of a watch, though some creeds go one way and some another, all will co-operate on the common task—to make the hands go round!

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK.

SOCIAL DECADENCE

BY SCOTT NEARING

It may be supposed, with what measure of reasonableness each reader shall judge, that no social group has ever existed which did not believe in its own integrity. On the other hand, history teaches, pretty conclusively, that there never was a social group,—China excepted,—which did not fall a victim of social decadence. Assyria, Carthage, Greece, Rome, the Italian City-States, and Spain, rose one by one to positions of wealth and power, became corrupt and decadent, and then fell easy victims to some virile, conquering people. Social decadence is a commonplace of history.

Can any such doctrine apply to the United States?

How absurd that question! There are the Declaration and the Constitution, guaranteeing freedom. There is the impregnable American home; the public school rears its bulwark of education; a network of industrial processes, heretofore undreamed of, supplies the wealth which we consume. Social decadence in the United States? Impossible!

How strangely history reiterates! So they all said. Yet, we laughed at Spain in 1898—Spain, the dreaded mistress of the sixteenth-century world. We commiserated with England over her wretched showing in the Boer War—England, the proud conqueror of Imperial Spain. Since 1905, when England received the report of her Parliamentary Committee on Physical Deterioration, we no longer wonder at her performance in the Transvaal. The investigations leading up to that report reveal low physical standards and a host of adverse social conditions threatening to send them still lower.

Our own youthful society, dating back scarcely two centuries, is still virile, is it not? Yet as mortality is always highest during infancy, an examination of our social structure will not be amiss, and even though the facts be inadequate to prove beyond cavil the negative or affirmative of decadence, they may well be stated and considered.

Social standards are aggregations of individual qualities. Therefore, if the individual members of a society are of low type, the social standard must be low. On the other hand, the presence of a group of high-type individuals necessarily implies the existence of a high-standard society. Speaking by analogy, a society can raise its standard above that of its individual members as easily as a river can raise its level above the water-drops of which it is composed. Thus individual qualities constitute, in the aggregate, social standards.

Social decadence involves a lowering of the qualities of the members of a group; while social progress involves the reverse process. Since the object of the American people is progress,—the production of increasing proportion of individuals possessing that combination of physical and mental capacity, efficiency, sympathy, and vision which may be described as social worth,—it becomes necessary for them to inquire what factors may be relied upon to produce an increasing proportion of social worth, and what factors may, on the other hand, lead to social decadence.

If the qualities composing social worth are transmissible from parent to child,—even though it be by chance,—the social worth of any individual must be the product of heredity, of environment, or of a combination of these two forces. If heredity alone is responsible for these qualities, each generation may, by the character of its marriages, determine the extent of such special qualities in the succeeding generation. But even supposing that heredity is a negligible factor, and that environment is wholly responsible for their presence or absence,—the parent is still largely answerable because parental influences are everywhere dominant to the age of six, and in the upper income classes, for several additional years. A limited study of the transmission of human qualities and a wide experience with the transmission of special qualities in animals (for example, speed in horses) leads to the inference that ability among men may be consciously handed on from generation to gen-

eration. Are these qualities the result of a careful training during babyhood and early youth? Are they the product of wise marriages? The answer is really unimportant to this discussion, for whether the associations of youth or the combinations of germ cells are to be held accountable for exceptional capacity, in either case the source of civic worth is parenthood.

The importance of this statement to the present question warrants some elaboration. The pioneer work in establishing the transmission of special capacity was done by Francis Galton, who estimated that the men who "have distinguished themselves pretty frequently either by purely original work or as leaders of opinion,"—*i. e.*, the geniuses,—constitute 250 (.025 per cent.) in every million men. The transmission of special capacity was illustrated by an intensive study of the judges of England from 1660 to 1865. On this study, Galton bases his estimate that the most gifted members of distinguished judges' families had 26 per cent. of genius among their fathers and 36 per cent. of genius among their sons. Thus, in the population at large 250 men in each million are geniuses, while of the fathers of the most distinguished judges 260,000 in a million, and of the sons, 360,000 in a million were eminent. So that the son of a distinguished judge is fifteen hundred times as liable to be eminent as is the son of an average man.[1]

Numerous other illustrations of the transmission of ability are available. An investigation of the genealogies of sixty-five eminent men of science shows that 26 per cent. of their fathers and 60 per cent. of their sons were eminent. That is a proportion among the sons of six in ten as contrasted with six in twenty-five thousand for England at large.[2] In one family,—the Darwins, beginning with Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802),—there have been in five generations sixteen men of scientific attainments.[3] The Bach family of musicians furnishes another remarkable instance of the transmission of ability. In eight generations (1650–1800) there were "far more than twenty eminent musicians," and the Biographical Collections of Musicians gives the lives of fifty-

[1] *Hereditary Genius.* By Francis Galton. London: Macmillan Company, 1892. (First edition 1869), pp. 6–9 and 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[3] *The Family and the Nation.* By W. C. D. and C. D. Whetham. London: Longmans, 1909, pp. 89–90.

seven. Tradition holds that the men married within the Musical Guild, hence both parents may have been musical. "It was a custom of the family to meet in yearly reunions at which the entertainments were purely musical."[1]

F. A. Wood's studies of heredity in royalty confirm Galton's work, leaving little question of the transmission of special ability from parent to child.

The same law holds with equal, if not greater, force in the transmission of defect. While it cannot be shown that ability is due to heredity alone, it has been definitely proven that certain defects are transmitted through the germ cell, and are, therefore, wholly hereditary. Feeble-mindedness, for example, is generally accepted as an hereditary defect. A recent New York study of families in which both parents were feeble-minded showed only two normal children in a total of seventy-five. In one Pennsylvania family with feeble-minded parents there are eleven children, all feeble-minded. All of the more recent studies of institutional records show that feeble-mindedness may usually be traced through several generations.[2]

While mental defect is clearly hereditary, other parental blemishes may, through heredity or environment, affect the offspring disastrously. Hæmophilia (bleeding disease) and Daltonism (color-blindness) are both distinctly hereditary. The same is probably true of deaf-mutism. The venereal diseases while not hereditary are most disastrous to the offspring. Pauperism, crime, and vice, surrounding childhood, likewise leave their impress on the physique and mentality of adult life.

Among the few studies of the transmission of anti-social qualities none is more striking than that of a notorious Indiana family *(The Tribe of Ishmael)*. In one branch of the family

"there were originally four children of whom two have been traced. William and Brook. William had three children who raised pauper families. One son of the third generation died in the penitentiary; his two sons in the fourth generation have been in the penitentiary; a daughter in the fourth generation was a prostitute with two illegitimate children. Another son of the third generation has a penitentiary record, and died

[1] *Hereditary Genius.* By Francis Galton. Pp. 232–4.

[2] *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics.* By C. B. Davenport. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Chap. III.

of delirium tremens. There have been several murders; a continuous pauper and criminal record. . . ." [1]

A similar and a far more complete study of defect was made in Europe by Dr. Jorger.[2] The Zero family, the subject of the inquiry, originated in a small Swiss valley, from which they spread their curse of criminality and pauperism over the adjoining territory.

"Parental irresponsibility, idiocy, and poverty have made this family for one hundred years a burden to the almshouse. The most persistent efforts have failed to raise the standard of the family, even in cases where the children were taken from their parents. This human product 'is a matter of selective breeding' from among the worst."

What social contrast could be more full of meaning than this between the Jukes family and the Jonathan Edwards family? On one side defect and social cost, on the other ability and civic worth have been handed down for generations.[3]

MAX "JUKE" (BORN 1720)	JONATHAN EDWARDS (BORN 1703)
1,200 descendants identified.	1,394 descendants identified.
300 in the poorhouse.	295 college graduates.
2,300 years in all.	13 college presidents.
300 died in childhood.	65 college professors.
440 viciously diseased.	60 physicians.
400 physical wrecks.	100 clergymen and musicians.
50 notorious prostitutes.	75 army and navy officers.
7 murderers.	60 prominent authors.
60 habitual thieves. (Averaged twelve years in jail.)	100 lawyers.
	30 judges.
130 convicted of crime. ("None of them ever contributed to social welfare." Their actual and potential cost to society was $1,250,000.)	80 held public office.
	1 Vice-President.
	3 United States Senators. ("It is not known that any of them was ever convicted of crime.")

Thus one family has produced twelve hundred social burdens or social scourges, while the other has given to the race nearly fourteen hundred social servants. One family represents social decadence; the other social progress. One field of tares, another of wheat lying side by side in the

[1] *The Tribe of Ishmael.* By Oscar C. McCulloch. National Conf. of Charities and Corrections, 1888, p. 156.

[2] *Hereditary Crime.* By G. C. Davenport, Am. Journal Sociology, Vol. 13, pp. 402–09 (1907–8).

[3] *The Jukes-Edwards.* By A. E. Winship. Harrisburg: R. L. Myers & Co., 1900, Chap. VIII.

same social area. Unlike the incident in the Scripture, the two do not grow in the same field, hence it is not necessary to wait until the harvest before attacking the tares.

Ability and defect may be the result of heredity through the germ cell or of environment through training, or they may be caused by both. In any case, they are not the product of chance, but are passed on through parentage from one generation to the next. The increase in ability or in defect is therefore determined by the qualities of the parents and the character of the training which children receive. Since parenthood plays so large a part in determining the qualities of the new generation, the birth-rates of different parental groups will be an invaluable indication of the source of the coming generation. Is it to the parents of high or of low social worth that the citizens of the future are being born? If those parents of the lowest social worth have the largest families the social decadence is inevitable. On the other hand, if the greatest number of children is born to those parents best fitted by heredity, training, and income, to care for them, social progress is assured.

The situation presents three possibilities. Either the proportion of high and of low social worth remains the same, in which case no progress is being made, or the increase in population is greatest among families of high social worth, which insures progress; or the families of low social worth furnish the greatest increase, which signifies decadence.

Any increase in social worth can therefore be assured only by maintaining the highest relative birth-rate in that portion of the population which represents high social worth standards. The facts at hand suggest that, in violation of this law, the population of the United States is increasing most rapidly from that group which is least fitted to transmit social worth to the coming generation. Whether through actual physical defect (feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, etc.) or through ignorance, poverty, or vice, a large group of American parents is unable to provide for children an heredity or an environment conducive to the production of high social worth. If, therefore, the birth-rate in this group of the population is relatively higher than in the group of greater civic worth, the population at large shows a tendency toward decadence.

The statistics which may be employed to demonstrate the

proposition contained in the last paragraph are, to say the least, unsatisfactory. Practically the only valid contrasts which can be drawn relate to hereditary defect, parentage, income, and scholastic attainments. No one of these tests is satisfactory, nor is their combination by any means conclusive. Yet native-born persons, with advanced education and comfortable incomes, are, on the whole, more competent to transmit social worth to their offspring than are foreign parents with less education and smaller incomes. The foreign-born have been classed as of lower social worth than the native-born group, because their lack of acquaintance with American customs renders them less desirable as child-trainers than the native-born; and because, employed largely at unskilled tasks, their incomes are wholly inadequate to rear a family of even medium size. Persons living below the poverty line may not represent low social worth in themselves, but they are certainly incapable of affording to their children adequate opportunities for normal development.[1]

The table on next page lends itself to certain generalizations. First. The data from Philadelphia, where excellent birth statistics are collected, show as clearly as may be the relation between social status and birth-rate. In the expensive residence wards, the rate is 18.0 per 1,000—barely enough to replace the population; in the great area devoted to small three-story and two-story houses, the homes of the "well-to-do," the rate is 21.4 per 1,000; among the American-born factory-workers the rate is 24.5 per 1,000, while in the lowest districts of the city, among the worst-paid immigrants, the rate rises to 41.9 per 1,000. (The variation in the death-rate is much less than that in the birth-rate; the death-rate ranges from 14.5 per 1,000 for the expensive residence wards to 20.5 per 1,000 for the slum wards.)

Second. In the population at large, the birth-rate is more than twice as high among foreign-born as it is among native-born. As present-day immigrants and low standards of life

[1] The reader should bear in mind that such statistics are in themselves nothing but generalizations. For example, the Philadelphia wards are not exclusively high-income or low-income districts. In fact, there is hardly a ward in Philadelphia which does not contain every type of domicile from a mansion to a shanty. So, too, the birth-rates are crude. No allowance is made for the sex or age of the inhabitants. Such figures merely confirm in a broad way the fact of common experience—large income, small family, and *vice versa*.

A CLASSIFICATION OF BIRTH-RATES ACCORDING TO SOCIAL WORTH

HIGH SOCIAL WORTH LOW BIRTH-RATE		MEDIUM SOCIAL WORTH		LOW SOCIAL WORTH HIGH BIRTH-RATE			
Philadelphia[1] expensive-residence wards, per 1,000 population	18.0	Philadelphia two-story-house wards, per 1,000 population	21.4	Philadelphia (native-born) factory wards, per 1,000 population	24.5	Philadelphia (foreign-born) slum wards, per 1,000 population	41.99
COLLEGE GRADUATES[2]		*"Laboring Classes"*[3] *(Native-born)*					
Births Per Family							
Harvard (1872-77)	2.21	St. Louis	2.1				
Middlebury (1875-79)	1.8	Boston	1.9				
New York University 1870-74)	2.5						
Yale (1867-86)	2.02						
"Higher Classes" Per Family		*Native-born*		*Foreign-born*		*Defectives*[8] *Per Family*	
St. Louis	1.8	United States,[4] per 1,000 women fifteen to forty-four years	462.00	United States, per 1,000 women fifteen to forty-four years	710.00	Deaf mutes	6.1
Boston	1.8	Massachusetts,[5] per 1,000 population	16.58	Massachusetts, per 1,000 population	50.40	Insane	6.0
		Michigan,[6] per 1,000 women fifteen to forty-five years	111.00	Michigan, per 1,000 women fifteen to forty-five years	232.00	Criminals	6.6
		New York City,[7] per 1,000 females	28.26	New York City, per 1,000 females	109.46	Feeble-minded[9]	6.0

[1] Annual Report, Philadelphia Bureau of Health, 1908; Philadelphia, 1909, pp. 60-61.
[2] *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 63, p. 179.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 179.
[4] Census Bulletin No. 22, Washington, 1905, p. 23.
[5] *Modern Social Conditions*, W. B. Bailey, p. 104.
[6] Supra, p. 105.
[7] Annual Report, New York Department of Health, 1909, Vol. 2, p. 813.
[8] *World's Work*, Vol. 15, pp. 9821-2, 1907-8.
[9] A letter from Dr. H. H. Goddard (February 8, 1911). Records of 680 children based on 120 cases of feeble-mindedness in the institution at Vineland, New Jersey. Though there were six births per family, there were but four living children at the time of the study.

are synonymous, it is apparent that the greatest population increase occurs in a social group which is incapable of affording to children adequate opportunities. Among the native-born in New England there are indications of an actual decrease from generation to generation.[1]

Third. The birth-rate among college graduates is not sufficient to maintain the population static. The race of college graduates is dying out from generation to generation.

Fourth. Among the "higher classes," meaning "higher income classes," the birth-rate is lower than the rate among college graduates.

Fifth. The little available data indicates that the birth-rate among defectives is greater,—perhaps two or three times greater,—than that among college graduates.

The population of the United States is apparently increasing most rapidly among that group which has the lowest social worth. The largest families are found among the immigrants, the low-paid workers, and the defectives. Unfortunately, partly because of a lack of interest in the subject, partly because of the inadequacy of American birth statistics, no exact studies of the relative birth-rates of high, average, and low social worth have been made in the United States.

Perhaps the only reliable data is that contained in family records kept by institutions and the Eugenics Laboratory, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island. In reply to a question on the subject, the director, Dr. Davenport, writes:

> "I have gained the general impression from looking up the pedigree of the offspring of parents, one or both of whom are mentally defective, that if their propagation is not interfered with, their families are larger than the families of Harvard graduates."

This fragmentary material is all that the United States affords on the subject.

In the course of the English studies, considerable data have been collected, among which are the following unsatisfactory figures of family size in defective families:[2]

	NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY
Edinburgh degenerates	6.1
London mentally defective	7.0
Manchester mentally defective	6.3

[1] *The Declining Birth-rate.* By F. A. Bushel. *Popular Science Monthly,* Vol. 63, pp. 355–357 (1903).

[2] *Breeding Better Men.* By Raymond Pearl. *World's Work,* Vol. 15, pp. 9821–2 (1908).

W. C. D. Whetham, an English social student, writes:

"From the study of 150 degenerate families Dr. Tredgold found that the average number of children in a family was 7.3, while the normal average for the country at large is 4. With the birth-rate falling in other classes, especially the most provident classes, the influence of a high rate of increase in feeble-minded families must mean the rapid and progressive deterioration of the race."

The most satisfactory and complete statement of the problem as it relates to England was made by David Heron in a study *On the Relation of Fertility in Man to Social Status*. After an intensive study of London Vital Statistics, the author concludes:

"As far as the present investigation goes, it demonstrates I think conclusively that for the London districts there is a very close relationship between undesirable social status and a high birth-rate. In districts where there is overcrowding, where there is a superabundance of the lowest type of labor, where it is needful to employ many young children in order to earn daily bread for the family, where infantile mortality is greatest, then the wives of reproductive ages have most children. Where there is more culture and education as shown by a higher proportion of professional men, where there is more leisure and comfort as shown by a higher percentage of domestic servants, where the traders, who appeal to the thriftless and improvident are fewer in number, there the birth-rate is least. Again, where there is more general pauperism, where signs of bad environment like phthisis are prevalent, where pauper lunatics are most plentiful, there the birth-rate is highest. . . .

"Nor is the birth-rate of the undesirable elements compensated by the higher death-rate. The net fertility of the lower status remains higher than that of the superior status."

These conclusions derived from English studies are not, of course, applicable to the United States, yet it is interesting to note that in a kindred racial stock, living primarily in towns and cities and engaged, like the Americans, in industrial pursuits, the group of lower social worth are largely responsible for replacing the population. Would a similar study in American cities yield like results? Certainly the American data already presented create a strong presumption in favor of the statement that the American population is being most rapidly increased from among those of low social status.

The available data clearly show that in the United States the well-educated and well-to-do portions of the population have a birth-rate (about two children per family) below that necessary to maintain the population. While it cannot be definitely shown that the defectives are propagating at a

higher rate than the other classes of society, the data thus far would so indicate. On the other hand, it has been proven beyond cavil that the rate of increase among the immigrants is at least twice as great as that among native-born families, while among the lowest income groups the rate of propagation is several times as great as it is among college graduates and the well-to-do elements in the population. Here is evidence of a stationary population among those of high social worth, and a rapidly increasing population among those of low social worth.

The American population may, therefore, be increasing most rapidly from that group least fitted by heredity or by income to develop social worth in their offspring. The continuance of such a condition must inevitably mean the replacement of the more able by a less able stock. Such a process of "reversed selection" must mean, for the nation, a constant decrease in the social worth of each succeeding generation.

Scott Nearing.

CONSERVATION OF FUR SEALS

BY GEORGE ARCHIBALD CLARK,
SPECIAL INVESTIGATOR FOR DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR

On July 7, 1911, there was signed in the city of Washington a treaty between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and Russia which suspended for fifteen years the hunting of fur seals in the open sea. Had this treaty not been signed, Canadian sealers would to-day be pursuing our fur seals off the California coast and Japanese sealers would in like manner be hunting the seals of Russia, off the coasts of Japan; while in the summer both fleets would unite on the American herd in Bering Sea.

The fur seals have their breeding home in Bering Sea, the American herd on the Pribilof Islands, in the eastern portion of that sea, the Russian herd on the Commander Islands, near the coast of Kamchatka. With the approach of winter they leave the islands for a long migration down through the Pacific Ocean, the American herd to the latitude of Santa Barbara, the Russian herd along the coast of Japan. The downward journey is rapid, the return trip slow, occupying the later winter and spring, and bringing the animals back to their island homes in the latter part of May and early June.

It was the custom of the Indians of the vicinity of Neahbay, Vancouver Island, and Sitka to go out in their canoes to hunt the stragglers from the herd on the northward journey which came near enough the shore. In 1879 or thereabouts sailing-vessels began to be used to take out the Indians and their canoes, caring for them at night and in time of storm, and enabling them to follow the main body of the herd. The sealing-vessels gradually anticipated the arrival of the herd off the Strait of Fuca by going south to meet it, until finally they came to await it at the turning-

point of its migration, off the Santa Barbara Channel. The principal port for this sealing was Victoria, B. C., but vessels at times sailed from San Francisco, Monterey, and San Diego.

Pelagic sealing proved very destructive to the herd. It respected neither sex nor condition of the animals found, and the catch fell principally upon the gravid and nursing females, the latter taken upon the summer feeding-grounds in Bering Sea; for when the migration route of the seals had been covered the sealers entered Bering Sea and lay in wait for the mother seals as they visited the fishing-banks one to two hundred miles distant from the islands for the purpose of feeding. As a result of the death of the mother the dependent young starved to death on the rookeries. In the fall of 1896 sixteen thousand fur-seal pups died of starvation on the rookeries of St. Paul and St. George islands.

As pelagic sealing developed through the increasing number of ships, its catch grew from 8,000 at the beginning to a maximum of 140,000 in 1894; but this could not last, and with the declining herd the pelagic catch also began to decline. In the season of 1911, the last of the industry, the catch numbered about 15,000 skins. In 1893 the United States and Great Britain reached an agreement in the matter of pelagic sealing which provided for a protected zone of sixty miles radius about the breeding-islands and a close season of three months—May, June, and July. These were binding upon the Canadian sealers, but when the Japanese fleet entered Bering Sea in 1903, they were not bound by this agreement and conducted their operations throughout the summer from the three-mile line with even more destructive effect.

From the known catch of the sealing-fleets and from conservative estimates as to animals killed but not recovered, it is apparent that more than a million breeding female fur seals and a like number of unborn and dependent young were destroyed during the thirty-odd years the pelagic industry has been in operation. The result is the depleted condition in which we find the herd to-day. Our best information places the number of the animals in the herd at the time we took it over from Russia in 1867 at between two and three millions. It numbers to-day about 215,000.

The cause of the herd's decline was, for a considerable

time, a matter of dispute between the United States and Great Britain, but in 1897 a joint conference of fur-seal experts, after two seasons of investigation on the breeding-islands, agreed upon the killing of females inherent in pelagic sealing as the sole cause of the decline and upon the abolition of pelagic sealing as the sole remedy. This required international action and it has taken fifteen years to bring about the desired end, which was accomplished by the treaty of July 7, 1911.

This treaty was a bargain involving give and take. Great Britain and Japan, whose citizens maintained the pelagic industry, agreed to its abandonment. The United States and Russia, owners of the fur-seal herds, agreed to share the product of their land-sealing industries with Great Britain and Japan in reimbursement of their citizens. The percentage of the land catch agreed upon was fifteen per cent. to each nation.

The land sealing concerned in this arrangement is the killing of the superfluous young males, or bachelors. The fur seal is polygamous, the average harem for the season of 1912 numbering sixty females to one male. The sexes are practically equal in the birth-rate of any season. Through fear of the adult males the younger males herd by themselves on separate beaches, beyond the confines of the breeding-grounds. From these beaches they are driven inland, a sufficient reserve for breeding purposes marked and set aside, and the rest killed for their skins. This process of land-sealing has been in operation throughout the period of American control, forty-two years, and the United States has received in royalties from the leasing companies approximately $10,000,000 for sealskins taken and marketed by them. If pelagic sealing had not intervened to reduce the herd, the income of the Government in the past twenty years would have amounted to $1,000,000 annually. If the treaty of July 7, 1911, is maintained, the herd will in the next fifteen years—the life of the treaty—have practically recovered its condition of maximum prosperity.

The doubt as to whether this treaty will be allowed to affect its beneficent work of restoration arises from the fact that in the law of August 24, 1912, designed to give effect to the treaty, a suspension of land sealing for five years was provided for. Thus for five years Congress has placed us

in the position of having no land catch to share with Canada and Japan. These nations are dissatisfied and are protesting. Japan has already paid $560,000 to extinguish the sealing rights of her citizens, which they yielded up unwillingly. The Canadian sealers have been settled with by Great Britain on some effective basis. In the season of 1912 there was absolutely no pelagic sealing. It is an open question whether the patience of these people will survive the five-year period. The industry they yielded up was a valuable one and had taken approximately 300,000 animals from the Pribilof herd in the past fifteen years. These skins were marketed by the sealers at an average price of $15 each—a total of $4,500,000. The pelagic sealing nations would seem to have reasonable ground for withdrawal from the treaty. Such withdrawal would be followed by resumption of pelagic sealing, and the ultimate destruction of the herd.

The effect on the treaty, while the most serious consideration, is not the only one. It is not merely possible to remove the superfluous males, but such removal is necessary to the best development of the herd. The breeding life of the animals is at best crowded. The adult bulls are powerful and pugnacious animals of 400 to 500 pounds weight. The cows are animals of about 80 pounds, and the young are comparatively helpless at birth, weighing about 12 pounds. An overstock of males leads to fighting and commotion in the breeding season with consequent injury to the females and their young. The law suspending land sealing, if carried through, will inflict, during the next fourteen years, a stock of 75,000 bulls upon the fur-seal rookeries, of which 63,000 will be wholly superfluous, and the fighting of these bulls will bring heavy damage to the breeding stock. It may be added that these 63,000 animals will have borne, at the age of three years, skins worth to the Government, and to the treaty nations, $40 each, or approximately $2,500,000, a clear loss, as the skin of the male seal is commercially worthless after the fourth year of its age.

An incidental but none the less important effect of the suspension of land sealing will be the decimation if not the complete destruction of the blue-fox herd, an important fur-bearing asset of the Pribilof Islands. These animals through a century of habit have come to depend on the offal of the killing-fields for their winter supply of food. This is to be

cut off for five years. The animals cannot migrate. As is their custom when food is scarce, they will prey upon one another, the strong eating the weak, the adults the young. It is possible to feed the animals with dried salmon, whale meat, beef—but it will be a difficult and expensive matter, and the law makes no provision for it.

The suspension of land sealing, as provided for in the fur-seal law of August 24, 1912, is an unnecessary, even harmful measure. It should be repealed at as early a date as possible.

GEORGE ARCHIBALD CLARK.

THE MENACE OF PAN-ISLAMISM

BY ALBERT EDWARDS

THIS story is making the rounds of the British army messes. An official report on the matter is, doubtless, on file in the archives of the War Office in London.

The scene was a military post in the Sudan. There were half a dozen white officers and their families, a company of English soldiers for use as a model, twenty extra "drill sergeants," and a regiment of native troops. They were the "Fuzzy Wuzzies" of Kipling's verse plus several years of drill and armed with modern rifles instead of spears. Outside the barracks there was a cluster of squalid mud huts and beyond miles and miles of desert, the killing African sun—the unspeakable heat.

One day a native private ran amuck. Perhaps it was the heat, perhaps he had been drinking infidel alcohol, or it may be that something snapped in his brain. With all the vivid invective of the East he began to insult an English captain who chanced to be crossing the parade-ground. Why should a follower of the Prophet take orders from an infidel slave? The day was approaching when the Ingleesi dogs would be driven into the sea. The land would be cleaned of their pollution. Were not the lives of the handful of white men in the keeping of the soldiers? Were not all the regiment members of The Snoussïa? Sworn to the Holy War of Extermination? Did not the Great Sheik promise that the day was at hand?

Intoxicated by his own anger, the mad Arab attacked his officer, wounded him slightly, might have killed him if he had not been overpowered by some English soldiers and dragged to the guard-house.

That night at mess the officers discussed the matter. The

younger ones dismissed it as "a touch of the sun." But all agreed that a summary example must be made of the "nigger" who had struck a white officer. It is not on record what the native soldiers said as they discussed the incident.

In the morning a court-martial was mustered in state. Every one was in dress uniform, all the flags were up, for ceremony is supposed to impress the "native" mind. The English company was drawn up behind the bargee where the court sat. The native soldiers were ordered to their barracks to watch English justice from a respectful distance. When the stage was properly set word was sent to bring out the culprit. As he was being led across the parade-ground, between two English soldiers, a shot rang out from a window in "C" Barrack. The bullet went through the prisoner's head, killing him instantly. The English officers and all the company of English soldiers had seen the puff of smoke from a particular window. The fifty native soldiers in that room solemnly swore that their officers' eyes had deceived them. They took Allah to witness and swore by the beards of their fathers that no shot had been fired from their room. An examination showed that a gun-rack had been forced—one of the rifles was still hot. The natives, however, insisted that there was some mistake. The rifle which had been used belonged to a private who was detailed as gardener to the colonel's wife. At the time of the murder he had been docilely pulling up weeds under her direction.

One of this half-company of Mohammedans had fired that shot; all must have seen it done, but all with one accord stubbornly denied any knowledge of the matter. And there the mystery rests!

There is only one plausible explanation—the consequences of which no one is willing to accept. All of those men may have been members of the great secret order of the Snoussïa; its rulers may punish with death any one who reveals its plans. Its discipline may be so perfect that all that half-company were willing to submit to severe punishments rather than tell what they knew. But if this half-company were Snoussïa, how about the rest of the company, how about the rest of the garrison? And how about the other Mohammedan regiments under English officers in the Sudan, in India, in Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia? This

chance—that Europe's colonial troops may be disloyal—is the menace of Pan-Islamism.

Hardly a day passes that the newspapers of Europe do not contain much information on this subject. In one issue of a London daily I found half a column on the Mohammedan unrest in India, the report of a Pan-Islamic conference in Egypt, a despatch from Russian Turkestan about a fanatic who had been arrested for preaching the Holy War, and an official French telegram from Lake Tchad about a new "general order," intended by the military authorities to discourage some agitators of the Order of Derkawa who were stirring up trouble among the blacks of that district. A Paris paper of the same date reported that "The Mad Hamdushi," whom the police had been seeking for several months along the southwest border of Algeria, had been found dead in a village near Taza. The Italian raid in the Tripolitaine and the recent overwhelming defeat of the Turks have revived the subject. Most of the European reviews have published articles relating to it. But it is only by going to the native press, to the Arabic publications, and by study of the countries affected that one can get a general idea of motives back of all these diverse manifestations.

Broadly speaking, Pan-Islamism is the idea of uniting all the followers of Mohammed. But for what purpose? By what means? Before these questions the dream of unity at once breaks down. There are three distinct and mutually hostile elements in the Pan-Islamic movement.

First there is the Mohammedan "Old Guard." They have been entirely unimpressed by modern history. They are intellectual reactionaries, who have learned nothing and have forgotten all that knowledge which once made them powerful, all the science and art which was the glory of the Great Caliphs. The "black" ecclesiastical coterie at Rome is wildly progressive compared to them. They are true to the old traditions which destroyed the library at Alexandria twelve centuries ago. All the truth of the world is in the Koran; everything not in that sacred book is false.

Like all fanatics, they are visionary. They take no thought of practical ways and means. They attribute the decline of Islam to the sins of the people. If they would only return to the primitive purity of their religion, Allah

would draw his sword and the career of conquest which marked the early days of Mohammedanism would return. Their only weapon is faith.

The headquarters of this faction—it has no definite organization—is in Mecca. There every year pilgrims from the ends of the earth come under the influence of these fanatics. And emissaries from this center are abroad through all the length and breadth of Islam. It is a passionate missionary crusade such as the world has not seen for centuries. The apostles of this revival beg their way in poverty and in the face of great suffering along the tracks to China, Siberia, India, the Sudan, Central Africa, and Morocco. Everywhere the people receive them as holy men and listen to their preaching with awe. No man can judge the extent of their influence. It is easy to dismiss them as ignorant fanatics. But the world has seen many momentous things done in the name of Ignorance and Fanaticism.

The second faction of the Pan-Islamists is as far removed from the first as one group of men well could be from another group. Its inspiration comes from the "Europeanized" Mohammedans. Its leaders have studied in the Sorbonne, at Oxford, or at least in one of the many European schools which have been established in the Levant. Most of them are—although they might not admit it—Free Thinkers. They have lost their faith in the divine Mission of Mohammed, but they consider that some religion is necessary for the masses, and they prefer the undiluted Monotheism of their fathers' creed to any of the more hazy theologies of Europe. In the same way, although they have been taught to see the stupidities and abuses of their own civilization, they prefer them to abuses and stupidities of ours. They dream of rejuvenating the lands of Islam after the manner of the Japanese. They would break down the dead traditionalism which smothered the intellectual life of their people; they would restore the great days of Bagdad and Granada and graft upon this ancient glory a few such modern conveniences as sanitary sewer systems and railroads. The best of the Egyptian and Indian "Nationalist" movements, the cream of the Young Turks and of the Persian "Constitutionalists" belong to this faction. Although some of their followers now and then throw a bomb, they are men of thought rather than of action. It is by reason and not by violence that they hope to realize their

dream. They have no hostility toward Christian nations, and, once their own independence was gained, they would hope for cordial relations with peoples of other creeds.

Disinterested observers—that is, practically every one but colonial administrators—sympathize with this group of Pan-Islamism. They are the leaven of progress in the Mohammedan world. Unfortunately they have received a serious blow in the utter collapse of the Young Turk movement. The inability of their followers in the Ottoman Empire to govern wisely has discredited them everywhere, has given a new argument to European colonialists in their contention that the Mohammedans are unfit to manage their own affairs.

The other section of the Pan-Islamic movement is less clear-cut in outline. It is marked by a bewildering mixture of crude fanaticism, mysticism, and European culture. Its partisans differ from the first group in their keen interest in such practical things as rifles and military training, from the second in the sincerity of their religious life and in their belief in the arbitrament of war. The writings of the Egyptian Nationalists bear a marked resemblance to, are full of quotations from, the pamphlets of the French Encyclopedists. The Order of The Snoussïa—to which the mad native soldier of the English garrison referred—is the standard-bearer of this third faction, and the book of its founder resembles nothing in the literature of Christendom except some of the writings of the medieval Anabaptists and the more frenzied of the Russian Mystics. There are pages on end given to the description of the various stages of ecstasy which lead to the desired consummation of complete oneness with God. In the first stage the adept will see seven million green stars of surpassing loveliness; in each succeeding stage there will be different colored stars, until in the final stage before reaching the ultimate bliss of oblivion the disciple beholds constellations of a glory for which there are no mortal words. It is difficult to find anything in the volume which is really intelligible to a Westerner.

And yet the Snoussïa—one of the youngest of the religious orders—is the strongest. Founded in 1848, it has already distanced all other similar organizations and is growing apace. It unquestionably owes its popularity to the wide-

spread belief that it is making practical preparations for the Holy War.

So far at least the differences in ideals of these factions have prevented any united action. And there can be no real Pan-Islamism until these differences are dissolved or until one faction swallows up the other two.

From the point of view of immediate politics the colonial administrators of North Africa and India are most interested in this last section of Pan-Islamists, who are not only talking about a militant rebirth of Mohammedanism, but are also actively preparing for it. But it is very hard to get credible information. The only sure fact is that no infidel knows with any certainty what is happening. The French in North Africa are divided into two camps: those who believe that a Holy War is a serious and imminent menace and those who scoff at the idea. The subject is taboo in the military clubs because it almost always precipitates a quarrel. The " believers " call the " scoffers " " blind fools " and are answered by the epithet " timorous." My personal experience leads me to believe that the majority of the French who have lived long enough in the country to know the language do not scoff. They may not lose sleep over the specter, they may not—very few do—believe that Pan-Islamism will triumphantly drive the French flag from Africa, but they do not scoff at the possibility of serious trouble.

There is the same difference of opinion among the English officers and administrators in Egypt, but the question is not so bitter among them. Their unquestioning faith in " Anglo-Saxon luck " keeps them from worrying. " We put down the Sepoy rebellion in India," one of them told me, " we smashed Mahdi, and we can do it again." But the reconquest of India was a horribly expensive thing, and Gordon was not the only Englishman whose life was lost before they smashed the Mahdi. But the English are so used to living on the edge of a volcano that they have lost the habit of worry.

In North Africa the question of Pan-Islamism is wrapped up in the development of the religious fraternities. The Snoussïa, to which reference has been made, is the most powerful, but it is only one of a hundred. These secret orders are in a way heterodox. There is nothing about them in the Koran. " There is no God but God " was the

formula of Mohammed. Again and again in different phraseology he repeated the assertion that God has no partners. He claimed for himself the mission of prophet, but he always insisted that he was a man like other men. He did not offer to act as intermediary; he established no clergy. The religious life he taught was a direct, personal relation between the individual and the Deity. But very few people feel themselves pure enough or sufficiently brave to go alone before the tribunal of God. Intercessors seem to be a human necessity. And so—just as the cult of the Virgin grew up within Christianity—innumerable saints have appeared in Islam.

The more revered ones became—at first unintentionally—the founders of orders. The oldest of all is the Khaderïa. Unley-Abdel-Khader, who lived in the twelfth century of our era, was a holy mystic, bearing a close resemblance in his practice and teaching to St. Francis d'Assisi. He did not seek nor expect the canonization which succeeding generations gave him. But from the small group of his disciples grew a great order. It has divided and subdivided, but in almost every Islamic community there are some who hold the name of Unley-Abdel-Khader in almost idolatrous veneration. The same thing has repeated itself again and again. The great majority of the present-day Moslems find the reality of their religious life in one or another of the orders.

Most of them have a somewhat similar organization. In the mother chapter, generally built about the tomb of the founder, the Sheik of the order has his headquarters. Frequently a lineal descendant of the saint, the Sheik always claims to share his Baraka, or divine blessing. He rules a court not unlike that of the Vatican, one minister having charge of the doctrines, another of propaganda, a third of finance, and so forth. Affiliated chapters, or Zawïas, are scattered as widely as possible and each is ruled by a Mokkadem. He is always a man under the personal influence of the Sheik and stands before the local brethren as his half-divine representative. Every effort is used to incite the generosity of the members. Perhaps one-third of the funds collected goes to the support of the local Zawïa, one-third sticks to somebody's fingers, and the rest goes up to the central treasury.

However, it is impossible to generalize about these orders.

No two are alike in doctrine or practice. The Tidjanïa have made peace with the Mammon of Infidel Unrighteousness. The present Sheik, whose headquarters are in Algeria, is practically a French official. He openly wears the cross of the Legion of Honor. During the last winter he traveled extensively in Morocco. Nominally on a pastoral visit, in reality he was sent by the French to urge his Moroccan followers to accept the protectorate without resistance. Most of the Tidjanïa are men of consequence. As far as I can discover it is more of a rich man's club than a religious order. Unley Ali, the present Shareef of Wassan and the head of the Tabbïa order, was educated in a French school in Algiers and speaks most easily the language of his mother—an Englishwoman. The French are also relying on his great influence in the difficult task of pacifying Morocco. The Derkawa, who in Morocco represent the extreme fanaticism of the Mecca coterie and who preach not only war against the infidel, but revolt against all corrupt Moslem governments who have made peace with the Christians, have practically no treasury. They do not beg except for food, and refuse money. They devote themselves entirely to religious propaganda. They seem insane, but they certainly are not mercenary. The Snoussïa, on the other hand, have developed as efficient a money-raising system as was ever invented. Their Mokkadems are expert blood-suckers. It means financial ruin to join this order. But it is growing more rapidly than any other. The people believe that the money goes to prepare for the war against the infidel.

Naturally, the colonial governments have spent much money and energy trying to inform themselves about this threatening order of Snoussïa. But very little is known. The first Sheik—Si Mohammed ben Si Ali ben Snoussi—was a strange mixture of the apparently idiotic mysticism of his writings and of great practical organizing ability. He founded the mother chapter in the Tripolitaine and his following grew rapidly; the more devout of his recruits emigrated from Egypt and Tunisia—polluted by infidel governments—and in the desert hinterland of Tripoli dug wells and founded communities about these artificial oases. As far back as the Mahdist uprising in the Sudan, which resulted in the death of Gordon, the Snoussïa were a power to be reckoned with. Even the Iron Earl of Cromer heaves

a sigh of retrospective relief when he reaches the place in his memoirs where the old Sheik refused to join forces with the Mahdi. Two sons have succeeded to the control of the order. The one who carries on the quasi-diplomatic relations with Europeans is said to be a sensual weakling, enervated by debauch, and frankly cynical about religion. It is impossible to get definite information about the other brother, who, according to native rumor, is the real head of the order.

It is also known from circumstantial evidence that the Snoussïa encourages its members to enlist in the native regiments and get training in the ways of European warfare, and that a constant pilfering of arms and ammunition goes on in almost every native regiment. There are, I think, very few police officers in Egypt or Tunisia who would question the statement that the Snoussïa could put into the field " several " thousand troops, drilled by European officers, abundantly supplied with arms and ammunition, and supported by some artillery. How many thousand? Two? Ten? Twenty? It is only a guess.

So much is known about this vast secret society. The rest is conjecture. For more definite information, for answers to the thousand questions this little knowledge stirs, there are nothing but native sources. The Mohammedans who are not members know no more about the order than the infidels do, and the members will not tell. But there are abundant rumors.

Two army officers—one French, one English—have shown me on the map the spot in the unexplored desert along the Egyptian - Tripolitaine border where they believed the Snoussïa have their principal depot of arms. So far no European has penetrated to this oasis. The mystery of Mecca has been dissipated by Christian explorers, but this alleged stronghold of the Snoussïa has not yet been visited. Perhaps it does not exist. But many sober-headed people believe that it does. I have often heard the story—supported by the best reputations for veracity — of strange rifles which are sometimes found in the interior. High-power, modern repeating rifles which do not bear the trade-mark of any European manufacturer. Native rumor says that there is a great arsenal in this mysterious oasis where Mohammedan graduates of Western technical schools are manufacturing arms and ammunition against the great day.

It sounds like a fairy story—from Japan. This fact, however is sure: no one knows the military strength of the Snoussïa.

But this is not the real danger. Supposing that these rumors are facts, that the mysterious brother of the "official" Sheik of Snoussïa should proclaim the Jehad and produce an army of fifty thousand well-drilled, well-equipped fanatical soldiers. It would undoubtedly be a serious affair, but not beyond the power of either England or France. The burning question is, How far can the native troops be trusted? Would the Egyptian troops march against the new Mahdi? Would the superb Spahis, who make so gay a show before the Government House in Algiers, obey their infidel officers? If they simply mutinied passively, it would be bad enough. But if they marched off to join their brothers in revolt, it would be the worst catastrophe Europe has ever faced.

However, it is certain that the overwhelming majority of European residents of North Africa do not fear the Holy War. They find an element of safety in the very number of religious orders. "The Dominicans and Jesuits never hated one another the way these rival Mohammedan sects do," one man told me. He was a Syrian Christian, educated in the Mission College in Beirut; he had traveled widely in Europe and was at the time editing an Arabic newspaper in Tangiers, which was subsidized by the French Government and almost entirely boycotted by the Moors. Arabic was his native tongue; he had mastered the Moorish dialect and so was in a position to know what he was talking about. He told me at length of the bitter jealousy between the rival Sheiks; he was sure that there was no chance of their uniting. And even more important than their mutual hatred was—he thought—their venality. He told me the amounts which the French Secret Service is paying annually to some of the "saints" in return for their political support.

"Europeans cannot understand these people," he said; "they are utterly corrupt. At least the aristocracy is—the leaders. And the common people are utterly ignorant. They have no feeling of nationality—nothing like what you call 'patriotism.' They have only a vague, superstitious fanaticism. Pan-Islamism?" He shrugged his shoulders in contempt. "If all their spiritual leaders united in pro-

claiming the Jehad, the people would follow them without doubt. But I tell you they hate one another too much. There is no ' communion of saints ' in Islam; they send one another poison. And then most of them are for sale. If a new Mahdi sprang up, he would attract attention at once. If he could not be bribed, he would be suppressed, and it would be one of the big Sheiks whose prestige was threatened by the upstart who would hand him over to the Europeans. But there will never be a new Mahdi. It is cheaper and simpler to buy them before they gather enough followers to fight.

" Then there is the question of language. Turks and Persians and the Arabic-speaking people will never unite. Even Arabic is not one language. Here in North Africa alone there are dozens of dialects—a Moor can't understand an Algerian. The only really warlike people are the Berbers of the mountains. Their language is not even remotely related to Arabic. Besides, the Mohammedans as a people are unarmed. The rifles they buy from gun-runners are low grade and inside of a year are too rusty to work.

" They are split up into little tribes, with all the jealousy of tribal organization, different dialects and customs, rival Caïds. There is no more political or racial unity than there is of religious unity. Pan-Islamism is a story to frighten children. The Mussulmans are corrupt to the core—it is their religion. Every leader, Cadis, Ulema, Caïds, and Marabouts—all are for sale."

As he finished his statement—we were seated at a café table in the Socco Chico of Tangier—one of the begging brothers of the Derkawa passed through the crowded, multicolored market-place crying aloud with monotonous repetition the name of God. If ever any people in the world looked " disinterested," it is these apostles of old Islam. His rags were not affected, his holy poverty was real. He looked a lineal descendant of the hermit saints of the Thebaid. The light of insanity—or of an overmastering religious faith—was in his eyes.

" Can you buy that man?" I asked.

" He probably is not worth it. If he has been in town two hours, the police know all about him. If he cannot be bought, well, look." He pointed across the way to a grizzled, sunbaked French officer who was sitting in another café reading the latest paper from Paris.

"You mean," I said, "that if you cannot buy him you can kill him?"

"Pooh!" he replied, contemptuously. "It is seldom necessary to do more than scare them."

This I think is a typical expression of the optimistic, most common attitude—a contempt for the native and great faith in the military power of Europe. But there is always the other side to be remembered; the earnest, serious men who are not optimistic about it.

All that can be learned from talking with Europeans of North Africa is that a serious and vehement difference of opinion exists about the danger of a Pan-Islamic revolt. The crux of the matter is the question of whether or not the varied tribes of the Mohammedan world, speaking different dialects and languages and the varied religious sects, with their rival leaders, can unite. It certainly does not seem probable. But less than a twelvemonth ago a man who is supposed to be exceedingly well informed on European diplomacy, who for years has been an authority on the Near East, told me that the national jealousy between Servia and Bulgaria was so great that there was not the remotest chance of a Balkan federation!

It is rather appalling to think out what a Pan-Islamic revolt would mean. A new Sepoy rebellion from the Red Sea to the Atlantic. A score or more of isolated European garrisons in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco besieged by the same wave of fanatic courage which overwhelmed Gordon. The seaports around the coast from Suakin to Mogador would be dependent not only for protection, but also for food, on the European navies. The necessity of relieving the inland garrisons would imply the speedy organization of a dozen odd military expeditions, at least as large as that which Kitchener led—too late—to Khartoum.

What would the Powers of Europe do in the face of such a crisis? Mohammedanism is too threatening in India to allow the withdrawal of troops from that quarter. England would be dependent on her minute home army and what help she could draft from her Anglo-Saxon colonies. Russia would be kept more than busy with her own immense Mohammedan population, her Persian and Turkish frontiers. France, with her great North-African empire, would be denuded of troops. It would bankrupt her. England might

weather the storm in India and Egypt. But for France it is a simple matter of arithmetic. For the years between the bombardment of Casablanca and the establishment of the protectorate last year, France has been spending fifteen thousand dollars a day on her military operations in Morocco alone, and in that period there was very little serious fighting. A war from Tunis to Tangier—a real war—would be inevitable bankruptcy.

And the balance of power in Europe? Germany and Austria alone of the great nations would be unaffected by a Mohammedan revolt. With the military power of her chief rivals strained to the utmost, could Germany be expected not to attempt to gain her coveted "place in the sun"? A wide-spread Holy War might well mean the bankruptcy of Europe.

ALBERT EDWARDS.

PILLAR WORK

BY RICHARD BURTON

"And upon the top of the pillars was lily-work; so was the work of the Pillars finished."—I Kings, VII, 22.

Among the flowers, the lily blooms supreme
For light and loveliness; her odorous breath
Floats like the memory of some delicate dream,
After her body has gone down to death.
Of garden growths she is the fairest one;
She crowned the Temple built by Solomon.

Behold the task completed! Marble strength
And ornament of precious stone were there,
But, for to make it lovelier, at length
They wrought a work of lilies, passing fair,
And set it high atop, like a great gem
To glow and glitter in Jerusalem.

The strength that flowers in Beauty is twice strong.
Four-square the Temple stood; but when the eye
Looked cloudward, lo, like to a lofty song,
The lily-work made glad the Orient sky;
And all the worshipers grew hushed, and peace
Fell on their hearts, and heavenly release.

Richard Burton.

THE "GITANJALI": OR SONG-OFFERINGS OF RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

BY MAY SINCLAIR

"But what are they all about?" a friend asked me when I tried to tell him of the "Gitanjali" of Rabindra Nath Tagore.

"They are all about the passion of the love of God," I said.

"Oh, devotional poetry. There is nothing easier to write than devotional poetry," said my friend.

I wondered, is he thinking of "Hymns Ancient and Modern," of the "Olney Hymns," and of "The Christian Year"?

In any event he had raised between us such an alienating vision of the banalities and facilities in which our unhappy youth was nursed that I forgot to remind him of the Psalms of David. And it was altogether impossible to speak of the "Gitanjali," the "Song-offerings" of Rabindra Nath Tagore.

It was not many weeks since I had heard these poems for the first time, that evening when Mr. Yeats turned Mr. Rothenstein's drawing-room into a holy temple by reading a dozen or more of them to about a dozen people. Even now, though they would all of course agree that what had happened was, for Literature, an event of supreme importance, they are probably no nearer than I am to knowing precisely what it was that happened to *them*. The thing was an experience too subtle, too profound, and too personal to be readily translatable into language. And so it would have been impossible to write about it in any words that would hang together if my friend had not supplied that slender thread.

For deep-seated in his mind was the conviction that de-

votional poetry is not and cannot be pure poetry; a view which might be plausible enough if you had nothing but the "Olney Hymns" or "The Christian Year" to compare with, say, the choruses in "Prometheus Unbound" or "Atalanta in Calydon."

You may go farther. You may take Newman's "Lead, Kindly Light," which is devotional poetry (of the kind my friend was thinking about) at its finest. It is poignant; it is passionate; it expresses in language which is profoundly disturbing the supreme need and longing of the human heart. But set it beside pure poetry at its purest, beside Shelley's "Life of Life, Thy Lips Enkindle," or Swinburne's "The Hounds of Spring are on Winter's Traces," and you see at once that if "Lead, Kindly Light" is poetry it is not altogether pure. It follows a certain devotional tradition. It calls upon emotions long and intimately associated with certain images. You cannot be quite sure that its poignancy does not depend somewhat on associations and accessories, on the voices of the choir, the organ music, and the light fading on a summer evening from stained-glass windows. Shelley's and Swinburne's songs are so pure from all association and so nakedly radiant that they evoke no image but the movement of light itself or of the shining feet of Artemis; they move us by their own subtle and intense vibration or they move us not at all. They have not the power that Newman's hymn has to touch the common human heart.

In the Bengali poems of Rabindra Nath Tagore you will find that common emotional appeal united, in a music and a rhythm many degrees finer than Swinburne's—a music and rhythm almost inconceivable to Western ears—with the metaphysical quality, the peculiar subtlety and intensity of Shelley; and that with a simplicity that makes this miracle appear the most natural thing in the world. As far as I know no Western poet yet born has done precisely this. Not Milton; he is far too grandiose for the human heart. Not Wordsworth; he is at once too subtle and too ponderous. And not the great mystic poets of the West, for they are the poets of mystics, as Shelley is the poet of poets; not Crashaw and not Francis Thompson, nor Henry Vaughn nor Blake at his simplest. Not even Dante and St. John of the Cross, though they stand nearest (they are very near) to this great mystic poet of Bengal. For the songs

of the "Gitanjali," the purest of pure poetry, written in the Bengali vernacular, are sung all over his native province; they are sung in the churches of the Brama Somaj. You cannot sing any of those great mystic poems of the West in church. And if you could they would not be understood by the congregation.

To the Western mind there is a gulf fixed between the common human heart and Transcendent Being. That is partly why, with the exception of the works of the great mystics and the seers, the devotional poetry of the West (Catholic and Protestant alike) is so unsatisfying. Most of it is written by people who are not poets. But the worst of it is that it is not supremely devotional. It does not deal directly with the Transcendent, but proceeds, fervently indeed, but always by way of dogma and tradition, as it were by perpetual makeshifts, and through the most horrible tangle of material and carnal imagery, to a visionary Throne of Grace. You never seem to arrive. Your heart may be soothed by the assurance of atonement; but your finer metaphysical hunger is left forever unappeased. And your poetic sense receives at every turn the impression entertained by my friend that devotional poetry is not difficult to write.

But take these songs of Divine Love from the "Gitanjali":

> "Art thou abroad on this stormy night on thy journey of love, my friend? The sky groans like one in despair.
>
> "I have no sleep to-night. Ever and ever again I open my door and look out on the darkness, my friend!
>
> "I can see nothing before me. I wonder where lies thy path!
>
> "By what dim shore of the ink-black river, by what far edge of the frowning forest, through what mazy depth of gloom art thou threading thy course to come to me, my friend?"

> "In the deep shadows of the rainy July, with secret steps, thou walkest, silent as night, eluding all watchers.
>
> "To-day the morning has closed its eyes, heedless of the insistent calls of the loud east wind, and a thick veil has been drawn over the ever-wakeful blue sky.
>
> "The woodlands have hushed their songs, and doors are all shut at every house. Thou art the solitary wayfarer in this deserted street. Oh, my only friend, my best beloved, the gates are open in my house—do not pass by like a dream."

> "The day is no more, the shadow is upon the earth. It is time that I go to the stream to fill my pitcher.

"The evening air is eager with the sad music of the water.

"Ah, it calls me out into the dusk. In the lonely lane there is no passer-by, the wind is up, the ripples are rampant in the river.

"I know not if I shall come back home. I know not whom I shall chance to meet. There at the fording in the little boat the unknown man plays upon his lute."

"I was not aware of the moment when I first crossed the threshold of this life.

"What was the power that made me open out into this vast mystery like a bud in the forest at midnight!

"When in the morning I looked upon the light I felt in a moment that I was no stranger in this world, that the inscrutable without name and form had taken me in its arms in the form of my own mother.

"Even so, in death the same unknown will appear as ever known to me. And because I love this life, I know I shall love death as well.

"The child cries out when from the right breast the mother takes it away, in the very next moment to find in the left one its consolation."

With what supreme simplicity the Bengali poet bridges the great gulf!

His simplicity, his restraint, his austerity, will be a little disconcerting to those who are accustomed to think of Oriental poetry as a thing of ungovernable efflorescence, smothered in decoration, crusted with gold and jewels, and specially and disgustingly rich in sensual imagery.

But as the East is subtler than the West, and as of all Eastern races the Bengali is the subtlest, so an extreme subtlety of feeling and of rhythm is the first quality that strikes you in the songs of this Bengali poet. This will damn them in the mind and to the ear of every Westerner who measures feeling by blood pressure and rhythm by the strokes of a sledge-hammer. To the average European, subtlety is a synonym for intricacy and obscurity, for the refinements of chicane, and for a certain insinuating sensual charm. The European writer, when he is subtle, is frequently sensual where he is not intricate and obscure, while the subtlety of the Eastern poet makes for transparence and simplicity. And a supreme transparence and simplicity is what you will find in every line of Rabindra Nath Tagore. It is the simplicity, the transparence of dew and crystal and still water. As a mystic he is bound to be a symbolist. But his phrase, his rhythm, is infallibly the most perfect,

the most crystalline medium of his symbol, his symbol the most crystalline and perfect medium of his thought. The result is an incomparable unity of rhythm and language, of language and idea.

It is not the least of his marvelous achievements that he should have preserved this quality in his translations. In his own language he had an absolutely flawless medium. "Bengali," says Mr. F. H. Skrine, "unites the mellifluousness of Italian with the power possessed by German of rendering complex ideas." English most certainly does not, but Mr. Tagore has almost persuaded it. I am told by those who know these poems in the original that this prose rendering, apparently so unerring in its sense of phrasing, of sound values and vibrations, fails to give the slenderest, most shadowy idea of the beauty of the Bengali, its richness of association, its diaphanous texture, its glamour and its musical quality, the plasticity, the subtlety, the variety of its rhythms. I have heard some of the songs of the "Gitanjali" sung and recited by the poet himself and by others. At the first hearing the rhythms, the pitch, were strange, almost unseizable by Western ears; sounds tenuous and remote and disconnected like the buzzing song of a swarm of gnats. On the second and the third hearing their music and their magic was apparent.

Though this strange music is lost to us, Mr. Tagore's translation preserves, not only all that is essential and eternal in his poetry, but much of the strange magic. Indeed, the substance of it is of such supreme value and vitality that no translation could have killed it. Like the poetry of his own Vedas and Upanishads, it would have survived even the glamourless rendering of a scholar. Above all, its simplicity and its transparency survive; for they are of the substance of this poet's vision. The whole complexity of things, the veil of *Maya,* the illusion of the world, is simple and translucent to him, so simple and so translucent that Reality is neither hidden by it nor obscured. That wearing of the veil of illusion is the jest of the Divine Lover hiding himself from his beloved that he may be the more passionately desired.

> "It is he who weaves the web of this *maya* in evanescent hues of gold and silver, blue and green, and lets peep out through the folds his feet, at whose touch I forget myself.
>
> "Days come and ages pass, and it is ever he who moves in my

heart in many a name, in many a guise, in many a rapture of joy and of sorrow."

And in the poems of this mystic the world appears no longer in its brutality, its vehemence, its swift yet dense fluidity; it is seized in the very moment of its passing and fixed in the clarity and stillness of his vision. It is always the same every-day world, the dusty road, the deserted street, the solitary fording, "the bank in the shady lane" where "the yellow leaves flutter and fall." "In the deep shadows of the rainy July thou walkest, with secret step, eluding all watchers." At the coming of the Unknown Traveler "The leaves rustled overhead; the cuckoo sang from the unseen dark, and perfume of *babla* flowers came from the end of the road." A world vivid to every sense, yet the stage of a supersensual drama, the scene of the divine adventure. So vivid and so actual is it, that only its strange fixity stirs in you the thrill of the supersensual.

And through this fixity, this stillness of rhythm and of mood, there is a mysterious trouble and excitement, an awful tension of expectancy. It is the stillness of intense vibration, of life inconceivably living, the ecstasy of supreme passion consummated and consumed.

No. There is nothing in the Western world to compare with these poems but the writings of those mystics who were also saints: St. Augustine, St. Thomas à Kempis, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Julian of Norwich,[1] St. Catherine of Genoa,[2] St. Teresa; and, above all, St. John of the Cross in "The Dark Night of the Soul":

> "Upon my flowery breast,
> Wholly for Him and save himself for none,
> There did I give sweet rest
> To my beloved one;
> The banners of the cedars breathed thereon!"

All these impassioned lovers of the Godhead use the same language, telling of the same unique experience; and it is invariably the language of human passion, for the simple

[1] "Till I be substantially oned to Him I may never have full rest nor very bliss: that is to say, till I be so fastened to Him, that there is right nought that is made between my God and me."—*Revelations of Divine Love.*

[2] "My *Me* is God, nor do I recognize any other *Me,* except my God Himself."—*Vita.*

and sufficient reason that there is no other.[1] At the same time, with the exception of Dante's *Paradiso* and *Vita Nuova*, it would be hard to find in all the poetry of Western mysticism a perfect parallel to the passion of the "Gitanjali." There are few Western mystics who do not somewhere betray the restlessness that lies around their rest. Until the final attainment of the Unitive Life their peace would seem to have been harder won, to be held more perilously, to be always on the point of passing, so vivid is the sense they give of effort, of struggle, of frantic desperation. There is a corresponding vehemence and violence in their language. St. Teresa says of the state of the enraptured soul: "No consolation reaches it from heaven, and it is not there itself; it wishes for none from earth, and it is not there either; but it is, as it were, crucified between earth and heaven, enduring its passion." Again she speaks of "the great shocks I used to feel when our Lord would throw me into these trances." And again:

> "It is like a person, who having a rope round his neck tries to breathe." "On other occasions the soul seems to be in the utmost extremity of need, asking itself and saying, 'Where is Thy God?'" "I saw myself dying with a desire to see God, and I knew not how to seek that life otherwise than by dying. Certain great impetuosities of love, though not so intolerable as those of which I have spoken before . . . overwhelmed me." "This prayer is like the sobbing of little children, who seem on the point of choking and whose disordered senses are soothed by giving them to drink." "Some slight mitigation may be had, and the pain may pass away for a little, by praying God to relieve its sufferings; but the soul sees no relief except in death by which it hopes to attain the fruition of its good. At other times these impetuosities are so violent the soul can do neither this nor anything else; the whole body is contracted, and neither hand nor foot can be moved; if the body be upright at the time it falls down, as a thing that has no control over itself. It cannot even breathe; all it does is to moan—not loudly, because it cannot; its moaning, however, comes from a keen sense of pain."

Again, an angel appears to her in a vision.

> "I saw in his hand a long spear of gold, and at the iron's point there seemed to be a little fire. He appeared to be thrusting it at times into my heart, and to pierce my very entrails; when he drew it out he seemed to draw them out also, and to leave me all on fire with a great love of God."

[1] "As a young man yearns for his beloved, even so the soul yearns for God; it is for want of a better object of comparison that the Vaishnavists worship the Lord under this form."—*Chaitanya Devi.*

Of St. Catherine of Genoa it is said that "at times she would seem to have her mind in a mill; and as if this mill were indeed grinding her soul and body."

> "She would at times, when in the garden, seize hold of the thorn-covered twigs of the rose-bushes with both her hands; and would not feel any pain while thus doing it in a transport of mind. She would also bite her hands and burn them, and this in order to divert, if possible, her interior oppression."[1]

St. John of the Cross speaks of "an intense and amorous impetus," answering to St. Teresa's "impetuosities."

And at times the language of the Catholic mystic is the language of sensuous, almost of sensual, emotion, so voluptuous that it must be confessed it lends itself to the misinterpretation of the profane. Mr. Tagore has none of these ambiguities. It is impossible to doubt the spirituality of these songs of Divine Love. They are at the very highest level of attainment in their kind. They have the serenity and purity of supreme possession. Mystic passion embraces while it transcends the whole range of human passion. Like human passion it works through body, heart, and soul. It is the soul and heart of passion that you find in the "Gitanjali," its secret and invisible things, small and great, all in it that is superb, inviolate, undying; all that is lowly, and most fragile; its impalpable, incommunicable moods, its evanescences, its dreams, its subtleties, its reticences and courtesies; its fears and delicate shames.

> "I asked nothing from thee; I uttered not my name to thine ear. When thou took'st thy leave I stood silent. I was alone by the well where the shadow of the tree fell aslant, and the women had gone home with their brown earthen pitchers full to the brim. . . . I heard not thy steps as thou camest. Thine eyes were sad as they fell on me; thy voice was tired as thou spokest low, 'Ah, I am a thirsty traveler.' I started up from my day-dreams and poured water from my jar on thy joined palms. . . . I stood speechless with shame when my name thou didst ask. Indeed, what had I done for thee to keep me in remembrance?"

And again:

> "Where dost thou stand behind them all, my lover, hiding thyself in the shadows? They push thee and pass thee by on the dusty road, taking thee for naught. I wait here weary hours, spreading my offerings for thee, while passers-by come and take my flowers, one by one, and my basket is nearly empty. . . . Men going home glance at me and smile and fill me with shame. I sit like a beggar maid, drawing my skirt over my face, and when they ask me what it is I want, I drop my eyes and answer them not."

[1] *Life of St. Catherine of Genoa.* By Baron von Hutten.

There is no querulousness and no grossness of impatience, no restlessness in this passion of the expectant soul.

And on the part of the pursuing God there are none of those impetuosities that overwhelmed St. Teresa. He comes "with silent steps." He is the lover waiting in the shadows. He is the watcher by the bed, the solitary wayfarer in the deserted street, the traveler at the well; he is Krishna, the lute-player, the "unknown man" playing in the little boat at the fording. I know nothing so persuasive as the glamour of this Eastern stillness, nothing that evokes so irresistibly, so inevitably the sense of the Unseen. You will find it in its perfection in the sixty-seventh song of the "Gitanjali."

> "Thou art the sky and thou art the nest as well.
>
> "O thou beautiful, there in the nest it is thy love that incloses the soul with colors and sounds and odors.
>
> "There comes the morning with the golden basket in her right hand bearing the wreath of beauty, silently to crown the earth.
>
> "And there comes the evening over the lonely meadows deserted by herds, through trackless paths, carrying cool draughts of peace in her golden pitcher from the western ocean of rest.
>
> "But there, where spreads the infinite sky for the soul to take her flight in, reigns the stainless white radiance. There is no day nor night, nor form nor color, and never, never a word."

Before this supreme austerity and restraint all foregoing comparisons break down. There is, through all their likeness, an unmistakable difference between those great Western mystics and Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Their passion utters a more poignant lyrical cry. They experience a more violent rapture in union, and a deeper tragedy in separation. Nothing could well be farther from his spirit than their emotionalism. Individual temperament has no doubt something to do with it, but it is not the whole secret. This tumult and tragic pain of theirs has its own law. It displays itself in proportion to their asceticism, to the violence of their rupture with the divine visible world. It is the outcome of the dualism inherent in Christianity.

To the devotee of a Creator inconceivably different, infinitely remote and separate from his creation, the visible world is necessarily undivine, abhorrent, and unholy. In renouncing the world the Eastern ascetic denies its exist-

ence. But the Christian, in the very act of renunciation, affirms its shocking independent entity. Thus his deliverance is never either physically or metaphysically complete. That is the Christian's tragedy. He cannot without an agonizing struggle get rid of the world that weighs on him, whereas it is comparatively easy for the Oriental to divest himself, as it were, of his cosmic clothing. It is doubtful if any Eastern ascetic, Brahman or Buddhist, could feel the same furious hatred and horror of the world, seeing that to him the world, the whole visible universe, is at its worst no more than an illusion. You may refuse to become attached to an illusion, you may withdraw from it with every circumstance of profound repudiation, but you cannot furiously hate and abhor a thing which, for you, has no real existence of its own.

In the "Gitanjali" you will find none of this hatred and abhorrence, none, either, of this serene indifference and denial.

> "Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. . . . I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight."

"What divine drink," he cries, "wouldst thou have, my God, from the overflowing cup of my life?" And again:

> "The same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measures.
>
> "It is the same life that shoots in joy through the dust of the earth in numberless blades of grass and breaks into tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers."

"Is it beyond thee," he asks, "to be glad with the gladness of this rhythm, to be tossed and lost and broken in the whirl of this fearful joy?" To him the life of God is an "abounding joy that scatters and gives up and dies every moment." It is the life of humanity as human:

> "Here is thy footstool and there rest thy feet where live the poorest and lowliest and lost.
>
> "Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee.
>
> "He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is making roads. He is with them in sun and in shower and his garment is covered with dust. Put off

thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil. . . . Our master has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation; he is bound with us all forever."

Everywhere in these poems there is this acceptance of humanity, this ecstasy of joy in movement and in beauty, this adoration of life.

"Let all the strains of joy mingle in my last song—the joy that makes the earth flow over in the riotous excess of the grass, the joy that sets the twin brothers, life and death, dancing over the wide world, the joy that sweeps in with the tempest, shaking and waking all life with laughter, the joy that sits still with its tears on the open red lotus of pain, and the joy that throws everything it has upon the dust, and knows not a word."

It looks at first sight as if this all-embracing mysticism were different in its very nature from the view of the Catholic recluse prisoned in his cell. And yet it has even less affinity with Indian mysticism of the Pantheistic type. And this is a little disconcerting. Surely, you say, there must be things in the Upanishads from which some at least of these poems are descended? You take down your Upanishads and hunt through them excitedly for those things, but in vain; unless you are prepared to accept wholesale the interpretations of the ingenious Ramanuja[1] who contended that even in union with Brahman the individual self maintained its separate identity. And it is only now and again in the "Gitanjali" that there comes any reverberation of the mystic words "Tat tvam asi" ("Thou art it") of those resonant and resplendent passages which proclaim the absolute, inseparable unity of all things, of all selves in the Great Self.

Everybody whom the magic of the Upanishads has delivered from the tyranny of German transcendentalism must feel for them something of that tender adoration which Schopenhauer expressed when he said the study of them had been the solace of his life and would be the solace of his death. They certainly satisfy, as nothing else (not even the Hegelian Dialectic) satisfies that appetite for meta-

[1] The point raised is not whether Ramanuja was wrong in his doctrine, but whether he was right in his interpretation of his texts. Certainly, if Max Müller has translated them correctly (with the possible exception of an ambiguous passage in the Katha Upanishad), they generally seem to be saying the exact opposite of what Ramanuja wants them to say.

physical unity which was so profoundly repellent to the instinct of Mr. William James; and I can imagine that people possessed by that appetite will be disappointed when they find that they cannot label Mr. Tagore "Pantheist" or "Buddhist" and have done with him. And when he tells them that "all ages pass with the hiding and seeking of thee and me," they will resent it almost as if no Oriental had any right to insist on a personal relation involving a breach of identity between the soul and God.

Now, the metaphysician may deny or affirm that identity as his appetite or his instinct prompts him. Nothing can be more certain than that, for the mystic, the personal relation is everything. It is an experience, a fact. All the same, it and the separation it implies, is an experience, a fact, that begins and ends in his own individual consciousness. It is irreducible, indescribable, incommunicable. Metaphysically it stands for nothing more or less than that moment in which the human soul becomes conscious of itself in God. The thing is duplex only in one aspect. Around it, continuing in it and transcending it are all the unity, all the identity you can desire. The separation is not real, not absolute, any more than death or birth is; it is part of the illusion, part of the great game, "the hiding and seeking of thee and me."

> "It is the pang of separation that spreads throughout the world and gives birth to shapes innumerable in the infinite sky.
>
> "It is this sorrow of separation that gazes in silence all night from star to star and becomes lyric among rustling leaves in rainy darkness of July.
>
> "It is this overspreading pain that deepens into loves and desires, into sufferings and joys in human homes, and this it is that ever melts and flows in song through my poet's heart."

To find Mr. Tagore's true sources and affinities you must go back, first of all, to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; to Kabir the mystic; to the great Vaishnavists who were the Humanists of India; to Chandidas the poet; to Chaitanya Devi, the God-intoxicated saint and seer. All of them are said to have been influenced by the Christianity that found its way into Central India in their time. Before them there is Ramanuja. But going back further still, as far back as you *can* go, you find this naïf personal attitude in the Vedic Hymns. The ancient Rishis, as lamentably as any Christian, felt their "self" to be separated from their

deity or deities by the fact of sin. It was those who came after them, the more philosophic Rishis of the Upanishads, the Buddhists who came after *them,* and the expert metaphysicians of the Vedânta, who reversed this view and found sin in the illusion of separation. And all the later mystic poetry of India, from Kabir onward, springs from the conflict and reconciliation between that immemorial feeling of separation and that profound and supersensual certainty of oneness. This indeed is the source of all the mysticism that ever was; only in India the feeling of separation is the baffling thing; the supersensual certainty is taken for granted, while in Christianity it is all the other way. In India it is simply a question of whether you are going to agree, say, with Ramanuja that the individual soul preserves its identity in union, or with Sankaracharya that it has never had any identity to lose.

Kabir, conscious of the separation, conceives union as a mingling in which the soul is certainly not lost. "The soul (âtma) and the Great Soul (Param Âtma) for many ages remained apart; the true Guru (teacher) came as a dealer (*dallah,* middle-man) and made of them a beauteous mixture." "The power that cannot be described, the form that imparts life, whoever becomes one with him (as milk with water) that man, says Kabir to Dharm Dass, Kâli cannot destroy." "Thou art the ocean; I am the fish of the water": he says, "I dwell in the water, without the water I am done for." But he does not say he is a dewdrop and that he slips into the shining sea. And though he protests "Whatever I did, you did; I did nothing myself; should men say I did it, it was in your strength that it was done," he makes it clear that he preserves his separate identity all the same.

In the Vaishnavists[1] this feeling for the individual soul is strong, and in Vaishnava literature it comes into its own.

Chandidas broke with tradition and showed how thoroughpaced a Humanist he was when he called his beloved, Rami, the washerwoman, "Holy as the Gayatri," the Sacred Hymn of the Brahmans which is the holiest of all things. He is the poet of the Indian *Divina Commedia* in which the love of Krishna and Radha symbolizes the love of God and the soul.

[1] Worshipers of Vishnu, the Preserver, the Life Force.

This love runs through all the phases of human passion, its dawn, its utterance, its secret tryst, its meeting, its parting, its final union.[1]

"Dark is the night and thick are the clouds,"

says Radha, the milkmaid.

"How could you, my beloved, come by the path in such a night?
There in the garden, I see him standing in the rain;
My heart breaks at the sight thereof."

And again:

"Thou art the lord of the Universe, O Krishna, adored by the Yogis.

"I am but a poor milkmaid and know not how to worship thee!

"Yet do I offer myself, my soul and my body, unto thee as the sacrifice of love.

"Thou art my lord, thou art my path, my mind seeks not for any other object.

"The world scorns me because of this love, yet do I not regret it.

"Abuse is like a garland of flowers about my neck for thy dear sake.

"Thou alone knowest whether I am pure or impure.

"Virtue and vice, says Chandidas, are alike to me. I know them not, but know thy feet alone."[2]

Allowing for the fact that we are comparing an accomplished but uninspired translation with a poetic one, it is evident that Mr. Tagore can trace some of his spiritual ancestry to Chandidas.

And of Chaitanya Devi, the "divine man," it is written:[3]

"When the God-vision possessed him he yielded to the fine frenzy of a poet and a lover. Whenever he would see the Kadamva flower blooming into beauty, freshened by the rains, he would fall into a trance, remembering that it was the favorite of Krishna. It was a beautiful sight to see him in fits of ecstasy. The tamal-tree, with its dark-blue foliage" (Krishna's complexion was dark blue) "created an illusion in him and he ran to embrace it."

[1] Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen tells us that this is a form common to all the love-songs of the Vaishnava poets.—*History of Bengali Literature*, p. 123. Again "in Bhaktiratnakara we have 360 different kinds of the finer emotions of the lover's heart minutely classified" (!).—[2] *Ibid.*, p. 543.

[3] Translated by Mr. Dineash Chandra Sen: *History of Bengali Literature.*

In fact, all these Vaishnava poets were in love, as Mr. Tagore is, with the world, with visible beauty as the living body of God. And they know the same rapture in abasement. In the songs of the later Vaishnavists Radha sings:

> "Take my bracelet away, O maids, the service of Krishna will adorn my hands, and I want no other ornaments for them;—take away my necklace of purest pearls, the thought of Krishna is the ornament of my breast; I want no other for it; the praise of Krishna will adorn my ears, no need of earrings for them. The ground trodden by Krishna's feet is dear to me; cover my body, O maidens, with the sacred dust of that ground."[1]

And the poet Govinda Das makes Radha say:

> "Let my body after death be reduced to the earth of those paths which will be touched by the beautiful feet of Krishna. Let it be melted into the water of the tank where Krishna bathes. When I have expired, let my spirit live as the luster of the mirror in which Krishna sees his face."[1]

And so on.

These passages at least show the sort of tradition that Mr. Tagore has behind him.

And this literature has still its hold upon the common heart of the people of Bengal. Again Mr. Dineash Chandra Sen tells[1] how once in Tippera he heard an illiterate Vaishnava devotee, an old man of seventy, singing that song of Chandidas which I have just quoted, "Dark is the night," and "playing on a lute made of a long gourd."

> "While the old man was singing, I suddenly heard his voice become choked with tears, and he could not proceed any more. On his coming to himself after this display of feeling, I asked him the cause of his tears. He said it was the song. The song, I said, described an ordinary love-affair, and where could be the pathos in it that gave occasion for such an outburst of feeling in an old man?
>
> "He explained to me that he did not consider it an ordinary love-song. Here is his interpretation:
>
> "'I am full of sins. My soul is covered with darkness. In deep distress I beckoned to Him to come to me. The merciful God came. I found him waiting for me at the gate of my house. . . .'"

Mr. Chandra Sen left him playing on his lute, weeping and crooning again and again, "Dark is the night." It is as

[1] Translated by Mr. Dineash Chandra Sen: *History of Bengali Literature.*

if a rank-and-filer of the Salvation Army should be found singing and weeping over, not "Lead, Kindly Light," but St. John of the Cross: "The Dark Night of the Soul."

No wonder that Mr. Tagore appeals so strongly to the common heart of his people and that his songs are sung and *understood* in the villages of his province as well as in the churches of the Brama Somaj.

You would have said that with this long tradition behind him, with "three hundred and sixty different kinds of the finer emotions of a lover's heart minutely classified" by his predecessors it would be hopeless for a modern poet to find new language and new moods for their age-worn passion. But here again the love of God and the soul is exceedingly like the love of man and woman. Like human love it is a passion that the ages cannot wear, that is always startlingly new, divinely young, always a unique experience to the lover. And it is just because Mr. Tagore is a modern, a very modern poet that he brings to it such magic and such a marvelous variety of mood. He is himself too various to be bound by one tradition; and when he chooses he will sing of the utter absorption and extinction of the soul as gladly as he sang its triumphant nuptial-song. It is all in keeping. Even so, human passion desires utter extinction in the beloved.

> "I am like a remnant of cloud of autumn uselessly roaming in the sky, O my sun everlasting! Thy touch has not yet melted my vapor, making me one with thy light, and thus I count months and years separated from thee.
>
> "If it be thy wish and if this be thy play, then take this fleeting emptiness of mine, paint it with colors, gild it with gold, float it on the wanton wind and spread it in varied wonders.
>
> "And again, when it shall be thy wish to end this play at night, I shall melt and vanish away in the dark, as it may be in a smile of the white morning, in a coolness of purity transparent."

Here the self appears unmistakably as part of the illusion which is the play of Love.

Again he says:

> "I will deck thee with trophies, garlands of my defeat. It is never in my power to escape unconquered. . . .
>
> "From the blue sky an eye shall gaze down upon me and summon me in silence. Nothing will be left for me, nothing whatever, and utter death shall I receive at thy feet."

This mystic love knows all the sharp contrasts and an-

titheses of passion; there is sternness and terror in its softness, and in its uttermost abasement a savage pride.

> "I thought I should ask of thee—but I dared not—the rose wreath thou hadst on thy neck. Thus I waited for the morning, when thou didst depart, to find a few fragments on the bed. And like a beggar I searched in the dawn only for a stray petal or two.
>
> "Ah me, what is it I find? What token left of thy love? It is no flower, no spices, no vase of perfumed water. It is thy mighty sword, flashing as a flame, heavy as a bolt of thunder. The young light of morning comes through the window and spreads itself upon thy bed. The morning bird twitters and asks, 'Woman, what hast thou got?' No, it is no flower, nor spices, nor vase of perfumed water—it is thy dreadful sword."

In his very austerity, his stoicism, there is the tenderness, the subtleness, the grace of the Vaishnavist, the adorer of life.

He has passages that recall Walt Whitman (that robust and boisterous Vaishnavist of the Western West) without his boisterousness. Like Whitman's his adoration of life is not greater than his adoration of death. "Because I love this life I know that I shall love death as well."

> "O thou the last fulfilment of life, Death, my death, come and whisper to me! Day after day have I kept watch for thee; for thee have I borne the pangs and joys of life."

And again:

> "When I go from hence let this be my parting word, that what I have seen is unsurpassable.
>
> "I have tasted of the hidden honey of this lotus that expands on the ocean of light, and thus am I blessed—let this be my parting word.
>
> "In this playhouse of infinite forms I have had my play and here have I caught sight of him that is formless.
>
> "My whole body and my limbs have thrilled with his touch who is beyond touch; and if the end comes here, let it come—let this be my parting word."

It is Whitman of the "Whispers of Heavenly Death," a Whitman exquisitely finished; chastened, refined out of all knowledge.

And these songs of the "Gitanjali" show only one side of him. He has written I do not know how many plays, tales, novels, prose essays, and innumerable love-songs, purely secular. There are songs of children which are in-

cluded in the "Gitanjali," because they are not really secular at all.

> "When I bring to you colored toys, my child, I understand why there is such a play of colors on clouds, on water, and why flowers are painted in tints—when I give colored toys to you, my child.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "When I bring sweet things to your greedy hands I know why there is honey in the cup of the flower and why fruits are secretly filled with sweet juice—when I bring sweet things to your greedy hands.
>
> "When I kiss your face to make you smile, my darling, I surely understood what the pleasure is that streams from the sky in morning light, and what delight that is which the summer breeze brings to my body—when I kiss you to make you smile."

I should not have said that these song-offerings are "one side" of him. They are, rather, the outcome of his ultimate vision, the crown that he has set upon his life, his final sacrifice to the Unseen.

MAY SINCLAIR.

POPULARITY IN LITERATURE

BY R. A. SCOTT-JAMES

If anything is worse than bad literature it is the tedious Pharisaism of the "man of culture." How flattering to the self-esteem to cast a supercilious eye upon the melodramatic, sentimental, unbeautiful books which constitute the mass of modern literature! The mass of modern literature is provided for the mass of men and women, but history has proved that a small and educated public may embrace stupidities not less desiccating than the stupidity of the million. A cultured public in the eighteenth century which could tolerate Colley Cibber gains nothing by comparison with an uncultured public which delights in Hall Caine. An author who attempted a poetic drama in the eighteenth century had to conform to the rules, but his compliance with convention is worth no more to literature than the libertinism of the modern reporter. The correct taste of that period is sufficiently flagellated in Swift's *Recipe to Make an Epic Poem,* wherein he "makes it manifest that epic poems may be made without genius, nay without learning or much reading. . . . It is easily brought about by him that has a genius, but the skill lies in doing it without one." To this day there exists an oligarchy of academic persons whose taste is almost exactly on a par with the taste most in evidence two hundred years ago. They are the people who estimate literature by its correctness rather than by its fineness or power, who are impregnable in their little fortress of pedantry, and are forever secure against the attacks of original genius.

If then we find that there is much in modern popular literature that we dislike, this is a very different thing from saying that we prefer the technical banalities dear to the pedant, or would set up the standard of a barren culture. The popular taste is something not to be scoffed at, but to be accounted for. To complain of it is wasted ef-

fort; to explain it would be something to the purpose. And this we can only do by keeping in mind that vital ideal which in spite of every setback the world has contrived to preserve, and endeavoring to discover what it is—short of that ideal, or remote from it—that the modern public wants: what taste it is that hundreds of modern authors are trying to satisfy.

It is evidently a very various taste, for it is the taste of the whole people. Every one in the modern civilized State has been taught to read, and almost every one has had the written word thrust upon him so that reading has become a habit. At every turn the eye falls upon the printed advertisement, the printed leaflet, the hand-written letter; and the habit which is developed by the necessities of life has intertwined itself also in the amenities. Newspapers, and weekly and monthly periodicals, adapt themselves to the tastes of every class in the community. The time is still far distant when books will be universally and systematically read, but the number of volumes annually distributed has increased at least tenfold in the last generation; and a large proportion of this literature must find its way to strata of society which fifty years ago read nothing at all.

It would be too much to expect that these millions of recruits to the reading public would be drawn to that literature which can be classed with the fine arts. One would no more expect them to admire it than one would expect a child of five to admire "Hamlet." The astonishing thing is, not that so few people appreciate the best literature, as that so many—*under direction*—are open to its influence, as we may see from the immense sales of those popular volumes which Mr. Ernest Rhys and others guarantee to be genuine "classics." Unfortunately in the case of recently written books Mr. Rhys is not always at hand. In such cases there is little direction for docile disciples of culture excepting such as is given in newspaper reviews, and reviews are as likely to misdirect and confuse as to encourage and guide.

But although this considerable and growing public of ambitious readers already exists, and may some day come to the support of original literature, it is at present easily swamped by that heterogeneous public for which the largest number of books are provided. That majority, in the nature of things, is unable to give the concentrated attention,

still less the selective appreciation, which literature of the higher order requires. There is nothing to encourage them to concentrate. The newspaper, the popular magazine, the theater, the moving-picture show, and the whole, shifting, rapid panorama of modern life discourage concentration. There are readers who can only give the odds and ends of their time to reading. Most of them are devoting the best efforts of their brain and attention to their business, household duties, their social and domestic affairs, and they turn to books only when their minds are fatigued and in need of repose. That is to say, they read not for a renewal of activity, but for distraction. With them, books satisfy the desire, not for an enhancement of life, but for the forgetting of it. Their literature is at the most a stimulant which excites without giving active play to their faculties; it presents nothing which connects with life or ideas, nothing even to call forth the effort demanded by their practical affairs.

There are others, for the most part women not of the working-class, who support with apparent earnestness the purveyors of popular fiction and biography, and even patronize poetry and genteel social philosophy. Among them are to be found those to whom the sterner actualities of life are unfamiliar and repugnant, for whom the practice of trifling with books is rather an ornament than an occupation, a mode of killing time rather than using it. They too read to be distracted, choosing an emasculate literature which panders to their essential dilettantism.

Now those who regard literature as an important thing, playing a significant part in the life of a nation, must clearly seek in it something more positive than a *distraction from* life; for them it must be an *addition to* life. It must provide experience compounded of the same stuff as other experiences; but not having the vividness which the direct impact of life carries with it, it must gain its vividness by an intensity, a fineness, an interest of its own—by a distinctive quality distilled into it from the personality of the writer. It is imagination which achieves this, the faculty so apprehensive of life that it can fashion life into images which are projections of the artist, his own stamp upon the stuff of life. To such an author literature cannot be a mere amusement or profession. It deals with what he conceives to be the most essential things in the world; it is

his rendering of the world, his perspective; and it is just in so far as he has made this, his ideal and real world, appreciable also to us, that he has succeeded in his art. Such imaginative reconstruction of the facts of life, such impregnation of life with fineness, calls for alertness of faculty in the reader, demands from him something of that eagerness to perceive which characterizes the artist himself. But how can the tired worker seeking distraction, or the idle dilettante seeking only a drug or a stimulant, muster that alertness of faculty and that eagerness to perceive which are needed for the appreciation of art? It is not to be expected. A coarser appeal will produce all that such minds are able to assimilate. For good reading, like good writing, requires the energy of men not robbed of leisure, men who can enjoy some respite from the commonplace.

And yet it often happens, as we shall see, that those who have succeeded in distracting the many have put into their work some fineness which commends it also to the few. It is only in theory that there is a fixed boundary between works of art and the works which Philistines enjoy. In practice merit and demerit exist side by side; works crude in conception reveal a hundred finenesses, and works fine in conception reveal crudenesses of execution. And just as there are authors who mingle good and bad in their books, so too there are readers who enjoy certain kinds of excellence though they can be vulgarly excited by the cruder devices. And again there are persons who appreciate to some extent the most genuine works of art, who in moments of fatigue or jaded appetite can be diverted by the mere appeal to sensation.

The clever publisher knows well that the public for whose distraction he caters is divided into many classes, and that these classes must be attracted each in a special way. For the purposes of my argument I group these under five different heads, which are probably not exhaustive and certainly not mutually exclusive, but correspond, I think, to the five chief means of exciting and distracting the multitude. The two largest classes constantly overlap, consisting: firstly, of those whose love of sensation is satisfied by violent incident: and secondly, of those who are especially susceptible to the sentimental appeal. To a third class belong those who take pleasure in the agitations of sex feeling; and to a fourth, those whose sense of humor is tickled

by the sallies of the literary clown. The fifth class—a very large one—consists of those who are of a habit of mind to be excited by sensations which can be associated with religion and morality. It is useless to name as a sixth class those who are moved by intellectual ideas, for so small a class is not the objective of the popular author.

1. All novels must to some extent depend upon incident and arrangement of incident, but there is a kind of novel which only interests through excitement of events in their nature fictitious, even when accidentally true. Any really good book which may be spoken of as a " novel of incident " will invariably prove to be very much more. To take the case of Fielding's *Tom Jones,* one observes that it is an imitation of life which is neither a slavish copying nor a make-believe, but a vivid representation of eighteenth-century England as Fielding saw it; it is a book which presents characters, and itself has a character. Its atmosphere is quite unmistakable. It is not a " slice " out of the eighteenth century—there can be no real " slice out of life " excepting in life itself. It is Fielding's rendering of the eighteenth century, in particular it is his assertion of the *physicality* (if I may use the term) of life, a direct assertion of the boisterous physical vitality which as Fielding presents it and as Marlowe presented it, acquires value for the spirit and is acceptable to the imagination. It is the original pagan assertion of life, which finds its opposite in Euripides' conception of the ascetic Hippolytus; an assertion which Propertius repeated in the language of mockery when he speaks of a *lena* as

> "Docta vel Hippolytum Veneri mollire negantem."

Even Euripides himself was so infected with the pagan view that he sees a sort of Nemesis pursuing the hero whom the slighted Aphrodite reproaches with lack of reverence —religious reverence — for her power. This primitive pagan view, crude, non-moral, but essentially sincere, animates the story of *Tom Jones* and gives it a character which is lacking in the popular " novel of incident."

Tom Jones was and is a popular book. But I hope I am not wronging the larger mass of mankind when I say that those (of the majority) who like Fielding do not like him for his unique excellences; they would be equally pleased if puppets instead of vital persons had passed along the same

course of exciting events; and that there are others who would not read him even if he began writing to-day, because his picture of life is too consistent with his imagination, and this very tenacity would perturb and irritate the trivial. Nevertheless he would have many readers among a large minority, just as Mr. Arnold Bennett has to-day—readers who can appreciate a story which is direct, vivid, and mainly external in treatment.

But the largest public is for writers like Mr. Cutliffe Hyne or Mr. William Le Queux. These more nearly represent the popular ideal in a novel of incident. For the former I have some respect. He shows ingenuity in his concoction of improbable plots. In *Captain Kettle* there is at least some attention to character—of a freakish kind—and something of atmosphere which gives it a mock romantic interest. It holds the multitude by reason of the thrilling sensations extracted from incidents wholly unlike anything possible in their lives, but near enough to reported facts to be able to astonish and excite them. Such improbable but ingeniously contrived events are enough to distract them, and if there be more in Mr. Hyne's stories imparted by his personal eagerness and honesty, it escapes them, or at least does not annoy them.

But this finer quality has been lacking in such of Mr. Le Queux's books as I have chanced to read. I may have been unlucky in my selection, and there may be admirable qualities in those of his novels which I have not read. But in the three or four volumes known to me I found that the persons were puppets, moving in unnatural situations, meeting sensational adventures which constituted all that there was of an improbable and slenderly connected plot. We all know the sort of book. But what is it that makes this and others like it popular? There were scenes of spurious passion. There were incidents in which action assumed the proportions of prodigy. There was vague sensation. In one of his novels I found an introduction by Lord Roberts warning Englishmen to prepare for the German invasion planned by Mr. Le Queux for 1910! History has not yet revealed the horror and devastation of that war; but this horror and devastation lent to Mr. Le Queux's book the interest which it required.

Yet the novel which is read mainly for the thrill of the incident may be written in a far finer spirit. Most his-

torical novels depend mainly upon the vigor of the action. The very best historical novelists must be excepted; in Scott, for example, as in Fielding, there is so much which depends on character and atmosphere that there is always much more than thrilling incident to hold the attention. In the books of a modern writer like Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, at his best, there is an artistry of composition, a synthetic quality in the romance, a unity of pictorial effect which give to them a quality of design and exquisiteness; they are a distillation of Mr. Hueffer's romantic personality. But if we consider Mr. Stanley Weyman, we are taking a novelist in whom everything depends upon the thrill of incident. Still, he has made of his work a fine craft. He uses words conscientiously. He has exceptional skill in tracing his ingenious plots. He has read history carefully, and for the most part adheres faithfully to facts—though I believe he is not so well instructed in German as in French history. The scrupulousness which refines his work gives quality to his narrative, and he can be read with pleasure by persons of exacting taste. And again, we might take the case of Richard Dehan, author of *The Dop Doctor*. That writer is not innocent of the crudest melodrama. She is diffuse, extravagant, formless. But she has imagined and created certain characters. She has at moments touched profoundly that most rudimentary of all emotions—the war emotion—an emotion which may be experienced intensely by every member of an energetic community, and therefore affords the basis of a real popular art—just as certain universal sentiments afforded the basis of folk-songs, which were constantly taken up and molded into fine artistic forms. *The Dop Doctor* is a book compounded of vulgar sensationalism on the one hand, and a strange imaginative vigor and actuality on the other.

But the sensibility of the crudest and, it is to be feared, the (at present) largest strata of society can be touched, as we have seen, by the sheer extravagance of the novel of incident, by action distorted out of the proportions of life and made astonishing, by violent assaults upon the reader calculated to arouse him like pistol-shots, since a more moderate appeal would escape his attention. Just as a donkey with a hard mouth can only be guided by violent jerks upon the reins, so a dull sensibility can only be awakened by the harshest literary appeal. Style in such

cases must adapt itself to the subject. Redundant words are heaped up where one would suffice for the trained intelligence. A multitude of violent, flamboyant phrases assist to the excitement of fever. It is possible, indeed, that some rudimentary art-feeling lurks behind this pandemonium of crude literature, more probably in cases where lawlessness is the result not of indolence, but of some sort of vigor and spontaneity. But it should be remembered that the mimetic impulses in which art among primitive races is supposed to originate are not themselves art; and continually to whet the appetite with such primitive exercises is to perpetuate the rudimentary condition and stifle the finer faculties.

2. The sentimental absurdities of Pyramus and Thisbe are the occasion of some apt criticism which Shakespeare puts into the mouths of Hippolyta and Theseus.

"HIPPOLYTA. This is the silliest stuff that e'er I heard.

"THESEUS. The best in this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no worse, if imagination amend them.

"HIPPOLYTA. It must be your imagination then, and not theirs."

Shakespeare is commenting on the sentimentality which is generally pleasing to Quince, Snug, Bottom, and the like. If he is mistaken it is in suggesting that this sickliness is confined to the company of carpenters and bellows-menders, and is not equally to be found among those of the high estate of Hermia, Helena, and Hippolyta herself. But it would never have done to admit so much before an audience of tinkers and tailors, splendidly patronized by a few young bloods of noble birth. Sentiment is distinguished from sentimentality precisely as Shakespeare suggests. The one is concerned with real emotions, the other with shadows. The first is informed by the imagination, the second is devoid of it, and is divorced alike from intellect and common sense. To touch the chord of sentiment justly and truly is one of the most difficult things in literature. Shakespeare himself by no means always succeeded. There is often an affectation in his lighter love-scenes which destroys the impression of sincerity. Even in life one may see how at any time the note of sentiment may be turned to absurdity by the least discordant element. The lover whose tender expressions are wholly pleasing to his lady may become an object of ridicule before an uninvited audience.

Sentiment is one of the every-day emotions, fine and light in its texture, requiring the tenderest and most delicate

treatment, and often it must pass off in laughter. It is something less than passion. It is not concerned with tragedies or crises, but the subtlest apprehensions of what comes and goes at every moment of life. It must never be treated as if it were passion, or the slender threads of which it consists will snap, and ridicule will justly reveal the unbalanced judgment of the sentimentalist. Nor must it ever be far from laughter, or it will collapse under its own strain, and we may be betrayed into thinking that the cynic is the best judge of life. It is the imagination exercising itself among things real, but not of the first order of importance. If you attribute to them that importance, you are guilty of false sentiment. The facts of life convict you.

See how delicately Charles Lamb could hold the balance in such an essay as "Dream Children"! Great-grandmother Field is just in her place, upright, graceful, and the best of dancers; and Alice's little right foot plays its involuntary movement in the nick of time; and when Uncle John died, the "children fell a-crying" at the narrative and asked about the mourning which they were wearing. It is all just important enough, just trivial enough, to carry its fragile burden of sentiment—so much, and no more. The charm is complete. Conceive what Dickens would have made of the story if he had been writing it! How sickly a fantasy of Paul Dombeys and Little Nells and garrulous "wild waves" he would have conjured up for *his* dream children! His dream children—the good ones at any rate—were little old people, monstrosities, freaks. Reality rejects monstrosities, and what reality rejects is no subject for literature (strictly speaking is no subject at all) save when, like goblins and fairies, it assumes the quasi-reality of fantasy and dreams.

I remember a story by a popular modern writer, Mr. E. Temple Thurston. It appeared in a volume entitled *Thirteen*. The author arranged his story with skill. He led up to his dénouement with admirable stage management. The story was about a little boy who understood that his father wanted a shop and fifty pounds to buy it with. This amiable child sallies forth from his poor quarter of the city and tramps to the distant regions where rich people live. Nothing doubting, he asks for fifty pounds. He receives sixpence. He exchanges it for a pair of braces and an insurance ticket. He drowns himself with exquisite delib-

eration and on the merits of his death and the insurance ticket the fifty pounds are forthcoming.

The defects of the story are obvious. The little boy has no proper place in this world, and his drowning, so far from being pathetic, was the best thing that could happen to him. For he was a freak, a monstrosity. Even those who may not accept this view must at least agree that he ought to have known better, and deserved a whipping rather than the reward of martyrdom and sentimental praise. But even if we assume that the boy is a possible creature, and that his act in begging for the money was beautiful and moving, we cannot escape the objection that the fatal ending is pitched in a discordant note of tragedy. The tragic conclusion is appropriate to a tale of passion, or to a tale which arouses a sense of the most urgent things in life. But to turn a slender sentiment into a thing of tragedy is to pass the limits of sentiment; it cannot carry the burden. The conclusion is not true enough to be even shocking. It is merely disgusting.

How is it that this mimicry of sentiment proves effective in moving the multitude, when the real thing so often fails to please? The answer, I think, is, that the artistic imagination can neither express itself through distorted objects, nor can it confuse in one blurred series of images the trivial and the urgent; its business being to see life with such sense of proportion as the concentrated artistic vision of the artist insures. But careless readers do not see objects until they are exaggerated out of resemblance to life; the adjustments of the artistic vision are too delicate to reach their perceptions. Mr. Thurston's little boy is seen to be very good, and to the sentimentalist his mere goodness is "beautiful." When he tramps across London his fatigue is sad, and the sadness of it is beautiful. When the rich gentleman gives him sixpence instead of fifty pounds, the reader sheds happy, thoughtless tears, and his beautiful death at the end is all that he requires as the final "assault upon his feelings." The phrase, of course, is Stevenson's, and it can hardly be avoided. Popularity rewards the writer who can *assault* the feelings of his readers, and any one who uses a more delicate method must be content with a smaller circle of readers.

It is in this manner, amiably enough, that Miss Ella Wheeler Wilcox can conquer America with sentimental

poems, as Ian Maclaren once conquered England with sentimental stories. They touch us where the intellect and the common sense are in abeyance, and the moral sense is steeped in false sentiment. Thus it was that when a sort of torpor came upon the intellect and the common sense of Mr. A. C. Benson, he, who had been formerly a scholar and a friend of literature, became merely a sentimentalist. The author of *The Sick-abed Lady* (Eleanor Halliwell Abbott) is for the same reason esteemed as highly in America as the author of *Letters to My Son* is esteemed in England. The trowel is the instrument with which these honors—and these fortunes—are won.

3. It might seem that the popular literature of love ought to have been treated under the same head as that of sentimental literature. But it will become clear not only that there can be a popular erotic literature of a quite different order, but that I might have subdivided this class into two, one concerned with the popular literature of passion, the other with that of sensualism. There is, of course, a sentiment of love which is sufficiently considered in the last section. But I have made a distinction between sentiment and passion, which, for my view is important; and I must add the further and more obvious distinction between the love passion, which is an intense emotional experience affecting the imagination no less than the senses, and that sex feeling, which in essence is merely sensual. Leaving out of count, then, the "sentiment" of love, we have an obvious distinction between the literature which deals with the love passion and the literature which deals with sensual desires. But I do not propose any grandmotherly legislation which permits one subject to the artist and relegates the other to the pornographer. For it is clear that an author may deal well or ill with a subject intended to yield genuine passion (though in the latter case the popular interest will attach to the sensational character of the incidents rather than to the treatment of passion as such, and a book of this kind may be considered as I have already considered the "novel of incident"). And again, an author may deal well or ill with the sensations of sex; those sensations can provide material for fine art. It is a matter of treatment. Upon feelings of this sort Maupassant based some of his most felicitous stories. But Maupassant did not use sexual incidents for the sake of sex feeling; for him such

incidents were various symbols, flickering images of life, incarnations of the brooding spirit of cynicism and scorn. We have already seen that to Fielding, for whom they were of less special significance on their own account, they were presented as assertions of boisterous physical eagerness, of delight in energetic life for its own sake.

It has already become obvious that the tendency of the most popular literature is to substitute the cruder sensations for the higher emotions and sentiments. We have seen how incident is liked for the mere sensation it can afford; how sentiment is turned into sentimentality. As a rule in discussing inferior literature the higher emotions need be taken little into account. But in the case of love it is different. The average man, by reason of his preoccupation and his averageness, is little affected by a variety of fine emotions; the hard facts of life smother them. But every one can observe that the emotion of love is not only an emotion to which most men at a certain age are susceptible, but that it seems to present itself, at some time or another, in a form finer than that of any other feeling entertained by average men. I believe that all observers would agree that innumerable men and women who cannot be touched in a subtle way by any other emotion (unless we except, especially in primitive men, the emotion of war; and then it is rather intense than subtle) can be and are so touched by the emotion of love.

Here then we might expect to find the basis for a literature which may be both widely popular and at the same time finely imagined. Within certain limits I believe the love passion does afford such a basis. If we can imagine an artist confining himself to this single issue, relying on no finenesses outside it, then we might have a work of art which men and women, representing in other respects any degree of imagination and dullness, might all almost equally enjoy. In practice it is seldom that an artist is content to confine himself so exclusively to this issue; it is not in the nature of the imaginative temperament to limit itself in this way. But I think we have an example approximating to the supposed type in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*. The strenuousness of the love emotion is in this book rendered with consummate power, and hence the hold it has over men of intelligence and over fools. But in almost every other respect the novel is sheer rhetoric and unshapeliness.

The novel (or popular biography) which deals not with the emotion of love, but the sex sensation, requires little discussion. If the object of the writer is to treat such a theme with imaginative criticism, well and good. If he intends only to reproduce the sensation, then it is obvious that we have reached the dregs of literature known as pornography.

4. It is extraordinary that there should be so little humorous literature distributed among the English-speaking peoples, for a sense of humor is a boon which has been allotted to a very large minority of the human race, and some sense of the ridiculous to the majority. It is through his sense of what is ridiculous in life, and his power of presenting it imaginatively, that Dickens seems to have acquired not only a permanent place in English literature, but a popularity quite unique among standard English novelists. The jocularity of Mark Twain is equally dexterous, but it is not so completely imagined as the humor of Dickens; it springs more often from situation than from character, and to that extent belongs more to the accidents than to the essentials of life. Mr. W. W. Jacobs deserves a higher place than is usually accorded to him in contemporary literature. His short stories are excellently contrived within their limits; the humor springs from situation and character conjoined. When a clever writer is content to confine himself primarily to the ridiculous in life, it is possible for him to make his effect both for the million and the exacting few. As *Wuthering Heights* was popular because it was little more than a brilliant presentation of the love passion, so *Many Cargoes* and *Light Freights* are popular as well as excellent because they aim at nothing but the broad effect of laughter. Mr. Jacobs is inferior to Dickens because he is a humorist and nothing more, and also because he has an infinitely narrower range. His art is one which presents but a single aspect of life, and suggests no ambition to exhibit a large grasp upon life as a whole. Nevertheless he has succeeded exactly in what he set out to do, and he affords us an example of an author who is both an artist and a novelist of vast popular repute.

But have any of Mr. Jacobs's books, or any of Dickens's, enjoyed greater popularity than fell to Mr. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat?* In this book the humor sprang in no sense out of character; nor did it even spring out of situations

contrived with especial skill. It consisted of a series of ludicrous impressions such as that of a man sitting on a pat of butter. Well, a man sitting on a pat of butter is a funny thing—when it happens naturally in life. But a collection of incidents, each of which might be funny if it happened among the accidents of life, are a poor source of entertainment when strung together without the life which makes them real. It should be remembered that what is an accident in life ceases to be an accident when it is invented in a story. A writer must needs supply from the imagination something which may give the artistic effect of accident. Even farce misses its true effects if it contains no verisimilitude. To see your friend sitting on a pat of butter is amusing; to listen to an invented account of besmeared garments is not amusing; for it misses the amusing point—which was the fact of its happening. But the admirers of *Three Men in a Boat* see only trousers and butter, trousers and butter; and they find nothing offensive in the manner in which this incongruity has been thrust upon their sight. Their complacent minds receive this funny visual impression because they do not perceive the glaring artifice which for another banishes the humor.

5. Morality among the Anglo-Saxon races is a popular theme. It can cover a multitude of artistic sins. Religion is popular in all countries, and is not always associated with good morals; but in England and the United States good religion and good morals fall under the same hierarchy. Both have their corresponding sensations and emotions. We may see them violently operative at revival meetings, distracting agents which are sometimes indeed so powerful as to lead to extraordinary reactions. It is difficult to attain the same violence with the written as with the spoken word, but if any living novelist has succeeded in attaining the effect of pandemonium through the use of religious and moral subjects, it is Miss Marie Corelli. As *proxime accessit* I might name Mr. Hall Caine. By the same methods Mr. Guy Thorne (*alias* Ranger Gull) attained, with the pulpit assistance of the Bishop of London, a sensational popular success in *When It Was Dark*. There have also been many fine writers who did not aim at spurious effects, but received praise by reason of their "moral tone" in circles where they would never have received it on the grounds of literary excellence. If George Eliot had not been a moralist

she would not have been so popular in England and America. If Ruskin had not been primarily a preacher he could never have wielded his vast influence. Tennyson was beloved as much for his moralism as for his sweetness; and to-day so admirable a writer as Mr. John Galsworthy is even in "serious" circles regarded as a serious novelist mainly because he is a critic of morals. Mr. John Masefield wrote many novels and plays in which he showed singular fineness of feeling and beauty of style. But when he wrote an unbeautiful poem called "The Everlasting Mercy"—a story of thrilling incident with an admirable moral—lo! his popular reputation was made! People could understand a story of sensational incident. They could understand the moral. They flattered themselves that they were enjoying poetry.

. . . . . .

If any one should reproach me with adopting the tone of that odious thing, the "superior person," and should declare that I underestimate the intelligence and good sense of the majority of readers, my reply is that the finest literature is not that which is most read, and I am compelled to conclude that the finest ideas are not those which are most often embraced. To assert this is not to disparage the common sense and the practical intelligence of the mass of mankind. I believe that they are capable of vast activity and eagerness, much of which runs to waste through the fatigues of excessive labor, much, through lack of training and mental stimulus, can find no congenial outlet through the mysterious processes of art. The outlet which the majority of men find for their superfluous energy is not through the channel of fine ideas. Such literature as they read is for distraction and not for the vigorous use of their faculties. It cannot be otherwise. That is the condition imposed by the fragmentary education alone vouchsafed to the majority of men and women, giving them no more than that modicum of learning which is a dangerous thing. And it is a matter of supreme importance because this new reading habit of the million has turned the energies of authors and publishers from the few to the many. It has introduced into the literary profession a demagogic habit, and has set up a quantitative instead of a qualitative standard.

R. A. Scott-James.

THE SOURCE OF PLEASURE IN FAMILIAR PLAYS

BY O. W. FIRKINS

WHY do we enjoy old plays? Why do we watch with pleasure the dramatic presentation of stories of which the issue and the chief events are foreseen from the outset?

Mr. William Archer, in his interesting book, *Play-making: A Manual of Craftsmanship,* draws a sharp distinction between curiosity which pursues the unknown and dramatic interest which "survives when curiosity is dead." In support of this thesis, he alleges several indisputable facts. He says, in substance, that a familiar play is full of unfamiliar points, that structure—craftsmanship—is most appreciated in repetition, that known characters, even known jokes, have the privileges and welcome of old friends, that "our pleasure consists of a delicate blending of surprise with realized anticipation," that we are capable of a vicarious curiosity dependent on the fiction of ignorance. The acting is supposed to be merely competent, and the field is thus cleared for the analysis of other elements.

On these clearly sound if not clearly original points another man might have been content to rest his case, but Mr. Archer has an argument in reserve, an argument for which he claims much weight and a qualified originality. It is in thus leaving his intrenchments and taking the field that he exposes himself to attack, and it is no more than just to present his idea in his own lucid and supple English. He is speaking of the screen scene in "The School for Scandal."

"The greater part of our pleasure arises precisely from the fact that we know what Sir Peter and Charles do not know, or, in other words, that we have a clear vision of all the circumstances, relations, and implications of a certain conjuncture of affairs, in which two, at least, of the persons concerned are ignorantly and blindly moving toward issues of

which they do not dream. We are, in fact, in the position of superior intelligences contemplating, with miraculous clairvoyance, the stumblings and fumblings of poor blind mortals straying through the labyrinth of life. Our seat in the theater is like a throne on the Epicurean Olympus, whence we can view with perfect intelligence, but without participation or responsibility, the intricate reactions of human destiny."—Page 171.

An earlier utterance to the same purport is cited in a footnote (I quote in part only).

"Curiosity is the accidental relish of a single night, whereas the essential and abiding pleasure of the theater lies in foreknowledge. In relation to the characters in the drama, the audience are as gods looking before and after. Sitting in the theater we taste, for a moment, the glory of omniscience."—Pp. 171–2, note.

"The glory of omniscience" is a vivid phrase, and it is well perhaps to remind ourselves that, in the present context, omniscience means nothing more than the knowledge, at second hand, of possibly a dozen, possibly three or four dozen, facts bearing on a single fictitious transaction.

The theory appeals, at first sight, to our experience of human nature. The appetite and the credulity of vanity are enormous and indiscriminate; we derive pleasure from the smallest of our real superiorities, and likewise from the least plausible of those imaginary superiorities in which so many of our real inferiorities are comprised. But even our grounds or excuses for self-complacence have their limits, and I do not think that we plume ourselves in relation to our fellow-man except where we are entered in the same competitions, listed, in sporting parlance, for the same events. Thus I felicitate myself at the theater when I foresee an outcome or perceive a joke in advance of my fellow-auditors; this is natural enough, for we are all *ex officio* competitors in the race for enlightenment. Again, I love to see my superiority attested by the follies and fatuities of the laughing-stocks in comedy; I find in the drunkenness of Sir Toby Belch an embellishment of my own sobriety, in the ineptitudes of Sir Andrew Aguecheek an advertisement of my common sense. It is true that Sir Toby and Sir Andrew are, for anything I know, fictitious; but they purport to be copies of real originals, and Shakespeare, the actors, and myself are all in a conspiracy to pass them off as actualities. Viewed as such, they are in the same plane of opportunity with myself: they were free to follow their perverse instincts, or to take example by my temperance and wisdom.

The case is altered, however, when I pride myself on my superiority to Othello on the ground that I know his own story better than he does. How have I gained this superiority? I have seen the play, read the book, or been forewarned by some spectator or reader. Now in comparison with other persons who might have seen the play, read the book, or gossiped with their neighbors, and have proved derelict to all these opportunities (assuming knowledge of this kind to dignify its possessor), I am entitled no doubt to a genial self-complacency. But how is Othello himself to be brought within this category? The difficulty Othello must have had in reading or seeing or even discussing the play which bears his name is so manifest that, when I am asked to look down on him for his failure, even my vanity, which has never incurred the reproach of squeamishness, recoils from the crudity of the repast. In real life, indeed, a man who sees the whole of a situation of which others see only halves is justifiably elated; the others might have had the same wit or the same luck. But where knowledge is impossible, its absence ceases to be humiliating.

The principle may be stated thus: when a man compares himself with the effigies of men in imitative works of art, he gets no comfort out of superiorities arising solely out of his station as observer and their position as objects of regard. In a gallery of immovable statues a man never meditates gloatingly on his ownership of a pair of serviceable legs; before the silence of Titian's doges or Raphael's saints, he never exults in the activity of his larynx. The same thing applies to characters in history: a contemporary statesman—Mr. Asquith, for example—reading the biography of Lord Grey or Mr. Gladstone would not commend himself for superiorities of knowledge dependent solely on the elucidative influence of time; he would exult where he felt that he could have made better use of their data.

We not only revisit great plays with enthusiasm; we reread great novels with delight. The *rationale* of these two facts must be almost identical, and Mr. Archer's explanation, if valid, should be capable of transference from the play to the novel. Now I must confess my personal inability to carry over the idea of godship from the theater to the book; I can, with some difficulty, pursuant to Mr. Archer's flattering suggestion, imagine myself a god in the theater; I can take my seat for a throne in the same spirit

in which Falstaff took his "joined stool" for a "state" and his leaden dagger for a golden scepter; and the presence of real people in a removed precinct in a phase of life unrelated to my own existence gives color to the sense of apotheosis. But my throne is, both literally and metaphorically, fastened to the floor of the theater; I cannot take it home with me and survey the characters in *Jane Eyre,* or *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* or *The Rise of Silas Lapham* from its dignified, if somewhat straitened, eminence. The visual and tangible supports for Mr. Archer's Olympian metaphor, the apparatus of godship, so to speak, are withdrawn; and I find myself unable to sustain the metaphor in the absence of these reinforcements. When narrative is substituted for presentation, when the performance becomes entirely and manifestly subjective, I find myself incapable of rejoicing in the fact that I know more of a certain subject than certain other people who are obviously mere figments in my own mind. Yet the review of a great novel revives the original emotion quite as successfully as the return to a great play.

The instances of foreknowledge adduced by Mr. Archer are worth citing. "When Othello comes on the scene, radiant and confident in Desdemona's love, our knowledge of the fate awaiting him makes him a hundred times more interesting than could any mere curiosity as to what was about to happen. It is our prevision of Nora's exit at the end of the last act that lends its dramatic poignancy to the beginning of the first." No apter illustrations of the sound doctrine that foresight may heighten interest could be adduced; but surely literature could be raked from one end to the other without finding an instance more adverse than that of Othello to the theory that the interest of foresight is based on the pride of knowledge. With slightly lessened emphasis the same thing might be reaffirmed of Nora Helmer. The interest is sympathetic, not personal; and the knowledge humbles rather than exalts. Does the group outside the window in Maeterlinck's "*Intérieur*"—no bad symbols, by the way, of the forewarned audience in tragedy, in its sympathetic consciousness of the death of the girl of which no one as yet has ventured to apprise the peaceful family—does that group solace itself with the thought of its command of the situation?

Mr. Archer's Olympian theory is seen to be highly ques-

tionable, but the validity of his earlier arguments remains unaffected by the doubts that arise as to his supplementary hypothesis. Will not those earlier arguments suffice to explain the great and real pleasure we take in the revival of good plays? First of all, let us not exaggerate the stringencies of the problem. That a source of vivid and interesting emotion should be capable of eliciting vivid and interesting emotion on a second trial is no astonishing or anomalous fact; on the contrary, it is almost the rule. We do not drop a pear after the first mouthful, nor a jasmine after the first whiff; we swim or skate long after the novelty has vanished: we pace many times along a sea-beach or through a portico; we visit more than once a cataract or a campanile; we find yearly pleasure in what Lowell called "the familiar novelty" of spring, "none the less novel, when it arrives, because it is familiar." Why should moving sections of human life be less qualified than other things to please and stir us in the absence of curiosity? In point of fact, in our living individual experience, the review of past excitements, where curiosity in its primitive form is impossible, ranks high among the recreations and solaces of life.

A knowledge of the outcome is less inhibitory than people fancy. The news of a disaster or stroke of good-fortune often reaches us by the following gradations: a telegram, a letter, a personal colloquy. Does the telegram remove our wish to see the letter? Does the letter extinguish our desire for the interview? Why does a newspaper, so palpably and palpitantly anxious to cater to the suspense of its great infant, the public, never hesitate to let out its precious secret in the four or five words of an anticipatory head-line? Simply because, in poignant affairs, a knowledge of essentials does not remove, but on the contrary stimulates, an interest in details.

Between these cases and that of the revisited play, a difference, in theory at least, must be admitted; in the play the spectator not only knows the issue, but has already seen the particulars. But he has grasped them, or has grasped at them, hurriedly, casually, inadequately, under the strain of a violent and engrossing preoccupation with the outcome. Mr. Archer, in an altogether different context, speaks of the letter of which one takes in "the import, almost without reading the words." A moving drama might be compared to a momentous letter of which the first reading—the read-

ing that tears the heart out of it—is careless because it is eager, and of which every syllable, almost every stroke, is sedulously conned on a second, more deliberate, perusal.

On the first night curiosity is paramount, to an extent which makes it hard to conceive that interest could survive the abstraction of this dominating factor. But the formula for the interest of the second night—assuming, for the sake of simplicity, that the visits are consecutive—is not simply: interest of the first night minus curiosity. It reads rather: interest of the first night minus curiosity plus interest (or, if you please, secondary curiosity) in a mass of detail passed by or half apprehended in the tension of the opening night. Let us figure to ourselves a group of associates dominated by a brilliant and copious talker; the observations of his companions in his presence might be merely casual and unimportant. But does it necessarily follow that, if the protagonist were called away, the ensuing conversation would sink to the incidental and trivial level of the previous forth-puttings of his interlocutors? Not in the least: the conversation of the leader had, probably enough, both stimulated and repressed the desire to speak in the minds of his associates; his withdrawal might be the signal for the emergence of new alacrities. In exactly the same way curiosity arouses secondary interests by the very conduct which precludes their immediate gratification; its recession is their opportunity. They are concerned in part with literary merits, more largely with craftsmanship, more largely still with emotional solicitations passed by or slurred over in the first eagerness of curiosity.

We pass to a group of facts illustrative of a further principle. A rustic surveys a country road with new eyes if he has once traced that road to its destination in the metropolis. A boatman watches the upper course of a stream with quickened interest if he has once followed its current to its far-off confluence with the ocean. A biologist studies the crude origins of life with heightened curiosity when he foresees their terminus in man. A boy reads with interest the commonplace opening chapters of a biography, because he knows these things to have issued in achievement. An older man reads of the humble folk-moots in Friesland or Sleswick (the head-waters of the mighty river as J. R. Green called them) or those battles of kites and crows which Milton contemptuously pushed aside with a patience sustained by

the distant but inspiring vision of a free commonwealth and a world-empire. These examples all point to the truth that a great known outcome irradiates all its antecedents, which, in turn, is part of the still wider principle that a great object glorifies its accessories. Admirable instances of the application of this truth to drama, particularly to tragedy, have been furnished by Mr. Archer himself in the references to "Othello" and "A Doll's House" quoted above; only Mr. Archer has attached to this undoubted truth a questionable theory of a satisfied thirst for omniscience on the part of a self-gratulating spectator. Our own list of examples of this anticipatory or retrospective interest—both adjectives, though formally contradictory, are in place—includes objects to which Mr. Archer's theory is clearly inapplicable—objects like a road or a river with regard to which the idea of a competition in knowledge with a triumphant spectator is unthinkable. The principle, however, can dispense with the theory.

The universal hatred of monotony is curiously qualified with a fondness for an ascertained order. Children insist on verbatim repetitions of the nursery tale, and resent the displacement of the humblest particular. The lover of good verse is scandalized by a misquotation. The slight variations in the Lord's Prayer shock ears to which they are unfamiliar. Every detail of a venerated ritual is anticipated and enjoyed by the pious. The recurrence in spring of the pasque-flowers, the Dutchman's-breeches, and the bloodroot in the same spot and the same order is a pleasure which variation would disturb. The verification of forecast in the visit to the old home is a delight that cheapens novelty. The fact that variety is the only means by which the frequent repetition of unattractive processes can be made tolerable is thoroughly consistent with the principle that where objects are agreeable and repetitions rare perfect correspondence is the desideratum. Mr. Archer himself speaks aptly of the "delicate blending of surprise and realized anticipation" in the familiar play. The punctual arrival of each situation, each outcry, each jest, each metaphor, at the specified and anticipated time, the checking up of one's remembered goods and chattels, the sureness with which the immitigable Shakespeare or Ibsen or Bernard Shaw brings these wilful actors and evasive managers to time, the delightful certainty with which these caprices and vagaries

and insurgencies evolve to the foreseen and wished-for end —these things create a pleasure which unites in its fashion the charms of ordered plan and opportune coincidence.

The sum of the pleasures above cited might seem a sufficient compensation for the withdrawal of curiosity. But is it necessary to suppose that curiosity is inoperative even in a familiar play? An "acute critic" quoted by Mr. Archer thinks that curiosity of a sort may be aroused in the informed spectator through his self-identification with "the discovering persons on the stage." It seems clear that another sort of vicarious curiosity is aroused in the foreseeing spectator by his self-identification with the discovering persons in the audience. To many persons it would scarcely seem extravagant to go a step further and concede even his identification with his old self—the self that first saw or read the drama.

The contradiction between curiosity and foreknowledge as logical concepts does not apply with anything like the same force to curiosity and foreknowledge as psychological states. Logically, we cannot want to know what we do know, but the end of human nature would seem to be the discomfiture of logic. The mental tension we call curiosity is not necessarily or normally the sequel of a careful investigation and precise ascertainment of the state of our knowledge. It is an instinctive response to certain signs or symptoms of uncertainty or incompleteness in objects or actions. The justness or soundness of these intimations, the actuality, in other words, of the uncertainty or incompleteness they suggest, is a matter that we cannot always stop to determine before yielding our minds to the spell of curiosity. Now when, in real life, we see men wooing or quarreling or cheating or conspiring—the kind of actions which the stage habitually reflects—we assume that what is unsettled is uncertain. We do not stop to test this assumption. Its validity is so nearly universal that a test is superfluous. What, then, naturally occurs when the stage presents us with an action with all those marks of incompleteness which in real life justify the unhesitating assumption that the result is unknown and that curiosity is warranted? We accept the suggestion, and the tension appears in automatic response to the accustomed provocations.

But we do know the issue, avers the objector. True: but this knowledge of the outcome, though, in one sense, a per-

manent possession of the mind, is by no means a permanent occupant of consciousness. Its emergences are normally few, and, between its emergences, it is inoperative. The thought of the end will come to us in a familiar play, but its staying with us is another matter. A mind preoccupied with an engrossing spectacle cannot be expected to occupy itself in rectifying the impressions of that spectacle by perpetual recourse to a counteractive, disillusioning, and therefore for the time being, unpalatable fact lurking somewhere in the outskirts of consciousness. My memory knows that Mercutio is slain by Tybalt. But how is my memory to get credence or even audience for its impertinent allegations when my eyes and ears are dominated by a brisk interchange of thrust and counterstroke upon the stage, absorbing in its interest and obviously undecided? When I have found out whether he is slain by Tybalt, I shall have leisure to remember that I knew it beforehand.

In the theater where so much illusion is current, why should we chaffer over the illusion of uncertainty? If we can assume toward unreal things the attitude appropriate to reality, why cannot we assume toward known things the attitude appropriate to ignorance?

We see, then, that in a broad survey of life what has once affected us strongly usually has the power to affect us strongly again; we see that the satisfaction of the leading or initial curiosity is the needed occasion and signal for the emergence of strong secondary interests; that in many phases of life and literature alike the knowledge of a great outcome is an incalculable reinforcement of our interest in preliminaries: that a definite order becomes itself the object of a strong, even an exigent and jealous, affection; that, if we use our prerogative as human beings to throw over logic and resort to psychology, curiosity is found to co-exist with knowledge. In the light of these considerations, all of which are briefly stated or indicated by Mr. Archer himself, it hardly seems necessary to climb Olympus with that distinguished critic—alluring as such a journey would undoubtedly be with such companionship—to obtain a point of view from which the interest in known plays becomes intelligible.

O. W. Firkins.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

BY FRANK B. NOYES,
PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

PROBABLY no institution is more widely known by name than The Associated Press and, on the other hand, more vaguely understood by the public generally as to its organization and its functions. For whatever cause this may be, that it is a fact is daily apparent.

The Associated Press is an association of something over eight hundred and fifty newspapers, operating under a charter of the State of New York as a mutual and co-operative organization for the interchange and collection of news. Under the terms of its charter "the corporation is not to make a profit nor to make or declare dividends and is not to engage in the business of selling intelligence nor traffic in the same."

In other words, The Associated Press is simply a common agent of its members by which they arrange an interchange of the news that each collects, and is bound by its membership obligation to contribute for the common use of its fellow-members and also as the agency through which reports of foreign and certain classes of domestic happenings are collected and distributed to the newspapers served by the organization.

The fact that in the present year we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the first nation-wide co-operative and non-profit-making news-gathering organization in the world seems to make the publication of something respecting it timely.

The Associated Press is in no wise the master of the newspapers constituting its membership; it is distinctly their servant.

Its Board of Directors is composed of active newspaper men chosen at annual meetings by the membership and, in an experience running through twenty years of intimate connection with the present organization and also that of the older Illinois corporation, I have never known an instance in all the changing personnel of Boards of Directors when there was any departure from the most rigid observance of the highest obligations of trusteeship and disregard of private and selfish interests. The President, Vice-Presidents, and members of the Board of Directors serve without salaries.

The Associated Press of to-day is the outcome of a many-year struggle between two opposing systems. One, that of news-gathering concerns with private or limited ownership which dealt at arm's-length with newspapers to which they sold news at such profit as might be secured, and over which the newspapers who bought from them had no more control than over the paper-mill supplying them with print paper.

The other system is based on the theory that a powerful, privately owned and controlled news-gathering agency is a menace to the press and people.

Determined to establish an agency subject only to the control of the newspapers for whom it acted, in 1893 a group of Western men composing the Western Associated Press began a fight to attain this end, and since that time a contest between these two opposing principles has been waged. In asserting that The Associated Press, as to-day constituted, is the servant and agent only of the newspapers for which it acts, I have no thought of minimizing the tremendous importance of the work it does as such an agent, but wish simply to emphasize the thought that properly speaking it has no entity of its own, no mission save to serve its members.

Its members are scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to the Gulf, and represent every possible shade of political belief, religious faith, and economic sympathy. It is obvious that The Associated Press can have no partisan nor factional bias, no religious affiliation, no capitalistic nor pro-labor trend.

Its function is simply to furnish its members with a truthful, clean, comprehensive, non-partisan—and this in its broadest sense—report of the news of the world as ex-

peditiously as is compatible with accuracy and as economically as possible.

To do this the newspapers composing its membership contribute first, the news of their localities and second, weekly assessments of money aggregating about $3,000,000 per annum, with which an extensive system of leased wires is maintained (22,000 miles of wire in the daytime and 28,000 miles of wire at night), bureaus in the principal American cities supplementing and collating the news of local newspapers and bureaus for the original collection of news throughout the world.

The volume of the news report to members varies greatly, ranging from five hundred words daily by telegraph or telephone to papers able to utilize but a small amount of general news matter, to more than fifty thousand words daily or thirty-five newspaper columns in the more important cities.

The method of collecting foreign news has been greatly changed in recent years. Formerly The Associated Press collected its foreign service in London, receiving the news there of the Reuter Company, of the Wolff Agency of Germany, and of the Havas Agency of France with smaller affiliated agencies in Italy and Spain.

The objection to this method was that the news as received in London was alleged to be impressed with an English bias—in any event it was concededly not collected from an American viewpoint.

To meet this criticism The Associated Press has established regular bureaus of its own in all the great news centers, and now maintains offices and staffs in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Tokio, Peking, Mexico City, and Havana, in addition to hundreds of individual correspondents scattered throughout the world.

It is probable that in the foreign news field the extraordinary genius of Melville E. Stone, the General Manager of The Associated Press, has been most strikingly exhibited. Just prior to the Russo-Japanese War Mr. Stone secured from the Czar of Russia the abolition of the censorship, and newspaper men still remember the remarkable frankness with which the Russian Government gave out the news of Russia's reverses in that conflict.

Orders expediting the messages of The Associated Press were issued at his instance by the German, French, Italian,

and Russian Governments, and as a result it has come to be common for European capitals to get the first news of Continental events through Associated Press reports cabled back from New York.

One beneficial result coming from this more direct relationship is to be found in the minimizing of the ill effect of the occasional outbreak of some utterly inconsequential German, French, English, or Japanese "yellow" sporadically abusing the United States and its people.

Formerly profound significance of a wide-spread hostility was attached to such outpourings. With the closer understanding that comes from more intimate knowledge, we now understand the relative importance of the newspapers of other countries as we are able to weigh and grade our own.

The disadvantage of lack of news touch is strikingly apparent in the relations of the United States with the Central and South American nations. These countries secure their news of the United States by way of Europe, and it consists mainly of murders, lynchings, and embezzlements. The antipathy to the United States by the people of these countries is undoubtedly largely due to the false perspective given by their newspapers. If in truth we were the kind of people they are led to believe we are they would be fully justified in their attitude.

It has been the aim of those intrusted with the management of The Associated Press to secure as its representatives both at home and abroad men of high character and attainments, and it may, I think, be fairly assumed that the reputation for accuracy and fairness that its service enjoys is largely to be attributed to an unusual measure of success in this endeavor.

While The Associated Press is generally held in good esteem, I would not be understood as indicating that it has been exempt from criticism and attack.

If in a campaign all the candidates, or their managers or press agents did not accuse The Associated Press of the grossest partisanship as against the particular candidacy in which they were interested, those bearing the responsibilities of the service would feel convinced that something was radically wrong and would look with suspicion on the report themselves.

This is but human nature. During the last campaign for

the Presidential nominations every candidate either in person or by proxy expressed his conviction that The Associated Press was favorable to somebody else.

Mr. Wilson's press agent asserted that our service was pro-Clark, and in the opinion of Speaker Clark we had sold out to the Wilson people. Mr. Taft's managers felt that he was not being given a fair show and Mr. Roosevelt was firm in his conviction that the avenues of information had been choked to his disadvantage.

Of course later we know that Mr. Wilson does not share the only-for-publication views of his press agent and Speaker Clark is as emphatic in his withdrawal as in his hasty charges. Mr. Taft's managers realize that The Associated Press cannot report speeches that he does not make, and Mr. Roosevelt must see a humorous side to the suggestion that any one has interfered with his getting a fairly adequate representation on the first page.

With all this, however, goes a fundamental misunderstanding of the functions of The Associated Press. The individual correspondent or reporter for a given newspaper or a small group of newspapers having a common bias may be permitted to indulge in partisanship or in propaganda.

This is absolutely not to be permitted in The Associated Press. No bias of any sort can be allowed. Our function is to supply our members with news, not views; with news as it happens—not as we may want it to happen. Intensely as its management may sympathize with any movement, no propaganda in its behalf can be tolerated. Very jealously indeed does the membership guard against their agency going outside its allotted duties and argus-eyed is the censorship of every handler of our "copy."

It is not, naturally, to be claimed that no mistakes are made. They are made and will be made. But in the very nature of the business, with the heart so worn upon the sleeve, detection very swiftly follows, and the mistakes are few and far between.

The desire to enlist The Associated Press in propaganda or advocacy is usually to be found at the bottom of criticisms of its service. Added to this often is misinformation as to the real facts and sometimes, though happily rarely, actual malice.

The service from Russia, for example, has been harshly

criticized by some who thought that the province of The Associated Press was to undertake a crusade against the Russian Government because of its anti-Semitic attitude. Our theory of our obligations is that we should report the facts as they occur, without fear or favor, but that it is no part of our duty to draw indictments save as the facts alone are damning.

The case of the Koreans charged with a plot to assassinate Governor-General Terauchi has recently been much discussed.

These Koreans were almost all converted Christians and the American missionaries in Korea were naturally intensely interested in the matter.

It was freely alleged that The Associated Press, unduly influenced by the Japanese Government, had suppressed the fact that these Koreans had made confessions, implicating American missionaries as accessories to the plot, and had subsequently retracted these confessions, asserting that they had been extorted by atrocious torture inflicted by the Japanese police, the intimation being also that the missionaries were in peril by reason of the repudiated confessions.

Based on this some of the missionary authorities here became much perturbed, and indeed one of the great New York papers printed news and editorial articles criticizing The Associated Press for the suppression of the matter.

As a matter of fact an inspection of the news service received by The Associated Press and distributed to its members showed that it carried the full facts; the confessions, the implications of the missionaries, the allegations of torture, the fact that the allegation of torture was believed by the missionaries, and also the fact that the Japanese denied the torture stories and attached no credence whatever to the prisoners' statements implicating the missionaries.

On learning the real situation the New York newspaper in question promptly printed an ample *amende honorable,* but I do not doubt that many still ignorant of the retraction feel that The Associated Press was guilty of some dereliction.

Another cause of frequent misapprehension is in the general tendency of newspaper readers to attribute anything seen in print to The Associated Press, and it is constantly

necessary to explain that some violently partisan or inaccurate article was the work of a " special " and not a part of our service.

Away back in the middle of the last century an alliance, offensive and defensive, existed between the old New York Associated Press, a news-selling organization owned by seven New York papers, and the Western Union Telegraph Company under the terms of which the New York Associated Press dealt solely with the Western Union and the Western Union in turn gave discriminating rates and advantages to the New York Associated Press.

Although this arrangement (in the light of to-day a very improper one) was abolished more than thirty years ago, many people think that it still exists and occasionally some one arises fiercely to denounce this unholy alliance.

The simple truth is that The Associated Press has during all these thirty years and more paid exactly what other news associations pay, and that the rates charged by the telegraph companies for the facilities furnished us are greatly in excess of those charged individual newspapers and still more than those charged stockholders having leased wires.

The Associated Press leases wires, many thousands of miles of them, from the Western Union, the Postal, the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, and from several of the independent telephone companies.

The first three have a common basic rate, charging us $24 a mile a year in the daytime and $12 a mile a year at night. For exactly the same wire they charge an individual newspaper $20 and $10, respectively, and a stockbroker gets a still further reduction.

Far from receiving discriminatory favors, The Associated Press feels that it is being distinctly and heavily discriminated against.

In these days when all transactions on a large scale are being subjected to so rigid a scrutiny it is natural that so conspicuous a mark of public attention as is The Associated Press should not find itself immune from critical inspection.

From time to time some voice is raised denouncing The Associated Press in the same breath both as a monopoly and because it is not a monopoly, and insisting that it become a monopoly by admitting to its membership all desiring its service; the theory being that in some way the

activities of the association impress it with a public use and subject it to the obligation of a common carrier to serve all comers.

From an ethical standpoint only, then, is there anything improper, unsafe, or unwise in a group of newspapers, large or small, associating themselves together to do a thing that each must otherwise do separately and of reserving to themselves the right to determine to what extent the membership of such a group shall be enlarged?

It does not seem possible to hold fairly that a newspaper in New York may not join with one in Chicago and one in Philadelphia to maintain a common correspondent in Washington without making it obligatory on these three newspapers to share the fruits of their enterprise with other New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia newspapers.

If in addition they arrange that each shall supply the others with the news of its home city, is it within the bounds of reason that they are required to furnish to competitors the same facilities?

I give this illustration because that is exactly the relation of the newspapers composing The Associated Press—the scale only being enlarged.

The obligations of a common carrier are, however, in no wise dependent on the magnitude of its transactions. The ferry sculled across a stream is just as much impressed with a public use as is the Pennsylvania Railroad. Each is a common carrier. It is the nature of the transaction and not its size that determines its obligations. As respects the question of common carriership, what is right for three to do is proper for three hundred or for eight hundred to do.

To compel The Associated Press to assume an entity of its own and to serve all comers would, in my judgment, bring about a condition fraught with the gravest dangers to the freedom of the press and in turn to the freedom of the people.

At present about one-third of the daily newspapers of the country are represented by membership in The Associated Press.

There are a number of concerns engaged in the collection and sale of general news to non-members of The Associated Press, and in one way or another they supply their customers with what are declared to be satisfactory services.

In no wise desiring to become anything approaching a monopoly, The Associated Press has avoided even the appearance of any competitive price rivalry, admitting additional members solely on the ground of a common benefit to the members of a co-operative institution.

If by some occult reasoning The Associated Press could be held as a common carrier, these news-selling organizations would be wiped out and The Associated Press would, if the end sought for was accomplished, become a real monopoly and the incentive for co-operation no longer existing, it would naturally drift into a concern for pecuniary profit, in private ownership and subject to private control.

No more dangerous situation can well be imagined than the passing of the control of the greatest news-gathering and news-disseminating agency of the world from the hands of co-operating newspapers to the control of some individual interested in manipulating the news—the master and not the servant of the newspapers.

Because this danger would be so grave it will not come, but for another reason also, a very basic reason.

There can be no monopoly in news.

The day that it becomes apparent that a monopoly in collecting and distributing news exists, that day, in some way, by some method individual newspapers or groups of newspapers will take up the work of establishing a service for themselves, independent of outside control.

The news of the world is open to him who will go for it. Any one willing to expend the energy, the time, and the money to approach it may dip from the well of truth.

The news service of The Associated Press does not consist of its leased wires or its offices. Its soul is in the personal service of human men, of men with eyes to see, with ears to hear, with hands to write, and with brains to understand, of men who are proud when they succeed, humiliated when they fail and resentful when maligned. The telegraph wires are but the blind instruments of this service, though the wire has brought the uttermost parts of the world marvelously close. These human entities are ranging the world to send word of its doings, of its rejoicings, and its sorrowings to satisfy the thirst of the people for intelligence of the march of events.

The news service of The Associated Press of the horror

of Martinique was not the event itself. It was the personal service of a man who at the first hint of the disaster that had wiped out a population took his orders, chartered a boat, and went to Martinique, where no correspondent still lived, and sent a story, *his* story of the great tragedy, wrecking his health by the effort required.

To get this report, this "news," was open to any one.

To get it cost the members of The Associated Press more than $30,000 in addition to the human wastage and prodigious effort.

It was a part of the day's work.

And as to-day devoted men labor and die in order that the members of The Associated Press, an organization that neither owns nor prints a newspaper, may lay before their readers a fair picture of the world's happenings, so always will these and other men serve nobly and die bravely that the world may have tidings of sport and festival, of birth and death, of Congress and Parliament, of battle and plague, of shipwreck and rescue.

FRANK B. NOYES.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND ITS HIDDEN CAUSES. By EMILE OLLIVIER. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1913.

THE detailed history of a great event as written by a man who helped mold it may be as fascinating to the general reader as it is useful to the specialist in history. Microscopic in detail such a history no doubt must be, by comparison with the history of a nation stretching over ages; but in reality it shows men and events in a proportion best adapted to the naked eye. Viewed in ordinary human perspective, facts and men become alive; things philosophical become things vital.

It is only in a work of this sort that we enjoy the luxury of reading a narrative vibrating with real, not imaginary, interests and emotions, having as its plot no novelist's design, but a world-shaking intrigue.

Of course, it was not primarily for our amusement that M. Emile Ollivier wrote *The Franco-Prussian War and Its Hidden Causes:* he designed it to set historic transactions in a true light and to justify his conduct as the head of Louis Napoleon's so-called Liberal Ministry, which bore the responsibility alike of the effort to secure peace with honor and of the apparently inevitable war. But he has written a narrative that interests us independently of any desire to determine verdicts or to settle mooted points for all time.

He has written, indeed, with a French clearness and a French vivacity, admirably preserved in the English translation—with a passion for accuracy and a passion for justice that awaken a fine quality of interest and predispose the reader in his favor.

The *Leitmotif* of the narrative is Bismarck's alleged determination, as a means of securing German unification, to force France into a war by seating a Hohenzollern prince upon the throne of Spain. Point by point, through complicated negotiations, characterizing, criticizing, always according credit where credit seems due, M. Ollivier enforces his views with Demosthenic clearness. His story has an appeal which the defense of a moderate policy may pre-eminently deserve, but seldom achieves.

Is the "principle of nationalities" fundamentally so sacred as M. Ollivier believes? Was the war made inevitable by Bismarck's "slap in the face" or was it inevitable for deeper reasons? These are questions in which the book does not really concern us. Personally M. Ollivier believes that between France and Germany there was no such difference of civilization or of destiny as would sooner or later have necessitated war.

However that may be, *The Franco-Prussian War and Its Hidden*

Causes is wonderfully clear and complete in its setting forth of individual facts and causes. Its lucid definition of opinions, its unequivocal statements as to facts and views, give it value alike to the student of history and to the general reader. Free from the vanity of personal memoirs, it shows individual traits as active forces, revealing the anxieties, hopes, ambitions, of men engaged in world-affairs.

THE PERSONALITY OF NAPOLEON. By J. HOLLAND ROSE. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

Necessarily quite different in the quality of its interest is *The Personality of Napoleon,* by J. Holland Rose, reader in modern history to the University of Cambridge. The book, embodying the Lowell Lectures of 1912, pictures Napoleon in eight phases—as Man, as Jacobin, Warrior, Lawgiver, Emperor, Thinker, World Ruler, Exile. "The statement of a subject is adequate if it is made clear so far as the subject-matter permits." This remark of Aristotle's quoted by the author in connection with his sixth chapter applies in a measure to his whole work. Not, of course, a detailed history of Napoleon's career, the book ventures little into theory or speculation upon motives, but traces causes as well as human causes can commonly be traced. The personality of Napoleon, so far as his resemblance to other men makes him comprehensible, stands out from the multiplicity of facts more clearly than we might have expected. Putting together the phases of his character as analyzed, we get a picture not photographic, but evidently true. Over the difficulties of subject and method—the necessity of summarizing, of weighing, and judging so elusive a thing as personality—the author measurably triumphs by virtue of a scholarly incisiveness, a sanity of emphasis, and a really eloquent style. What did Napoleon accomplish which a man of other personality might have done differently? It is through its effects that we may best judge character, rather than by analysis which ends in adjectives. "As Emperor he subjected France to a mental rest-cure and a strenuous training for the muscles. The change was not unlike that which happens to nervous, over-taught youth fresh from the lycée and perhaps prone to anarchism, when they come under the drill-sergeant for a year or more." In passages like this the advantage of the writer's point of view and his effectiveness in availing himself of it are obvious.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE. By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

History is a record of evolution, and more and more it is felt that a knowledge of how the evolutionary process has proceeded in the past may help to further and guide it in the future. More and more the progress that seemed accidental and instinctive becomes conscious and calculated. But the change from the kind of progress that is the result of compromise between opposing forces to that which is the result of far-seeing design is necessarily slow, and in the study of government especially we understand little unless we understand how present systems developed in response to human needs, and how a multitude of things

that have no theoretic reason for existence have nevertheless a real reason. In facilitating the historical and comparative study of government, Frederic Austin Ogg's *The Governments of Europe* — a book intended primarily as a text-book, but not baffling to the general reader—will prove widely useful. In treatment the work is condensed yet thorough. The discussion of the English constitution begins with the Anglo-Saxon kingship, and ends with the present status of the suffrage question. In the case of each government the historic sketch is confined to the points most useful to the student, expanding or contracting according to the needs of the theme. A brief section deals with German constitutional history prior to 1848, and the author soon passes to the formation of the empire and its consequences. The account of the governmental development of France begins with the Revolution. Always the historic view is made an integral part of the explanation of present governments and their workings. In this manner the volume discusses the governments of Italy, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and the Iberian states. Covering so wide a field and dealing with so great a body of facts, the treatise achieves effectiveness only through unusual clearness of aim and an admirable sense of proportion. Yet few works are more genuinely informing than such a one as this, when it is really, as in the present case, what it professes to be.

THE HAPPY WARRIOR. By A. S. M. HUTCHINSON. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1913.

It is of the manner that we are compelled to think first of all in reading A. S. M. Hutchinson's romance, *The Happy Warrior,* and this is almost a pity; just as we feel it a pity that in a story which owes its charm to essential truth of character and sentiment our attention should in the end be drawn too forcibly to a somewhat crude device of plot.

With respect to plot *The Happy Warrior* is in much the same case as Henry Sydnor Harrison's deservedly successful romance, *Queed,* which it surpasses in finish, though not in genuineness. To be sure, mystery does not, as in *Queed,* haunt us through the closing chapters of the story, a naïve specter of which nobody is afraid. But at the last we are unfortunately reminded that we have been reading a *novel,* a thing of calculation and premeditation, obeying material laws of structure—reminded, for throughout the greater part of the narrative we remain under the spell of a delightful illusion.

But it is of the manner that we think first. Mr. Hutchinson sets off in a tricksy style. There are humor and philosophy in his opening discourse upon the element of hazard in human affairs, as illustrated by the story of a dog which bit a vicar and the surprising consequences that flowed from this injudicious and uncalled-for act. In this there is a not disagreeable flavor of the mock-epic. But the effect of it is to make us a little uneasy. Can it be possible, we ask ourselves, that the man will undertake to write a whole novel in this fashion? To write in a certain predetermined style, to express everything with graceful artificiality, to attain unity of effect in a difficult manner—all this is merely a matter of ingenuity, of virtuosity. And we do not want virtuosity; we are athirst for something real.

Mr. Hutchinson's style continues to be tricksy. It continues to present matters with unexpected detail, with unexpected repetition, with unlooked-for brevity, with what seem like strange contortions of the point of view. But it wins upon us. Increasingly it makes us feel that we are receiving the something real that we demand; that we are taking it in, moreover, with quite extraordinary ease and pleasure.

Throughout, *The Happy Warrior* is written in a style which provokes criticism and baffles it. We surrender to the charm, and at the same time we want to know the secret. How explain the success of this style, with which we can find no fault except that it makes us feel how intolerable it would be if in the slightest degree it failed of its intended effect?

The question is not to be answered by detailed analysis. It soon becomes evident, however, that the manner of the story is not an affectation. Nor is it, perhaps, wholly spontaneous. There is method in it—or at least it has all the advantage of deliberate method. Taking originally a somewhat playful attitude toward his theme—an attitude that makes humor easy, that lends itself readily to the portrayal of little grotesqueries of speech and behavior, the author is surprisingly free to produce what effect upon us he pleases, as if a half-playful, half-philosophic, altogether sympathetic view of human life were the fundamental key, from which he modulates with the greatest ease into pathos, into poetry, into idyllic description, into realistic action. So that he is peculiarly unhampered by that stupid tendency of language to become a law to itself, making a writer, as we so often feel, express himself in a manner more heavily impressive, more laboriously facetious, than of his own will he intended.

From the bondage of plot Mr. Hutchinson escapes with less success; yet it is a high tribute to his art that we forget the obviously romantic plot in the subtle humanity of the characters—always except at the last, when the romantic plot, after the manner of its kind, arises and smites us in the face.

The framework is conventional. The youthful Lord Burdon secretly marries a girl of class beneath his own, discovers the fatal mistake not of the marriage, but of the secrecy, is in an agony of indecision; at last, seeking a way out, goes on a military expedition to India, and meets death in battle. The title falls to the Lethams, distant relatives. The new Lady Burdon is selfish, ambitious in a bourgeois fashion, lacking in nobility. Audrey, the young widow, about to become a mother, unaware that the Lethams are now in possession of title and estate, goes, in accordance with her husband's last instructions, to throw herself upon the kindness of his grandmother. The new Lady Burdon meets her, is panic-stricken, sees her hopes crumbling. Affecting to disbelieve Audrey's story, she dismisses her with disdain, steeling her heart, like a bourgeois Lady Macbeth. Audrey dies of the child which is born to her, and her sister Maggie, loving helplessly, hating bitterly, plots revenge on the Lethams. Audrey's child, Percival—the Happy Warrior—is the real heir of the Burdons—he, and not the Lethams' sickly son, Rollo. In due time, when revenge has thoroughly matured, when fate gives the signal, Maggie will strike down Lady Burdon as Lady Burdon struck down Audrey; for she has the necessary weapon—proof of the marriage. A romantic plot, surely, of the old-fashioned sort, even to the element of old-fashioned hate, so seldom met with in stories nowadays.

What the author makes of it is extraordinary. He makes it genuinely human, genuinely poetic. His style, responsive and flexible, poises and rushes on in the manner of real thought, real talk, real gesture, following the pulse of interest that people feel in what they are doing or saying at the moment. We feel the throb of Mrs. Letham's excitement when news comes of the death that makes her Lady Burdon. We get in brief the full quality of her husband's stupid honesty, his kindly simplicity. With relatively few words Mr. Hutchinson comes as close to life as such writers as De Morgan—or at least persuades us that he does so—producing even the effect of leisure in a rapid narrative.

Then turning back to describe the courtship of Audrey, he makes the episode both humanly credible and poetic. In the treatment of young love, followed by tragedy, he transcends the requirements of the plot, and in this part of the story there is a touch of universal pathos.

Percival's boyhood, his friendship with Rollo, the dawning of his love for the girl predestined to be Rollo's wife—all this is true and refreshing: and the thing that has to be done—the suggestion that Percival is by nature and instinct the true Burdon—is done well. It is surprising that we like Dora—Percival's "Snow-White-Rose-Red"—even though she is obviously cold, obviously superficial, obviously selfish. And we have no ill feeling toward her even when at the crisis she yields to her mother's wishes, acquiesces in separation from Percival, accepts Rollo for no better reason than that she "always was to." Indeed, this affair of snow-white, rose-red passion would lose something of its charm and its dramatic fitness if it were more a matter of reasonable choice, less a matter of youth and beauty and instinct.

Between the period of boyhood—"the happy, happy time"—and the crisis, occurs an adventurous episode successful in its way, adequate in its picturesqueness and interest, yet somehow not of a piece with the rest of the story. The picturesque reality of this part of the narrative seems not equal to the sentimental reality of the other parts. Percival, rebelling against the idleness of his life, bound somehow to make himself a man for Dora's sake, becomes a professional boxer. His old friend the gipsy Japhra, who gives exhibitions of boxing at fairs and circuses, receives him as one of his novices. Japhra's poetical and practical philosophy, his exaltation of spirit over flesh, in a way expresses the intimate theme of the story, and expresses it eloquently. His daughter Ima, who loves Percival with an instinct truer than his love for Dora, is surely not without her appeal. Yet about Japhra there is an effect of calculated quaintness, about Ima a hint of calculated pathos. And then the implied exaltation of the manly art!—a sentiment to which we respond, yet belonging to a different category from the sentiment that inspires the tale as a whole. Nevertheless, Percival's fight with "Foxy Pinsent" is a great fight, described with rare art. Japhra's ring talk, indeed, can hardly fail to strike us as a little strange: "He hath no bowels for punishment. There is a coward streak in him—I have seen it. . . . He will use his tongue on thee, mocking thee." But if this, by way of contrast, sets us to thinking inopportunely of the "sporting page," it is probably our own fault.

As for the crisis, it comes to pass in this way: Among Percival's acquaintances is a servant of the Lethams, one Ecbert Hunt—a somewhat

morose, grotesquely grumbling sort of person whom one does not take too seriously. Ecbert hardly seems the sort to commit a murderous assault; yet that is just what he does. In an affray of the circus people he stabs the boss, who has previously struck and cursed him. Brought to trial, Hunt is not helped by the testimony of Lady Burdon, and is convicted. On the same night on which Percival, having learned at last that he is the true Lord Burdon, goes out into the open to fight his great fight for the mastery of his soul, the convict breaks jail. The two meet, and in the struggle to prevent Hunt from carrying out his mad purpose of taking vengeance on the Burdon family by murdering Rollo, the Happy Warrior is killed.

The element of chance—even of incongruous chance—is no doubt, as the author insists, a *vera causa;* yet this seems hardly to excuse the consummation of a tragedy through a character who has seemed from the first little other than mildly comic. But, after all, the blemish is not serious. The story succeeds, plot and all. The tragic ending is a happy ending, not inconsistent with the spirit of a tale which now and then in pure joyousness bubbles into irrepressible farce.

Sentimental romance without the plot—the quality, when it is fine enough, without the machinery, as in such tales as *Eben Holden*—that is what we would like. But that is often, no doubt, an impossible, a self-contradictory desire: and we are really grateful for *The Happy Warrior.*

The Drift of Romanticism. VIII. Shelburne Essays. By Paul Elmer More. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.

Frankly disclaiming "the way of sympathy" in criticism, Paul Elmer More rightly insists in the preface to *The Drift of Romanticism,* the eighth volume of the "Shelburne Essays," that there is room for the kind of criticism "which is not so much directed to the individual thing as to its relation with other things, and to its place as cause or effect in a whole group of tendencies." The writers whom Mr. More discusses are so diverse that they seem to have been chosen deliberately as having nothing in common save their relation to the romantic movement. They are William Beckford, Cardinal Newman, Walter Pater, Fiona Macleod, Nietzsche, and Huxley.

Criticism of any depth implies a philosophy, and in criticizing the views—especially the implied views—of writers who themselves assume to be critics of life, the need of a clear philosophical conception is peculiarly felt. If the thinkers whom Mr. More has selected as illustrating the drift of romanticism are not all philosophers, they all, at least, possess the power of coloring our views of the whole of life. In each there is something that we must accept as the law and the prophets or else deny altogether. To say nothing of the philosophers, we cannot read the romanticists worshipfully, or with anything like full assent, and remain unchanged. To read them assentingly, without full understanding of their implied doctrines is to tamper with our souls. Thus an unsympathetic analysis of the appeal made by such writers as Walter Pater and Fiona Macleod turns out to be no mere critical vandalism, and in general the severity of Mr. More's method is fully justified. Its difficulty is obvious. The supercritic (if the term may be used without Nietzschean

significance) must get upon alien ground in order that he may survey in its entirety a whole province of thought and feeling. And it is incumbent upon him, also, to define the ground upon which he stands. For if the romantic writer may leave his fundamental conceptions in a not unattractive obscurity, so must not the critic. His is a duty not merely of analysis, but of self-expression.

Few writers upon literary subjects have so fully set forth their reasons for the faith that is in them as has Mr. More in *The Drift of Romanticism*. With uncommon frankness he has described his own cosmos. In a chapter which, although modestly placed at the end of the volume, the reader would do well to peruse first, he has summed up his philosophical views—not argumentatively, but in a series of definitions, for his object is not to establish a philosophical system, but simply to disclose with the utmost clarity the premises of his critical opinions. The creed here concisely set forth is dualism—a creed that is irreconcilably at war with every romantic scheme of things. Briefly, dualism recognizes two elements of man's consciousness—an incessant flux of desires and impressions, and an "inner check which displays itself intermittently as an inhibition upon this or that impulse." Beyond these two elements self-knowledge cannot penetrate; but unwillingness to recognize the dualism of our nature—inexplicable as that dualism may seem—leads only to intellectual error and emotional unrest. The characteristic of romanticism, according to this philosophy, is that it ignores the inner control in man and the apparent counterpart of that control in nature—glorifying, instead, those emotions which have to do merely with the flux. The attractiveness of this tendency, and its danger, lie in its arrogation to itself of a spiritual validity. Thus men think and write of desire, of the thirst for experience, even of passion, with the fervor of religious mystics. Conversely, to the romanticist the infinite presents itself as a means of escape from control, offering to the intensely egoistic personality an indefinite enlargement of emotions and desires. To the dualist, on the other hand, the infinite seems the very principle of order or control, manifesting itself, indeed, in no other direct way than by the limitation of desires and impulses.

Mr. More's views of the particular authors of whom he treats may be inferred in a general way from his philosophical creed. The essay on William Beckford describes the vagaries of a romantic soul, while *Vathek* supplies a symbolic picture of romanticism itself. "If we look below the surface of things, and penetrate many illusions, we shall perceive in Beckford's vision [at the close of *Vathek*] of the restless throng, moving ever with hand pressed upon flaming heart, the essential type and image of the romantic life and literature." Again, Newman's "inability to find peace without the assurance of a personal God answering to the clamor of his desires is but another aspect of that illusion of the soul which has lost its vision of the true infinite and seeks a substitute in the limitless expansion of the emotions." The same tendency underlies the refined estheticism of Pater. He too had "lost from his soul this vision of the infinite, and sought to deify in its place the intense realization of the flux itself as the end of life." As for the writings of Fiona Macleod, their essential quality is not Gaelic, but romantic. In their spirit there is really nothing new, and despite their illusory gleams of beauty they

signify nothing beyond the impulse of the heart impatient of the constraint imposed by science and scientific philosophy to seek peace "through surrender to an impressionism that acknowledges no law of control."

Continuing, Mr. More applies his philosophical touchstone to a philosopher and to a scientist. Nietzsche is found to express merely "the clamor of romantic egoism turned into horror at its own vacuity"; and in the essay on Huxley the progress of the romantic movement is traced until it is seen actually to blend with the scientific philosophy of our own day, accounting, or helping to account, for such tendencies as educational laxity, the spirit of *laisses faire* in politics, the philosophy of Bergson, pragmatism, and even syndicalism.

It is impossible, within a brief space, to give more than a faint and incomplete sketch of Mr. More's views, with something of the color of his thought. Quotation and summary can do scant justice to the firm outlines of his ideas or to the solidity and grace of his style. To many minds his book will bring that peculiarly intimate sense of conviction which seems to flow from an immediate recognition of soundness and sanity. If any are inclined to quarrel with his philosophy as dogmatic, they cannot, at any rate, fail to value his uncommon sincerity and clearness of thought. *The Drift of Romanticism* is a profound book, but not an obscure one; it is suggestive without being irresponsible.

THE IMMIGRANT INVASION. By FRANK JULIAN WARNE, Ph.D. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1913.

Dualism is essentially the philosophy of common sense, giving to life the value and meaning which men instinctively attach to it. And, whatever may be the drift of philosophy and imaginative literature, it seems that we may observe in books dealing with practical problems a tendency that runs counter to romanticism. In other words, such books exhibit in an increasing degree common sense as opposed to the kind of hypothesis and assumption of which Mr. More complains so bitterly in connection with scientific philosophy. People are in general much less impressed with the sacredness of theory than they were fifty or a hundred years ago; there is a more general respect for balanced judgment based upon facts. In political and social discussions nowadays we hear rather less of conflicting principles, rather more of simple right and wrong. Instead of taking it for granted on *a priori* grounds that our institutions are the best possible, we inquire more and more carefully into their actual workings.

As Frank Julian Warne, Ph.D., points out in his book, *The Immigrant Invasion,* there can be no settlement of the question regarding the restriction of immigration so long as the contention lies between the humanitarianism that considers only the welfare of the immigrant and the possibly narrower humanitarianism which looks chiefly to the welfare of the native-born. The facts supporting both mental attitudes must be admitted. Immigration does certainly benefit the foreigner, but no less certainly does the importation of cheap labor lower the standard of living among natives and imperil institutions which a relatively high standard of living alone makes possible. Dr. Warne discusses the history of im-

migration to this country in considerable detail, contrasting the past with the present as to the amount and kind of the foreign influx. He holds that the issue of the Civil War was largely determined by the excess of desirable immigration to the North as compared with the South, which the immigrant avoided for reasons connected with the institution of slavery. But now that the period of territorial expansion is at an end, unrestricted immigration tends to the establishment of an industrial servitude potentially as evil as slavery itself. The causes and effects of immigration are in a general way familiar, but Dr. Warne, after years of investigation, has brought forth an array of fresh facts. His pages bristle with statistics, yet his book is truly readable; for we constantly meet either interesting and authoritative confirmation of what is generally regarded as true, or, not infrequently, hitherto unconsidered aspects of the immigration problem. In his statement of the fundamental problem he fully admits the right of employers to buy labor in the cheapest market; but over against this right he sets the inevitable damage which our civilization must suffer from the lowering of the standard of living among the laboring classes. In his detailed discussion he draws inferences impartially from the facts. In the end he reaches a conclusion favoring the restriction of immigration—a conclusion that comes not as the demonstration of a preconceived thesis, but simply as the inevitable outcome of the evidence. Throughout, the book is characterized by common sense, moderation, balanced judgment.

Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and Socialism. By John Spargo. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1913.

Something of the same impartial and catholic spirit is to be found in John Spargo's *Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and Socialism.* Here again common sense, taking due cognizance of both sides of a question, without looking for an impossible theoretic solution, weighs facts and reaches conclusions obviously sound as far as they go. The book is written avowedly from the standpoint of a Socialist, and its chief defect for the general reader lies in the persistence of the author's purpose to discriminate Marxian Socialism from Syndicalism. Mr. Spargo gives us rather more quotation from Socialist party declarations and from the opinions of Socialist writers than those of us who are not of his faith will find entirely profitable. His discussion of Socialist policy is by no means devoid of interest, but to the reader in search of general enlightenment such discussion is not of prime importance. It is to be remembered, however, that to Mr. Spargo as a Socialist, Syndicalism is, in a peculiar sense, a grave issue. It involves those principles which he holds dearest, and, being obviously a sincere thinker, he discusses the theory and tactics of the new movement with a seriousness and concern that lead to clearness and in general to sanity. No one could well give a more perspicuous and informing account of the meaning, methods, and tendency of Syndicalism. Of course Mr. Spargo believes heartily in the inevitableness of the class war, though he distinguishes frankly between fact and opinion. To most of us there will seem an odd perversion in the point of view which permits approval of "sabotage" as ethical, and bases hostility to the method on the purely pragmatic ground of its ultimate effect. "I am

not opposed to sabotage," writes Mr. Spargo, "because of any love of 'law and order' or because of any regard for the 'rights of property.' None of these things is particularly sacred to me; none of them is one-thousandth part as dear to me as the emancipation of my class." Yet his demonstration of the inherent weakness of Syndicalism, as demoralizing the workers themselves and unfitting them for the very destiny contemplated in the philosophy of their movement, is both effective and illuminating. In the end his attitude amounts to much the same thing as ethical disapproval of the policy of doing evil that good may come.

OF SIX MEDIEVAL WOMEN. By ALICE KEMP-WELCH. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1913.

Of such books as Alice Kemp-Welch's *Of Six Medieval Women,* it is a little difficult to determine the purpose, romantic or otherwise. The book is mildly feminist in spirit, but seems to depend for its interest chiefly upon the fascination which some readers find in the process of evoking from the past an entirely shadowy personality. As a matter of fact it appears that there is a plentiful lack of material out of which to construct character sketches of representative medieval women. Apart from its pseudo-biographical tone, the book is pleasantly written, and it is not lacking in interest of a kind. But from the chapter upon Roswitha the Nun we get little except medieval religious romance; from that upon Marie de France, little beyond medieval courtly romance. From the chapter upon Mechthild of Magdeburg we get rather more than is agreeable of medieval mysticism. In the account of Mahaut, Countess of Artois, there is more substance, and we learn a little of a medieval woman's manner of life. The character and career of Christine de Pisan seem almost to emerge from the medieval mists; but Agnes Sorel is little more than a name clustering with conjectures, and in general from medieval records we can derive little save one or another form of medievalism. The statement of facts in regard to all these women seems careful, yet the facts are much colored with sentiment. Peculiarly unprofitable seem such speculations as would connect the dramas of Roswitha with those of Shakespeare, and often the author seems to yield somewhat to the natural tendency to exaggerate the importance or dignity of her subject. At the end of the volume is a chapter about medieval gardens containing food for the imagination and some curious facts.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

NO. DCXCI

JUNE, 1913

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

ARE THE JAPANESE MONGOLIAN?

BY WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS

THE problem of the Japanese in California is soluble by diplomacy, that of the social equality of Asiatics is not. It will not down. Another "irrepressible conflict" is before us.

Whatever be the pathway to settlement, it is well to clear the situation of false notions inherited from ignorance.

To class the Japanese as "Mongolians" is absurd. With that obsolescent term, hostile traditions, mental associations, ethnic bigotry, and religious Pharisaism compel an instinctive, cuticular repulsion. Yet it is as unscientific to call the Japanese "Mongolians" as to say that Englishmen are Jutes or that Americans are Angles. Like all great peoples, the Japanese are composite in origin. Their reputed Mongolianism is but a possible incident of their partial and far-off ancestry. Their history, language, ethnology, physiology, religion, culture, tastes, habits, and psychology show that instead of being "Mongolians" they are the most un-Mongolian people in Asia. There is very little Chinese blood in the Japanese composite and no connection between the languages. Physically the two peoples are at many points astonishingly unlike. In the texture and atti-

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tude of their mind they are antipodal. The notion of a voluntary Chinese and Japanese political union, for example, an " anti-Caucasian " league is unthinkable.

In conceit, the twentieth-century Japanese are quite the equals of Anglo-Saxons and " white " men generally. In pride of descent, they excel even the Hebrews. Their fathers were gods and came down from Heaven. Their divine legend locates a Sinai on Japan's soil. In their hearts it is their deep purpose, as with the Semitic Orientals long dwelling among us, yet as a nation holding their own country, to be " second to none " on earth. They are reaching after social equality with Occidentals and they mean to make themselves worthy of it.

This is what their long story of achievement has been telling for a thousand years.

Such serious purpose is clear to him who studies the native literature and philosophy. Even more, it was sworn to by the late Emperor, Mutsuhito, who incarnated the nation, in his " charter oath," at Kyoto. The words were put into his mouth by " the fifty-five creators " of New Japan. It is recorded in definite language. Two centuries of interior intellectual preparation and rising national opinion were behind the makers of the new State in 1868. Perry did but lay the lines of diplomacy, and Harris, the greater treaty-maker, only touched the button to set machinery in motion—*which was already inside.* Marquis Ito's whole life since 1866 was one example out of many. It embodied the demand for the social equality of Japanese with Occidentals.

It was a day of awful, but to " the white man " unconscious, import when, in 1854, the American Commodore unpacked his cases of Yankee notions at Yokohama. Setting up a miniature railway and telegraph, with sewing-machines, books and dictionaries, howitzers, carbines, and full whiskey-barrels, he taught the Tycoon's men how to use them.

The Japanese leaders took hold at once, and at both ends —rejecting the whiskey. First of all, they reconstructed themselves. Laying off swords, abolishing hereditary pensions and privileges, sweeping away castles, daimios, and the feudal system, giving back the soil to the men who worked it, they first of all wrought economic revolution. In a thoroughly un-Mongolian way, they summoned from Western countries, between 1869 and 1900, *five thousand*

experts to teach them science, engineering, finance, modern law, and economy. This army of reformers included twelve hundred American school-teachers. In their national free public schools, they transformed three hundred local loyalties into one—Japan, incarnated in the Mikado. They could have borrowed money for the new enterprises, so suddenly and imperatively demanded by a change in civilization, in London, at four per cent., had they allowed a European grip upon their customs houses. Scouting as treasonable any alien interference with the administrative entity of their empire, they paid cheerfully ten per cent. and kept themselves free. Liberty is not confined to " white " men. In this Japan set a wholesome precedent for all Asia.

Not one foreigner was given executive authority. The Japanese used their *Yatoi* (hired people) as advisers only. With a most un-Mongolian capacity for mental initiative, they accepted, rejected, or modified advice and models, while they learned and thought. Only these *Yatoi* of servant mind became master of the Japanese man, and turned his heart into wax for their stamping.

The Japanese are as human as we are, in that their conceit is as colossal. They seek absolute equality with the Yankee, the Briton, the German, and the Russian. It is true that they have not yet honestly faced science or applied critical truth to their own nursery legends. They still " officially " accept autochtonous fairy tales as history. Wise men, in a nation that has no written history antedating the sixth century, pompously talk about " twenty-five hundred years of unbroken record."

For, is it not enough to congeal the marrow of a Japanese gentleman to hint his descent from the " off-skin " Aryan-speaking Ainu? Yet he is so descended. The Japanese at base are a " white " race. The true original word Ainu (men) in the average islander's mouth becomes Aino (dog offspring): for the latter people, some twenty thousand survivors, belong to a conquered race. Yet the Ainu are as truly among the forebears of the Japanese as the Woden-worshiping Teutons are among our own distant ancestors. All history shows with what names conquerors stigmatize the conquered. Anglo-Saxon thralls had to wear the neck collars put upon them by the Normans.

Who are " the Japanese "? While in detail, there is still much to learn, the general answer is clear. The results of

half a century of research give no doubtful reply. The testimonies of spade and pen, archæology, linguistics, ethnology, the mirror of literature, the photography of mind in speech, the voices and names of the unchanging mountains, rivers, and landmarks, the proofs of psychology, the acceptance and modifications of exotic religion and culture, and, last but not least, the behavior of the Japanese abroad, as contrasted with their Chinese "cousins," tell the same story and prove the one thesis. The composite Japanese, made up of four races, Aryan, Semitic, Malay, and Tartar, are non-Mongolian.

The accident of borrowing Chinese writing and models—the latter to be invariably and persistently de-Chinesed in modifications numberless—was a mere matter of environment or geography. Had the early Nipponese come into contact with any manifestly superior civilization, Assyrian, Egyptian, Roman, Greek, they would, as folk perenially eager for culture, have accepted it—to modify, as we have done, to transform, as they have, the models. The unchanging trait in a Japanese is to covet things better and ever to seek a more excellent way. He fears not to be inconsistent. He owns up when he sees himself wrong. In 1868 the whole nation made confession of faults, even to revolution. From Emperor to the newest generation, they are still on the stool of confession, ever praying for the new mind. "We Japanese," wrote "the brain of the Japanese army," the lamented General and Chief of Staff, Kodama, only a fortnight before his death, to the writer, "do not fear criticism, we welcome it most searchingly, provided it is just."

At the first presentation to them, the Japanese accepted an Aryan religion (Buddhism) and made it their own; later, in the age of the papal dogma that half the world (Japan included) was the private property of the King of Spain, "Christianity," in the garments of the Inquisition, entered Japan. Its simple truths were wrapped in metaphysics grown in southern Europe. It is easy to see why the Japanese, after their first taste of political "Christianity," rejected it, and banned "the accursed sect" for centuries; for, first of all the Japanese are patriotic. In our days, reconsidering their past experiences, they are giving generous welcome to "the Jesus religion" in every form.

Who were the primeval dwellers in the Nippon archipelago? Truer than the distorting traditions of later con-

querors are the pre-ancient names of mountains and rivers. These and other landmarks show that most of the island chain was first inhabited by the Ainu. "The Mikado's realm was once an Ainu realm" is the latest deliverance of the scientific investigators of Japan. In geography, the mother tongue of the Japanese is Ainu. The revelations of names, given before writing came into Japan, are as clear as are the Algonquin gutturals and Iroquois vowels on our own soil, even should history and tradition be silent. Yet in Japan, as in America, documents do but confirm. The lifelong investigations of Dr. J. Batchelor, summed up in his grammar and dictionary, show that Ainu speech is Aryan. These "white men" have perfectly straight eyes, noses, and mouths as big and striking as our own, and the full beard and mustaches common to non-Mongolians. A thousand of these light-skinned Ainu males seen bathing are as "hairy," but no more so, than are as many United States infantrymen nude for a swim.

The Ainu call their Japanese conquerors "Siamese" and "people having a different eye socket." Despite Nippon nursery tales, and even the race hatred and prejudices of men who call Ainu "Aino," but are slow to apply critical science to their own history, the aboriginal people of Japan were of the white race, and their speech was Aryan. All Japanese history and literature show that the primitive Ainu from Satsuma to Yezo were not exterminated. They were early incorporated into the body of the Mikado's people.

The Japanese have all the characteristics, faults, and potencies of a young race, and thus again are very different from the timeless Mongolians. There was no Japanese nation until the eleventh or twelfth century of our era. Absolutely no written records prior to the sixth century exist. When the dawn of history breaks, we see along the southern shores settlements of (head) hunters from the great drift of humanity from the south, and fishermen, together with scattered tribesmen from the adjoining continental coasts. They are all living in the Stone Age. The invaders from "Ama" or "Heaven" (the central Asian plateau?) with weapons of iron, and superior arts and dogmas, come into the Yamato or Kyoto region. In time they begin the subjugation of the tribes and the unification of the entire archipelago. In official history and nursery orthodoxy, the "heavenly gods" subdued the "earth gods" and their descendants.

The three fundamental documents of Japanese history were composed within the first sixty years of the eighth century, or within two generations after the introduction of writing. They are the *Kojiki* (Ancient Records) A.D. 712, the *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan) A.D. 720, and the *Manyoshiu* (Myriad Leaves) or poems. The first, or Book of Genesis, is pure Japanese in its cast of thought, range of ideas, diction, and flowing parlance. The *Nihongi,* or Deuteronomy, is set in a framework of Chinese notions, philosophy, and rhetoric, and is filled with balanced and antithetical sentences. The *Manyoshiu,* free from Chinese vocables and in pure Yamato speech, reflects the life of the time in poetry. These three books, in very slightly varied form, tell the same tale. A body of invaders from "Ama," or, in dogma, "Heaven," emigrate from their ancestral seats. They make landfall in the Satsuma region. After fighting their way northward, they settle in the Osaka-Kyoto districts. This ancient Mikado country Yamato, though looming as vast in the ancient poems as does Plymouth Rock in American rhetoric, included but a small portion of the main island. Its area was no greater than that of "the glory that was Greece." Without writing, letters, or the standard features of a religion, or a civilization, with family life only in its rudiments, no ancestor worship, and a clan chief styled Mikado, these Yamato people were agriculturists and art-loving. They brewed rice liquor, built bridges, wove fabrics, smelted iron, chanted poems and liturgies, and were almost fanatical in their cleanliness. East and north were the free Ainu. The mixed Indonesian tribes, called Kumishi, long-bearded, as are the Kiushiu and Loo-Choo men to-day, dwelt in the south and west. One of the earliest and most famous of the fathers of early Nippon was famous for his long beard. As yet, there was no more a Japanese nation than, in the same era (prior to A.D. 700), was there an English nation in Europe. These Yamato men were the Normans of Japan, who welded the diverse tribes of the archipelago into one whole.

Whether the supposed intellectual "superiority of the Japanese to all Asiatic peoples" arises, wholly or chiefly, from the predominance of the Aryan strain, is not here argued.

The vocabulary of the ancient speech, best seen in the poems, is very simple and limited. Even to-day, the bulk

of the pure vernacular is astonishingly small. The vast mass of modern "Japanese," written and spoken, is of Chinese origin, excelling in comparative richness even the Latin, Greek, and foreign elements in our own tongue. Overpowering is the copiousness of Chinese writing, that makes its chief appeal to the eye, not to the ear. No professor of to-day in the University of Tokio, if he attempt to teach, lecture, or talk, using the concepts of modern science, can make use of pure Japanese. Surprisingly like Hebrew are the tri-literal roots of this pure old speech, still so idolized, while the immigrations of Semitic peoples into the Japanese islands are matters of historic record.

In the Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association and in the periodical *Michi* (the Path), Mr. Kinza Hirai showed that hundreds of roots in Japanese and the Sanskrit and Aryan languages are one and the same, while the likeness in the vocabulary of these Far Eastern and the Central Asian languages is amazing. From ethnological and mythological, as well as historical grounds, he argues that "our [Japanese] ancestors descended from the same heaven, from which our Indian and Persian cousins came." On this subject of the similarity of the myths, a fascinating volume could be composed.

Neither Korea nor China is known to the earliest records of the primitive islanders, nor is any Mongolian influence traceable. Oared boats are common, but sailing craft with keels were unknown, even in China, till the ninth century.

Suppose some other than Chinese civilization and some other religion than Buddhism—Hittite, Hebrew, Roman, Greek, had come to these insulars! Happily, between the sixth and twelfth centuries, China, of the glorious age of the Tang and Sung dynasties, was the most civilized country on the globe. There was nothing in contemporary Europe to compare with the Central Empire. Her political systems were noble, her literature superb. How vast is the debt of medieval Europe to China! Cathay invented, Europe borrowed, developed, and applied. Herein is the abysmal difference between the Chinese and Japanese, yes, between the sons of Han and ourselves. The Chinese invented what they have. We did not, nor did the Japanese. The Chinese have had but one culture. It is indigenous. They have held to it and have only recently, under pressure from

all sides and within, begun to change. It is no wonder that they have seemed, thus far, incurious and insensitive. The Japanese, like ourselves, inventing little until modern times, adopt and adapt new things, and even become adepts. Always, when opportunity offered, they took the novelties and were soon at home with them. The Japanese mind, thoroughly un-Mongolian, works in other grooves than those smoothed by the Chinese.

This, then, was what these Yamato men did. Having imported something better than what they already had, they adopted "civilization." They took from China a manifestly superior pattern for their civil government, with costume and documents. Then, like China, they formed a military system. China and Chinese were as Rome and the Latin language to Europe before the rise of the modern nationalties. In A.D. 645 was their great revolution at court, when they adapted things Chinese. They became "expansionists." During four hundred years, from the eighth to the twelfth century, weapons were shortened and boundaries lengthened. Then the Ainu in the north and the Indonesians in the south, after much fighting, and many uprisings sternly repressed, were brought under the rule of the Kyoto bureaucracy, by A.D. 1159.

Long before this, the dogmas of imperialism had been forged. The Mikado was made a Grand Lama, invisible, infallible, divine. Intermarriage was the rule between these Norman-like conquerors with the conquered, who were ruled by the sword. The primitive, simple God-way, like all things official, or ancient and posthumous, in Japan, received a Chinese name and became Shinto. It was made also a terrible political engine, like the medieval Church in Europe, with its ritual in an awesome dead language, with prisons, and with Inquisitions. Aborigines and rebels were dubbed "earth spiders." At best they were but offspring of the terrestrial gods. The elect conquerors were favorites of the Heavenly deities. The Ainu, who fled beyond reach into Yezo and remained unamalgamated, were Aino—mere "dogs." In time, by the soldier's sword, the hammer of civil magistracy, intermarriage, and Buddhist missionary work, there was created, by the twelfth century, certainly not before, a Japanese nation.

From one point of view, the entrance of Chinese or Mongolian civilization into Japan was a calamity. For polit-

ically "it neither consolidated the State nor affirmed the throne, while it arrested the progress of the language, petrified literary forms, and enchained the intellect to an alien past."

Nevertheless the true genius of "Japan"—Ainu, Yamato, Indonesian in conglomerate—has ever asserted itself. Japan's modern renascence, since 1868, is in harmony with all her precedents. Far greater than any external forces, since Perry and Harris, have been the outworking of intellectual energies—begun over centuries ago. In 1913, as compared, for example, with 1885, we can see that the old culture of Japan has conquered. Is this mere theory? Let us question the ancient writings.

All scholars agree that the gems of Japanese pure literature (apart from mere erudition or scholasticism) which show originality, beauty, native force, and compelling charm are in the *Manyoshiu,* which is destitute of Chinese influence. These poems and lays, but especially the *Monogatari* (things-telling, *i.e.,* romances) which were written by women, have never been equaled, certainly not excelled in Japan. They all antedate the twelfth century. As everywhere and in all ages, the normal woman in Japan is a conservative. On her tongue lives the old sweet language. The splendid Takétori, the Isé, the Genji, the Utsubo, and other *Monogatari* are unmatched. Mr. F. V. Dickins, their translator, insists that "the modern literature of Japan, as such, is nearly worthless. Not a line of power or beauty, it is scarcely too much to say, has been penned since the last *Monogatari* were written. Quite other is the case with Old Japanese within its own limits. Those limits are set *by its comparatively scanty vocabulary.*"[1] Imported Mongolianism swamped Japanese originality and paralyzed thought at its beginning. Nor is the warning in vain against the "rapidly progressing Sinicization of the [very ancient] Japanese [or un-Mongolian] tongue. It is becoming more and more incapable of rendering, so as to be fully understood by a Japanese not already acquainted with some Western language, a single sentence not narrative or descriptive, of the literature properly so called, of the Occident."

An analogy may be found even for the nineteenth-century Japanese who had the task set before them of modernizing

[1] The italics are ours.

their country in one generation. Vital necessity—even the preservation of national existence, or, at least, unity—compelled them to adopt quickly the forces of Western civilization. What was their best literary vehicle? They may be pardoned, then, for availing themselves of the nearly infinite resources of the Chinese logograms or ideographs, which, besides being long in familiar use, are every whit as useful for writing English or German as for Japanese, because they represent not sounds, but things. Just as we supply "the hooks and eyes" of English speech to hold together our Latin and Greek vocabulary, so the Japanese add conjunctions and prepositions to lace into shape their Chinese stays. China's script is copious and flexible enough to supply every demand of modern science.

Nevertheless the Japanese are debauching themselves. Eminent men, indignant and alarmed at this steady Mongolization of their native tongue, are clamoring for reform and besieging the Department of Education in Tokio. The weight of the names on the formal petition of October, 1906 (a revival of the movement of 1871), must compel attention to the claim that the native language should be de-Mongolized and developed according to its own genius. The un-Mongolian Japanese will do well to cast off the incubus of Chinese script and use Romaji (Roman letters). When it is a case of twenty-six phonetic signs as against eighty thousand ideographs, only tradition and usage can present arguments to the reason against innovation.

In the working of their minds, in the domain of philosophy and religion, the Japanese are notably un-Mongolian. Unlike the Chinese, but like the Greeks, who, in the crucible of their brains, transfused the simple, spiritual ethics of Jesus into an elaborate theology; and the Latins, who turned it into an ecclesiastical discipline; the composite islanders transformed their imported Buddhism as well as their exotic politics and social ideals. The Mongolized Aryan faith suffered more than a sea change. With a power of adaptation that is very near creative originality, the Japanese developed new systems. These, Shaka Muni, the Buddha, would no more recognize than would Jesus the dogma, ritual, and ecclesiastical politics named after him. Kobo, in the eighth century, was quite as clever as Philo, Euhemerus, or Anselm, in knowing how to breed away thorns from the cactus. The successors of Kobo, this man

of Shakespearian intellect, evolved fresh wonders from old religions—especially when more priestly power was to be won and revenue increased.

Out of suggestions from China and India, the Japanese created a most un-Mongolian world of beauty and taste, expressed in an art which makes a universal appeal. In statecraft, they laid under the Mikado's throne foundations totally different from the bases set up either in the Nan (Southern) or Pé (Northern) *king,* or Chinese capital. Instead of setting apart, in castes, as in China, the soldier and the civilian, the Japanese united in one the warrior and the gentleman. With sword and pen, Bushido and learning, that typical native product of Japan was produced —the Samurai, unmatched in all Asia. This most un-Mongolian type of man cultivates a patriotism that is seismic in its energies. This indigenous flower of Japanese manhood is bathed in the dews, and steeped in the virtues of truth, loyalty, and sacrifice. His is the spirit which breathes renunciation of all things for the nation and its incarnation, the Emperor. By training (from 1868 to 1904) a new generation, that is, all the people, in the samurai's code—made possible by a national free public-school system—and by virtually conferring the patent of nobility upon commoners, through service in the army, Japan was able easily to humble mighty Russia.

The un-Mongolian spirit of the Japanese is seen in their refusing to accept blindly either Confucianism or "Christianity" in its traditional form or logical consequences. Wherever in the Chinese Empire the sage sways his scepter, filial piety is the corner-stone of society and "the five relations" form the foundation. But, for better or worse, the ultra un-Mongolian Japanese rejected the Chinese theory and practice. In the feudal world the baron was, in the new Empire the Emperor is, the center of all loyalty. Mikado and country are more than kith or kin. All family ties snap at the Emperor's call. Note that China has had thirty-six dynasties, Japan but one.

In a word, the Japanese in mind, body, speech, thought, ways, institutions, mental initiative, in the past and present, and in their methods of life in foreign countries are radically un-Mongolian. Occidentals, still under the spell of traditions as old as the Crusades, wonder whether the "new" civilization of Dai Nippon will endure. From the

viewpoint of history, the modern Japanese have done nothing new or strange. They are true to their record. Foreigners, judging these Orientals—a word that has lost its old meaning—out of their own prejudices, are apt to see only what is phenomenal, since Perry's time. Ignorant of the centuries of mind preparation, that welcomed science when it came, they may well be amazed and suspicious.

Religionists who expect to win these un-Mongolian islanders to traditional Christianity, whether of the Greek, Roman, or Reformed order, are doomed to disappointment. Yet the missionaries are building better than they know. These people are so much like ourselves, that they already put difference between what Jesus taught and that which the sects and establishments bring them. Every theology or philosophy yet acclimated in Japan has been compelled to "wear a Japanese kimono." In this age of science and critical history, the Japanese, while rapidly becoming followers of Jesus, discard Latin and Greek traditions as nonvital. They care more for "the Jesus religion," as they call it, than for traditional "Christianity." The medieval shapes and patterns of European dogma are rejected. They are thinking out and setting in their own molds of mind the message of the Nazarene. They will be greatly modified by Occidental influences, but the Orient will transform the Occident with equal power and mutual benefit, until these terms drop from our speech and thought.

If we must allow labor unions and purely local economic considerations to dictate our national policy, violate our treaties, jeopard our good name and the peace of nations, let us at least never yield to ignorance and uncritical tradition.

The Japanese are not "Mongolian." They justly refuse to be classed as such. It is the disgrace of the United States that the Japanese cannot as yet obtain citizenship. They are as likely as any other stock, when naturalized, to become in time as patriotic as most other peoples among us more or less assimilated. This is true, largely because real Christianity is certain in time to transform as much American as any other human nature that masks its brutishness, injustice, and hypocrisy under high-sounding names. In treaty-keeping, the Japanese have already proved themselves the "whiter" of the two parties. In the end, both

deserving and winning success, they will gain social as they have already won political equality with Occidentals, and the world will be the better for it.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

THE JAPANESE OVERLOAD

BY DON C. SEITZ

IT is still a long way across the Pacific. The alarmist who sees a menace to the American continent from the Asiatic shores either has a delirious imagination or is indifferent to distances and economics. Measured by the northern route that shapes its way past latitude 52°, or just beyond the limit of the laws of God or man, the shortest time of transit is fourteen days to Yokohama, the nearest port in Japan. The voyage *via* Hawaii, along the wide belt of the world, takes sixteen days. This is by steamers that a decade ago would have been counted fast upon the Atlantic: they are even now too rapid to be profitable except for Government subsidies or mail contracts. That is, by existing means it is three times as far in hours from San Francisco to Tokio as from New York to London. Despite its nearness to Land's End, there have been no tremors in the watch-towers along the Atlantic coast such as develop shivers from San Diego to Seattle. Yet eastern America has been twice invaded from Britain, and an English army burned the capitol at Washington less than one hundred years ago! But, says the alarmist, this was in the slow days of sail, and the Orient is trebly nearer than England was a century ago.

Modern improvements have not been to the advantage of hostile forces. If forces can be moved quickly, they can be intercepted with equal celerity, while coal is the monarch of the main. Without it the swiftest ship is no better than a floating log. There is, too, a certainty of pursuit that could not exist when the impish wind alone controlled the destinies of war beyond the sea. It is hardly necessary to argue, but the premise is laid down to meet the uneasy rumors that now and again breed stories of inimical intent on the part of the Island Empire of Japan, our nearest neighbor across the Pacific sea. Common sense has pretty

well disposed of war cries. But no harm can come from reciting a few realities concerning our friends of Nippon.

Besides, to quote Count Okuma, the Japanese have a proverb that a lie oft told will make itself come true. To say that people are hostile is to make them so. To say that they plan war is to breed war plans. It may be said plainly and at the beginning that if there is ever trouble between the United States and Japan, it will begin here. With this thought in mind there is something painful about the childlike faith and grateful good-will manifested toward the American visitor by the people of Japan, in perpetual acknowledgment of their debt to the United States. This is no shallow sentiment, but a deep feeling bred of the belief that but for Commodore Perry and Townsend Harris, our first Minister to Japan, that country would have dwelt in her medieval helplessness until too late, and that to-day the Cossacks would be cracking their whips under the cherry-trees of Kyoto, as they do beneath the mulberries in Bokhara and Samarkand, and amid the rose-leaves in Ispahan!

The pride of accomplishment has not yet abolished gratitude. In view of the occasional American manifestations of distrust, it is astonishing that it should prevail so strongly. There are no prouder people in the world than those of Japan. It is a certain test of the permanency of their sense of obligation which stands patiently unwarranted attacks upon their honor, a people whom Russia was unable to push away from the Asiatic shore when once they chose to rest foot upon it.

The psychology of race hatred shows one thing with clearness. People do not hate other races because they are inferior, but because of a doubt of their own superiority. No Southern aristocrat ever "hated" a negro, but the poor white did and does simply because of the doubt in his mind concerning his own social position. If he were sure of his superiority he would not think about inferiors at all!

The working Chinese have been excluded for a quarter of a century, but they smuggle in at considerable expense, corrupting our border customs-houses north and south. They are a respected industrial element in California, Oregon, and Washington, where popular disfavor turned against the Japanese as their numbers grew. San Francisco found Chinatown so great a business element after the fire that

it coaxed the six companies and their companions back to their old district after exiling them to the sand-lots. The Chinaman made at no time any pretense of social equality on the Slope. He was content as a miner to wash tailings and as an industrial factor to do housework and labor in the fields.

The Japanese had no such sense of meekness. Coming as laborers, they took kindly to store-keeping and aroused the smaller merchants. They "put on airs." Now nothing hurts the feelings of an American community so much as putting on airs. The practice was sternly rebuked, mainly by Americans of foreign birth, like the leader of the San Francisco school agitation. But the mayor of San Francisco, though burdened with a "graft" indictment and morally discredited, was able to force the exclusion of the Japanese! Now the Pacific coast starves for labor.

San Francisco has lost seventy per cent. of her industries since the fire and the finest harbor on the Pacific is empty of ships. The Pacific Ocean, whose "control" worries some statesmen so much, is a waste of water, and the trade of the East comes west by Suez in English or German bottoms. It is a safe prediction that so far as Eastern commerce is concerned the Pacific coast will be worse off when the Panama Canal is open than now, for Kobé, Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hong Kong will come direct to New York, the great, the hospitable free city that has no hatreds and no foes! San Francisco will be lucky to get direct monthly sailings from Far-Eastern ports. Raw silk, the chief item of import, all comes to New York now with a long and costly journey by rail. It will not transhipp. As for exports, the ships sail out of the Golden Gate empty to the East!

The provocatives for trouble come steadily from the West. The East is scientific in its retaliation. China knew the merits of the boycott centuries before the Irish landlord gave the practice his name, and Japan, though primarily non-commercial, is influenced by the habits of its huge neighbor. Hence such revenges as come are apt to be commercial.

The trouble zone lies in the East. Here in the limitless areas of the West we cannot understand the population pressure of the East. Marquis Komura believed there were nearer 400,000,000 than 300,000,000 Chinese. In all, Japan has a full 70,000,000 under her flag. The little island of Java has 32,000,000, doubled in thirty years. Yet during that

time tropical Australia grew but 1,600. Five hundred million Easterners are packed on 3,800,000 square miles, while the 3,000,000 square miles of " white man's " Australia harbor but 4,000,000 inhabitants. If East is East, then the time will come when its population will overflow all lines except those of climate and make its way where it will. White supremacy exercised restrictively within yellow limits must either give way sensibly or some day be overwhelmed by the mighty host brimming upon the borders.

Apart from traditional good-will and real gratitude and her distance from striking-points, there are other reasons why Japan has no will for war. But fifty years away from feudalism, she has not had time to remake her citizens. She had made herself leaders, though these are few indeed, and all of them except the Emperor " made " in Germany, England, France, or the United States. Germany made her soldiers, France her engineers, England her merchants, and America her statesmen. Unlike the stupid Manchus, who are now paying the price of their dullness, the young men sent abroad from Japan were put to prompt use on their return. The educated Chinamen were wasted until now, as secretaries, interpreters, or attendants upon officials who deliberately smothered the results of their training. So China, the greatest of nations, with the most industrious of people, lumbers along trying to catch up with destiny.

It is to be doubted if any movement since the American Revolution had so few in number to see it through as the modernizing of Japan, which as yet is modernized only at the edges. Small wonder that the leaders sometimes sigh at their tasks when they measure their load. They have a local population above 50,000,000, with a high birth-rate to support, on a group of volcanic islands so mountainous that but 14.37 per cent. is available for cultivation. The food staples are rice, fish, sea-weeds, and the coarse vegetables, such as radishes, sweet-potatoes, and the roots of the lotus and taro plants. Meat is little used. There is small space for the greedy cow that in America requires the output of an acre for its support. An acre feeds two families in Japan. Condensed milk, from Canada mainly, is coming much into use. Even hens are scarce, though the Chinese send in millions of eggs. Goats and sheep might thrive on the hills, but the flavor of mutton is offensive to the Japanese taste.

There is but little coal, oil, or iron in the empire. There is timber in the north where it is cold, in the aboriginal Ainu country, where the Japanese do not like to live. The southern half of the island of Saghalien, the poor prize from Russia of the Portsmouth Peace, is even colder, near to the arctic circle, and swept by the Siberian winds. It is no place for the temperate-loving people. Formosa, the morsel that followed the Chinese truce when the powers took away the Manchurian Peninsula, and Port Arthur, that had to be so dearly bought again, is as disagreeably tropic as Saghalien is arctic and equally hateful to its owners. The Japanese simply will not go to Formosa, where 3,000,000 Chinese, protected from the head-hunters of the hills, wax fat at the expense of their guardians. An army is always alertly moving to combat the wild and warlike tribes in the Formosan mountains. The casualties read like our own early reports from the Philippines. It is a record of massacre and surprise, and it has been going on for seventeen years!

In fertile Manchuria the story is the same. If the climate is less irksome than in the new possessions north and south, the industrial competition with the Chinese makes life too onerous for the Japanese to be attractive. The Chinese farmers are indefatigable and they know how to work. The fields of millet and soy bean, the greatest source of agricultural wealth, are marvelous. But they are beyond the strength of the Japanese immigrant, who leans mainly on the Government for support or tries shop-keeping. The Chinaman can outwork any Japanese, and cares nothing for the luxury of idleness, so dear to the latter, who prefers to gratify his taste rather than his pocket. The village toothpick-cutter splits his tiny splints with micrometrical accuracy, but regulates his output with equal exactness, so that he shall not have one more than may be required to provide for the next day's need in rice and pickles.

Japan is a land without a surplus of anything except raw silk and brains! This last excess is more of an embarrassment than a benefit in the common run of things, for the colleges are overcrowded, and outside of Government employment there is little for the graduates to do. The hunger for learning is really an affliction in the land when the graduates find there is no bread to be had with brains alone! In some respects the community benefits by its simplicity. Probably there is not a cross-roads town in America

that is without a lawyer. Few country communities in the United States of 2,500 inhabitants have less than five gentlemen of the law, with from three to five doctors. The lawyers and doctors of the average Maine village cost as much as the tax budget. Japanese villages have no lawyers and few doctors. The barber is the most prominent professional man. He is an accomplished artist.

There are little more than one thousand names in Japan's *Who's Who,* and barely 700,000 individuals out of the 50,000,000 or more, work in factories. Cotton-spinning is the single industry of importance outside of pottery, and its raw material must be imported. The silkworm is the real savior of Japan, though a little advantage accrues in trading choice rice and tea for inferior brands to be consumed at home.

In America we clamor over the " regulation " of wealth. Japan is desperately trying to create it. Devoid of natural resources, facing famine unless the fields give up three crops a year, the economic problem is further increased by the Government monopolizing of the great utilities that create wealth and invite capital in Western lands. The railroads, which are responsible for the largest American fortunes, are in Government hands, purchased, it may be said, to secure a higher measure of credit in time of war. The telephone, the telegraph, and cable are annexes to the post-office. Tobacco, salt, and camphor are Government monopolies. The last is the single staple of Formosa. In private hands it would be a fine industry. The Government net return for the last fiscal year was but $5,000! The economic effect of the monopolizing of salt has been an increase of 250 per cent. in the cost of that staple to the consumer. The net profit of all the Government monopolies outside of transportation above cost of operation was but $31,045,000, or less than fifty cents per inhabitant. The expenses were $19,500,000. The profits from the railways, telegraphs, and telephones run about $25,000,000 a year. The profits of the transportation system, if divided, would give fifty cents a year to each inhabitant of Nippon. Not content with these handicaps, the Government is now imposing a heavy protective tariff in place of the easy ten per cent. for revenue that formerly prevailed. The motive for this, like most things Eastern, is just the opposite of our own. We " protest " against the " cheap " foreign labor. As labor in Japan is from ten to

twenty times cheaper than our own in ordinary occupations, the effort is to keep the native from impoverishing himself by buying foreign articles at the enormous wage disadvantage entailed in such purchases. Moreover, the act is so clumsily framed as to afflict the importers of raw materials and so adds to the general economic confusion. The cost of living has doubled since 1894, when the Chinese conflict came, and the Russian war taxes still prevail, though it is seven years since the war. It was promised that if the people would bear the taxes for five years, the Government would establish a sinking-fund which would take care of the debt and, at the end of the time, restore old tax rates. Two cabinets managed to get $129,000 into the fund to meet a hundred millions of debts—and gave the task up to a third, which in turn fell in less than half a year! The debt itself, according to the latest attainable figures, was $1,277,714,636! Each year $75,000,000 must depart from Japan to meet interest and trade balances. The most extravagant estimate of the total wealth of Japan puts it at about $13,000,000,000.

Tokio has established a stock-exchange on the American plan with the customary accompaniment of troubles. Promotions flatten out there as here with resulting ruin, but without the recuperating power behind business that fortunately prevails with us; and more than one Japanese corporation wrecked itself by paying dividends out of capital, the founding of a company seeming to exhaust the capability of the promoters. None of the steamship companies trading to other lands could survive but for the Government subsidies which come out of the heavy taxes and bring no return to the country at large. Rather these enterprises are pointed to as sources of peril to other nations with resulting reprisals, leading to more war-ships everywhere to " equalize " a situation that can never be kept equal.

Foreigners are not allowed to hold stock in subsidized concerns, in a feeble effort to keep the circle whole. The Government and the Imperial household are expected to be behind practically every scheme suggested for commercial enterprise. The wealth of the Emperor's family is reckoned at $250,000,000, much of it in lands and palaces, but it prevails in banking, steamship, and manufacturing lines. With so much paternalism Japan is in a difficult position to produce the ideal state for which so many American " progressives " are clamoring. Officialdom staggers under its

load. Furthermore, the needs of national defense, dwelling, as the country does always in the midst of alarms, consumes all of its cash and embarrasses its credit. The railroads are pawns, not enterprises. The narrow gauge is a commercial disadvantage, but there is no money to make the change. Railroad-extending is at a standstill for lack of funds, and private enterprise cannot come into the field. It takes months to procure the installation of a telephone. In New York the telephone corporation increases its service at the rate of two hundred instruments a day!

It is a fact as old as world history that unless the individual can accumulate wealth enterprise comes to a standstill. The diffusion of profits, however great, through Government ownership, if fortunately there are any, leaves no increment anywhere sufficiently robust to justify further exertion or expenditure. Fifty million dollars so distributed in Japan means two yen a head! Fifty million dollars accruing to individual enterprise fathers more enterprise and makes prosperity feasible.

Money is the most efficient factor in human affairs. The dollar gives a 100-per-cent. return and can be employed at from three to six cents per year in America. Labor efficiency varies so that manufacturers add from 125 to 150 per cent. to estimates on the labor. But the dollar always contains 100 cents of value. The effect of the Social State is to increase the inefficiency of labor and to render inutile the energy of money.

The Government breeds horses, cattle, and poultry in an effort to stimulate a needed production. It has established a steel-works at huge expense to free itself from foreign thraldom.

It is fair to say that the Japanese Government is weary of its overload. It is telling the people they must begin to look out for themselves in business enterprises. But handicapped by its weight of war, it can neither do more nor withdraw. To accuse a people so handicapped of desire for world conquest is cruel. To tax another people into vast preparations to meet the chimera thus created is criminal. The tools of war, even, cannot be had cheaply in Japan. It must bring its metals from abroad, buy largely in the high markets of the West and pay for $3.50-a-day-made weapons with twenty-cent earnings at home!

In Formosa, Manchuria, and Korea, Japan has taken in

hand the fortunes of 20,000,000 people other than her own. These aliens are out of sympathy and interest with their guardians. The crafty Chinese profit at the expense of their wardens. The dull Koreans hate and resist. Japan has set about reconstructing and amalgamating these reluctant races and making them part of her own. Overshadowing all hangs China, vast, inscrutable, rich in resources, strong in body and mind, menacing. It is a task gigantic, appalling. It merits sympathy and admiration. Beyond all, the nation must pay its debts, improve its commerce, and defend its life. How can it be accomplished? Well, they who have gone far can usually go farther. It is well to remember, too, that the Three Wise Men came "out of the East."

DON C. SEITZ.

THE LEGACY OF COMMODORE PERRY

BY GENERAL HOMER LEA

PARADOXICAL as it may seem, the heritage of nations is the legacy of individuals; hence it is that we say such-and-such men are the benefactors of their race. Great men can produce great nations, but great nations do not necessarily produce great men; hence it is that the most insignificant of tribes have given to the world the greatest men, and the greatest of nations have gone down because of the lack of these individuals.

When the heritage of a nation is the legacy of an individual, that inheritance has invariably a twofold potentiality. It is like the Temple of Janus, beneficent and terrible. The legacy of Columbus was a world; the legacy of Louis XVI., the French Revolution; the legacy of Confucius, universal tolerance; the legacy of Saint Augustine, universal inquisition; the legacy of Washington, this Republic; the legacy of Commodore Perry, Japan.

That there should have been erected by the Japanese on a promontory overlooking Yeddo Bay a monument to the memory of Commodore Perry is not other than an expression of their gratitude to a man who, unbeknownst to himself, left to that poor relation of mankind an inheritance greater than Alexander left to his generals or Cæsar to the Roman Empire—the heritage of the Pacific.

This sea alone constitutes more than one-third the entire

surface of the globe, while upon its shores are to be found two-thirds of the human race and three-fourths of the undeveloped wealth of the world. The peculiar value to Japan in possessing this ocean is in its capacity to dominate it. The geographical position of Japan is in the strategic center of this half of the world. The development of mechanical means in communication and transportation gives to Japan an ability to traverse and to communicate with the most remote places in this vast region with greater ease and rapidity than a century ago it took to maintain communication between London and Edinburgh or between Washington and Boston.

The other heir to this inheritance is the United States. But the value of the Pacific to this Republic does not belong to the immediate present; hence it is that this nation overlooks its true worth. The necessity of America's possessing the Pacific rests in political conditions that are just now beginning to make themselves manifest: (1) the elimination of time and space by mechanical invention which reduces the entire surface of the world to a small and compact area; (2) in exact proportion as this area is reduced nations are crowded together, and as nations are crowded together there must go on a continual elimination of the lesser States. The progression of warfare, starting from the combat of the individual, has gone on in constant progression toward the combat of larger units; hence, as at one time it was the individual, then the family, then a collection of families, then tribes, then a collection of tribes, that constituted the nuclei of combat, so it has developed through varying degrees of petty States until it has now reached what we might call a combat of composite States. Prior to the Napoleonic wars the whole of Europe was divided into many hundreds of petty kingdoms. Out of their amalgamation has come the German Empire, the Italian Kingdom, Austria, and Russia. We are now about to pass to the final stage of combat, that of races.

The elimination of smaller political entities will continue with the same unvarying certitude. In this elimination of nationalities and their amalgamation with the more powerful nations is alone to be found the diminution of war, since every independent state is an embryo of combat. The failure to realize this fact causes those strange theorists—arbitrationists—to see in the growing infrequency of war an in-

creasing morality of mankind, whereas this diminution has come about through perfectly natural causes. As you decrease the number of independent states you decrease the probabilities of war; and, as the elimination and absorption of a state is only through conflict, we can truly say that by war alone will war be eliminated.

Each year decreases the width of both the Atlantic and the Pacific. Each year decreases the power of minor states and augments that of the greater nations, so that the time is not far distant when we can give expression to this law: that whenever the political and military power of Europe passes under the control of a single race, and that race controls the Atlantic, the sovereignty of the Western Hemisphere passes over to it. Should the militancy of Germany continue to expand, and the militant deterioration of America go on to the degree that is now existent, the suzerainty of this Republic over the Western Hemisphere will in due time be lost.

Should Asia pass, in a military and political sense, under the suzerainty of a single power, and that power should control the Pacific, American suzerainty over the western part of the Western Hemisphere must pass to the Asiatic. On the other hand, if this Republic would, under these circumstances, maintain military supremacy over the Pacific as against Asian powers, it could extend its suzerainty to those shores and give to the people dwelling there those principles it deems so beneficial to mankind.

Whatever nation secures the dominion of the Pacific and maintains it has reached the sphere and possibility of world-empire. No nation that does not first possess this sovereignty can aspire to the hope of that greatness; and unless the Republic secures that dominion now, it is lost to it forever. While that loss may not be appreciated by this generation, there will come generations who will look back upon those now living with the same contempt as races of men have regarded the folly of Esau, who sold his heritage for a mess of pottage.

To Japan, however, this heritage has to do with the present to as vital a degree as it can possibly affect it in the future. The interests of these two nations are acutely convergent, and it is only in the degree of speed by which they are moving along their respective lines to that point of contact which is war, that we discover a difference. In

the United States there is little or no propulsion, for so absolutely does the present crowd aside future considerations in the affairs of the nation, that it can be said that while the movement of Japan in the Pacific is predetermined, definite, and irrevocable, that of the United States is hardly more than an uncertain drifting upon the indolent currents of this vast sea, where destiny has cast them.

The position of Japan in the Pacific has its historical counterparts. In their careers and in their destiny is to be found the career and destiny of this old yet new nation. Japan is to the Pacific what ancient Tyre was to the Mediterranean. What England is in the Atlantic, Japan must be in the Pacific, or, as other insular kingdoms, be destroyed by those continental powers whose seas it does not control and whose ports it fails to command.

While the inheritance of the Pacific is as vital to this Republic as to Japan, its value, being of the future, loses its significance through the natural improvidence of the Republic. Yet it will be only after the passage of a few years that the pressure of the Pacific will rest as heavily upon this neglectful nation as it does to-day upon Japan.

The destiny of states, their welfare, and plans made for their greatness alone concern the future. It is not the statesman, but the politician who agitates himself over the present; and it is not even the politician, but the quackery of him that keeps the nation seething in domestic legislation, in the mockeries of reform, and in the mad lie of politics, diverting it from true greatness and wrecking it in the midst of its vain contentment. The politician is one of the curses God did not lay upon Eygpt. He reserved this for America.

National greatness is alone determinable by the provisions for the future. While the erection of a building can only succeed the completion of its foundation, these must be preceded by the perception of the completed edifice. So it is in the building of nations; aspirations and plans belong to the future, and must precede the creation of all national greatness, even to the laying of its foundations.

Had the Mississippi Valley remained French, Texas and the Pacific coast Spanish, Hawaii independent, Alaska Russian, or this nation divided into two Republics, the greatness that now belongs to it would have been no more than those day-dreams of great men that halt momentarily upon this earth and pass on into oblivion.

The Pacific bears to this Republic the same relationship as did the acquisition of those great territories that now constitute its domains. At the time when they were secured there existed no need for them, and their acquirement alone concerned the future. There is a resemblance between the sovereignty of these continental possessions and the future sovereignty of the Pacific.

The possession of these territories made possible the greatness of this Republic. The possession of the Pacific makes possible its survival.

In so far as the ultimate future of Japan and the United States is concerned, their claims to the inheritance of the Pacific rest not alone on lines of national progress, but survival. That this identic character should not be apparent is due to the indeterminate character of this Republic's future needs and the decisiveness of Japan's present necessity.

On the one hand, we have this nation, whose sovereignty is unconcernedly extended over one-fourth of the world; on the other hand, an Empire with a population more than half that of this Republic, restricted to one two-hundred-and-fiftieth part of the earth's surface. In one nation we find opulence, in the other poverty; in one the old vanity of possessions, in the other the old craft of hunger. This nation has arrogance without arms, Japan both arms and contempt. Here are shop-keepers; there are soldiers. In Japan only the Emperor stands between a soldier and God. In America precedence begins the other way: between a soldier and hell only some Bunker Hills intervene, and a few bridges of Concord to save him from utter damnation.

It has long been known that armies are divisible into three psychological elements: one-third is naturally brave, one-third is cowardly, and the other third indeterminate. The problem, therefore, in an army is to bring the indecisive third into the ranks of the brave. This is the purport of discipline. If by giving over the army to those who are valorous, and if by the exercise of military training they bring over the indeterminate third to the ranks of the brave, then an actual army has been created. These two-thirds carry along the cowardly third by compulsion. With the final third there is no hope. God has already abandoned them. And it is folly for man to bolster them up with false shoulders and mustaches.

This same law applies, in time of peace, to the peoples of all nations; to this nation and to Japan. But due to the difference in the ethical ideals of these two States, the same artificial distinction results as would be the case between two armies in one of which the warlike third held sway and the other in which the cowardly third ruled. In Japan the nation is dominated by militancy; the military third, controlling the indecisive third, practically eliminates the non-military element.

In this Republic the opposite condition exists, and we must pass over it in sad and bitter silence lest we sully the forgotten memory of those heroes whose blood cemented together the foundations of this Republic.

Such, then, is the spirit that animates these two claimants to the inheritance of the Pacific as they make their way to the bar of that court which shall adjust their claims.

Mankind invariably views the process of law and the adjustment of human differences with prejudice, and because of this it is commonly said that no man is justified in acting as his own counsel.

The error of this is manifest; yet, in its application to that old composite individual, the nation, the same condition exists, with this exception, that in addition to prejudice is passion, with passion, hate, and with these a wilful, mad disdain.

Nothing can be more deplorable than this error.

Warfare is only a phase of national progress, to be no more regarded with hatred or passion than should an individual look with the same feeling upon the vicissitudes that mark his progress from childhood to the grave.

The adjudication of this inheritance of the Pacific must pass through two courts: the Court of the Sea and the Court of the Land; the first is preliminary, the second final. The judgment of the Court of the Sea will either be decisive or will appertain to the final judgment in no way.

A statistical comparison between the naval forces of the United States and Japan is apparently plain to the public mind, though the public neither knows nor cares anything about it. To those who study it, it is an enigma when it is not an obsession. This enigmatical character is due to the falsity of the relationship it bears to the actual struggle.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AMERICAN AND JAPANESE NAVIES (1910)

FIRST-CLASS BATTLE-SHIPS

	Displacement	Big Guns	Horse-power	Speed, Knots
South Carolina	16,000	8	16,000	18.5
Kashima	16,400	8	18,000	18
Michigan	16,000	8	16,000	18.5
Katori	16,400	8	18,000	18
Delaware	20,000	10	25,000	21
Satsuma	18,800	14	18,500	20
North Dakota	20,000	10	25,000	21
Aki	19,000	14	25,000	20.5
Utah[1]	21,825	12	25,000	—
Kawachi[1]	21,000	14	——	—
Florida[1]	21,825	12	——	—
Setsu[1]	21,000	14	——	—
Wyoming	26,000	12	——	—
Unnamed[1]	21,000	14	——	—
Arkansas[1]	26,000	12	——	—
Unnamed[1]	21,000	14	——	—
Kansas	16,000	4	16,500	18
Shikishima	14,850	4	14,500	18
Vermont	16,000	4	16,500	18
Ashai	15,000	4	15,000	18
Minnesota	16,000	4	16,500	18
Mikasa	15,362	4	15,000	18
New Hampshire	16,000	4	16,500	18
Iwani	13,566	4	16,500	18
Maine	12,585	4	16,500	18
Hizen	12,700	4	16,000	18
Missouri	12,585	4	16,000	18
Sagami	12,684	4	14,000	19
Ohio	12,585	4	16,000	18
Suwo	12,674	4	14,500	19
New Jersey	14,948	10	19,000	19
Virginia	14,948	10	19,000	19
Georgia	14,948	10	19,000	19
Nebraska	14,948	10	19,000	19
Rhode Island	14,948	10	19,000	19
Louisiana	16,000	10	16,500	18
Connecticut	16,000	10	16,500	18
Idaho	13,000	12	10,000	17
Mississippi	13,000	12	10,000	17

EXCESS OF FIRST-CLASS AMERICAN BATTLE-SHIPS

Ships	9
Big guns	20

ARMORED CRUISERS

United States, first class	10—big guns, 16
Japan, first class	15—big guns, 41

EXCESS OF FIRST-CLASS JAPANESE ARMORED CRUISERS

Ships	5
Big guns	25

[1] Building.

TORPEDO CRAFT

United States torpedo-boats	24
Japanese torpedo-boats	95
United States torpedo destroyers	36
Japanese torpedo destroyers	62
Excess of Japanese torpedo craft	97

RECAPITULATION OF THE FOUR ELEMENTS OF COMBAT

United States excess of first-class battle-ships	9
Japanese excess of first-class armored cruisers	5
Japanese excess of big guns	4
Japanese excess of torpedo craft	97

By these tables it is seen that that overwhelming superiority of the American navy does not exist. In fact, it is very difficult to say if both navies were ranged in a single sea, which would be superior. In warfare the catalogue of ships and the enumeration of the implements of war never stand in constant relation to those other characteristics that more actually determine the eventual consummation of international struggles.

War is like prayer—it alone concerns man. A cathedral does not add to prayer, nor do weapons increase the militancy of nations. These two conditions are elemental. There enters also into the conduct of war, both by land and by sea, the Earth. The Earth plays a greater part in the eventual determination of war than does man himself. The Earth can circumscribe man in his combat; all that man can do is to borrow. The Earth is an enemy or an ally. It aids the defense or the offense. It alone determines its allegiance. Such is the case in the naval war on the Pacific. The Japanese have gods that are gods of the land and of the sea. These gods they have propitiated, and the Earth has come to their rescue. This struggle for the Pacific is in the Pacific. The naval forces and the naval bases of the United States are sixteen thousand miles from the combative sphere of their coast-line. The navies and armies and peoples and gods of Japan are in the center of it.

The determinate factor in naval warfare, as on land, is strategic. In this instance it might be said that this strategic condition determines the consummation of the approaching struggle. The efficiency of a fleet diminishes or is augmented as the distance from its main base to the theater of war is lengthened or diminished. The area of all naval efficiency is determined by the multiplicity, dispersion, and capacity of naval bases, together with a mer-

chant marine sufficient to meet the maximum demand of the navy in war. Without these depots and merchant marine a navy decreases in efficiency as it increases in size. Due to the naval policy of this Republic, the Atlantic fleet, once in the Atlantic at the beginning of a war, must remain glued to its Atlantic bases or to the radii of its steaming capacity from these bases.

The fleets of the United States and Japan in the Pacific are:

	United States	Japan
Battle-ships	—	15
Armored cruisers	10	15
Torpedo craft	12	157
Big guns	16	169

Time for the Atlantic fleet to reach San Francisco in peace	120 days
Time for the Japanese fleet to reach San Francisco in peace	19 days
Time for the Atlantic fleet with supply-ships in war	180 days
Time for the Japanese fleet with transports in war	30 days

By this table we see that Japan possesses, in a naval sense, the tentative naval control of the Pacific. This is due to the fact that the time elapsing from the landing of the Japanese upon the Pacific coast to the time that the Atlantic fleet might enter its waters is sufficient for the complete seizure by land of the Pacific coast. It will be seen later on that by the time the American fleet enters the Pacific it will look across a waste of waters in which there does not remain a single American port of call—an expanse of waters as portentous and forbidding as they appeared to Magellan some centuries ago.

Should the United States undertake the folly of dividing its fleet between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans the elimination of the American navy might be considered as completed. If the American second-class battle-ships should be taken as first-class, and there should be made an equable division between the Atlantic and the Pacific, then in relation to the Atlantic fleet France would be:

Fifty per cent. stronger in big guns.
One hundred per cent. stronger in armored cruisers.
Four hundred per cent. stronger in destroyers.
Twenty-five hundred per cent. stronger in torpedo-boats.

Germany would be:

One hundred and twenty per cent. stronger in big guns.
One hundred per cent. stronger in armored cruisers.
Five hundred per cent. stronger in destroyers.
Four hundred per cent. stronger in torpedo-boats.

England would be:

Four hundred and fifty per cent. stronger in big guns.
Six hundred per cent. stronger in armored cruisers.
Twelve hundred per cent. stronger in destroyers.
Nine hundred per cent. stronger in torpedo-boats.

In relation to the Pacific fleet Japan would be:

One hundred per cent. stronger in big guns.
One hundred and twenty per cent. stronger in armored cruisers.
Four hundred per cent. stronger in destroyers.
Five hundred per cent. stronger in torpedo-boats.

If the United States is to consider its navy as a decisive factor in the defense of this heritage of the Pacific and the continental states on the borders of that ocean, then its naval policy must be radically changed, and the number of its ships in the Pacific determined by the naval strength of the strongest Pacific power plus that number of ships which are necessary to overcome the strategic advantages adherent to the other power; plus also the erection and dispersion of naval bases in all of its Pacific possessions, and a creation of land forces that are capable of protecting these bases from land attack. In this age of great vessels and great speed vast armies can accompany fleets, and temporary control of the sea gives temporary control of undefended landings which with imperceptible rapidity pass to a state of permanency.

An error that frequently manifests itself is the failure of nations to differentiate between the instruments of war and the limitations of their use. In one war we find that, should a combatant achieve certain success through one of its arms as over the use of others, nations rush to increase that arm even to the neglect of the balance, failing to realize that it might have been the environment of the theater of war that determined the especial advantage of that particular means of combat. The character of warfare in South Africa was not applicable to Asia, to America, or to Europe. Yet for the time being it affected them all.

So it is in regard to navies. Some nations place their dependence too much upon them, and for no other reason than because another great power, whose naval necessities may be acute and its greatness based upon naval supremacy, regards naval war as its primary means of offense and defense.

A navy in most cases can never be anything more than an adjunct to the land forces of a nation. Wars cannot

be won through naval achievements alone. The loss of a navy has no effect on the fighting capacity of a nation, nor upon its government or resources. To be victorious in a decisive sense of the word, the resources or the government of the enemy must be destroyed or controlled to such a degree that the nation is incapable of war. Navies cannot accomplish this. It is reserved for the land forces.

We have seen that, in the struggle for the inheritance of the Pacific, the present conditions are such that the American navy can play no part, and the American nation must depend upon its armies not alone for victory, but for the preservation of the integrity of the nation. So we shall now enter upon the consideration of land warfare, its purposes, progress, and consummation.

In warfare an overwhelming advantage accrues to that combatant who is able to force the theater of war into the other contestant's territory, which is quite contrary to that old nonsense of seeking to fight near one's base. The devastation of the theater of war goes on concurrently with the progress of the war. With this destruction is lessened proportionately the combative ability of the nation in whose territory is located this area of conflict. Hence in a war between Japan and the United States, if it were possible for the United States to make Japan the battle-field instead of this continent, the war would be more than half won and the ruin of it unfelt.

The determination of the locality of this theater of war depends on four conditions:

1. The temporary control of the sea.
   (*a*) Belongs to Japan.
2. Capacity to transport troops.
   (*a*) Capacity of the United States to transport troops in a single voyage, 15,000.
   (*b*) Capacity of Japan to transport troops in a single voyage, 200,000.
3. Size of the mobile army.
   (*a*) American field army at the outbreak of war, 32,000.
   (*b*) Japanese field army at the outbreak of war, 250,000.
4. Military capacity.
   (*a*) American army in United States, inclusive of militia, 114,000.
   (*b*) Japanese army in Japan, inclusive of reserves, 1,500,000.

By this we see that the determination of the theater of war rests entirely with Japan. The Philippine Islands will play no part, because they are strategically occupied the

moment war is declared on account of their proximity to Japan. To place troops in them would be a diversion entirely outside of the real theater of operations. The Hawaiian Islands in a similar manner fall under Japanese sovereignty immediately on the declaration of war. This is due to reasons other than those that control the Philippines.

"Japanese immigration into Hawaii has been political rather than economic, and is divided into three distinct political decades, as determined by two factors:

1. American Pacific expansion.
   (*a*) The establishment of the Hawaiian Republic.
   (*b*) The annexation of Hawaii.
   (*c*) The conquest of the Philippines.
2. Japanese political development.
   (*a*) Protest of Japan against annexation of Hawaii.
   (*b*) Japanese victory over China.
   (*c*) Japanese victory over Russia.
   (*d*) Anglo-Japanese alliance.

In the first political decade, 1884-1896, there occurred:

1. The overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the establishment of the American republic.
2. Japan's protest against annexation.
3. Japan's victory over China; the elimination of that nation from the Pacific, and the beginning of Japan's political development as a Pacific power.

Simultaneous with these events the Japanese population in Hawaii increased from 116 in 1884 to 22,329 in 1896.

In the second political decade, 1896-1900, there occurred:

1. The annexation of Hawaii.
2. The conquest of the Philippines.
3. The development of the Japanese army and navy.

Simultaneous with these events the Japanese population increased from 22,329 in 1896 to 61,115 in 1900.

In the third political decade, 1900-1908, there occurred:

1. Japan's victory over Russia, the elimination of that nation in the Pacific, and Japan's increased development as a Pacific power.
2. The Anglo-Japanese alliance and Japan's advent as a world power.
3. Unprecedented development of the Japanese army and navy.

Simultaneous with these events Japanese immigration into the Hawaiian Islands from 1900 to 1908 has been 65,708. The departures during this period were 42,313. The mili-

tary unfit have in this manner been supplanted by the veterans of the great war, and the military occupation of Hawaii tentatively accomplished.'' [1]

In this manner we find that the theater of war is relegated to the Pacific coast, Washington, Oregon, and California.

The army of Japan is based upon universal and compulsory service. This service extends from the end of the age of twenty and continues until forty. All those capable of carrying arms are divided into two classes: the '' fit '' and the '' absolutely fit,'' but it is only from the '' absolutely fit '' that the army is constructed. While military training is part of the school training of all Japanese, it is at the age of twenty that the '' absolutely fit '' enter the regular army, where they serve for three years in all arms except the infantry, which is for two; then they serve for five years in the first reserve, called the '' Yobi.'' They are then transferred to the '' Kobi,'' in which they serve for ten years. At the end of their Kobi service, which is in their thirty-eighth year, they pass into the Kokumin, where they serve for two years and eight months, completing their total of twenty years. In addition to this there is a supplementary reserve called the '' Hoju.'' It is composed of the balance of the '' absolutely fit '' not required for the first line. They serve in the Hoju for seven years four months. They are called out first for ninety days' training and subsequent trainings of sixty days. They then pass to the Kobi, where they serve ten years, then to the Kokumin, and complete their service of twenty years. This Hoju is used for making good the waste of war.

The field army of Japan consists of some twenty divisions. These include the guard. There are two independent cavalry brigades, three independent brigades of field artillery, each of twelve batteries, three independent divisions of mountain-guns, and four or more divisions of heavy artillery, each of twenty-four guns. The war strength of a division is 25,000 men. At the present time the total strength of the mobile field army is about 700,000 men, with reserves sufficient to bring it up, if necessary, to a million and a half.

Concerning the American army, we will use only those figures found in the recent report of the Secretary of War and the chief-of-staff, which the sensitive nature of Congress was unable to accept.

[1] *The Valor of Ignorance.*

By this we find that, in addition to the staff, the American army is composed of fifteen regiments of cavalry, six regiments of field artillery, thirty regiments of infantry, three battalions of engineers, and one hundred and seventy companies of coast artillery. This gives a total combatant force of 64,000 officers and men. If we deduct the coast artillery we find that the entire balance is less than two divisions of the Japanese army.

The regular army is distributed as follows: 32,500 of the mobile forces are in the United States, 14,500 of the mobile forces are in the insular possessions and Alaska; 16,200 coast artillery are in the United States, 800 are abroad.

In addition to these regular forces, the Secretary of War estimates the available militia to be 86,200 combatant officers and men. The total forces, therefore, in the United States, inclusive of the militia, are 114,500.

The Secretary of War states:

"This force has not the proper proportion of infantry, cavalry, field artillery, engineers, or sanitary troops; it is not fully equipped for field service; it is, with exception of parts of the militia, entirely lacking in organization into higher tactical units of brigades and divisions."

In modern warfare the first essential to success, after the theater of war has been determined upon, is to reach that locality first. The time required can and should always be known prior to the outbreak of war. This is determined by three definite conditions: First, the assembling of the army; second, the degree of preparedness to take the field; third, the length of time required to transport the forces to the theater of combat.

In assembling the forces of the United States, small as they are, there exists a complex condition of affairs. The regular army of the United States is distributed among one hundred and fifty posts. The militia are scattered throughout forty-nine States and in more than three hundred different geographical localities. These must all be gotten together and supplied with field equipment for the actual purposes of war, which they do not now possess. They must be organized into brigades, and brigade staffs organized, of which not even the nuclei exist. Divisions must be formed, and division staffs; new artillery regiments must be constructed, horses bought and trained, and innumerable other conditions of actual war met and adjusted before these

forces can even make their way across America to the Pacific coast.

We should say, after careful study of this question, that it is not possible for these 114,000 men to be placed in brigade and divisional organizations and equipped so that they could intelligently participate in a pitched battle under four months. It is true that in six weeks they might be herded to the front, but in so far as modern military combat is concerned they would be no better than a mob; and though that mob did possess the courage and patriotism of the Gracchi, unlike the Gracchi their deeds would bring them no glory.

Japan, on the other hand, is governed by entirely different conditions. There exists at all times a standing army of over a quarter of a million men, ready to take the field, completely equipped in a single day. For the mobilization of the rest of the forces, it is simplified by two conditions: (1) the compactness of Japan, being not as large as the State of California; (2) the Empire is divided into military districts corresponding with the divisions of the army, and each district is the unit of administration as well as territorial command. Each division receives its recruits from its own district, so that in addition to its standing army Japan can within a week call to its colors an additional half-million men absolutely equipped, administered, and as perfect as any army in the world, and as ready to enter into a pitched battle upon the day of its mobilization as a year subsequent.

When the theater of war, as in this case, is distant from the center of mobilization of both combatants, the capacity of the means of transportation becomes of vital importance.

In the United States we find that the major portion of the American forces is east of the Mississippi River—that is to say, between two and three thousand miles from the theater of conflict. They must be transported, after they have been mobilized, by railroads, the difficulty of which is at best very great. When, however, the railroads are under private ownership and vast stretches of territory exist, as in the western part of the Union, through which these troops must pass, the difficulty increases. And when, in addition to this, we find that the entire population of these States is dependent upon the use of these railways to secure means

of livelihood and to dispose of its products, the difficulty becomes even greater than it is possible to imagine.

For example, we noted at one time that in the transportation of two hundred and ten men from two companies of coast artillery to the coast, seven sleeping-cars and two baggage-cars were required. Multiply this to 114,000 men, and for each car used in the transportation of men add three additional cars for munitions, artillery, transport, equipment, commissary, horses, mules, wagons, etc., and the magnitude of the task becomes apparent. In war, however, when these 114,000 men must be increased to a million or two million, it is readily seen that the abandonment of the West along certain lines of railway is possible, and their eventual confiscation by the government for the use of military purposes alone is inevitable.

These American roads are quite the reverse of the Russian-Siberian Railway, and it is in this difference of conditions that belong those elements of weakness characteristic of the American railways when given over to war. In the Russo-Japanese War the Siberian road was not only the property of the Russian Government, manned by its employees and a staff whose education and training had been devoted to the handling of troops, but it was unhindered by local traffic or by great areas of dependent population.

The capacity of Japan to transport troops to the United States, and the rapidity with which she can do it, results in this strange paradox: that, in a military sense, Japan is closer to the Pacific coast than is that portion of the United States from whence must come the men and the means with which to make war.

At one time the sea was regarded as being a protection against invasion. But under modern means of marine transportation this condition is reversed, and the sea affords the easiest and quickest way of invading an alien land, provided that the nation possesses armies and ships, as in the case of Japan.

After the American army has been assembled it would require forty-five days to transport the whole of it to a specific theater of war on the Pacific coast. The reason for this is that these armies are tied to the lines of railway. For instance, it would be impossible to transport troops to central or southern California by the northern railways, or to Washington and Oregon by the Santa Fé or Southern

Pacific, since on reaching the coast and running parallel to it they would be traveling fifteen hundred miles parallel to the enemy's lines of attack and by a single line of railroad. It must further be remembered that the size of the American defending army is not determined by any arbitrary rules at Washington, but by the number of troops composing the invading army. Moreover, these troops must reach the vicinity of the theater of war simultaneously. They must enter the area of conflict as a compact body. This, if attempted after war has been declared, is an impossibility. They come in driblets.

In marine transportation these conditions are reversed. The invading forces can select any point on the coast and their expedition disembark as a compact whole, whether it be one hundred or two hundred thousand men.

It is said that Japan possesses a thousand sea-going vessels. The following table, comprising forty vessels capable of carrying one hundred and twenty-five thousand men and of making the voyage in less than twenty-five days, will be sufficient:

Name	Tonnage	Troop Capacity Officers and Men
Tenyo Maru	14,000	4,600
Chiyo Maru	14,000	4,600
Shinyo Maru	14,000	4,600
Tocoma Maru	11,500	3,800
Seattle Maru	11,500	3,800
Chicago Maru	11,500	3,800
Panama Maru	11,500	3,800
Mexico Maru	11,500	3,800
Canada Maru	11,500	3,800
Kamo Maru	8,600	3,594
Hirano Maru	8,600	3,594
Miyazaka Maru	8,600	3,594
Atsuta Maru	8,600	3,594
Kitano Maru	8,600	3,594
Mishima Maru	8,600	3,594
Tango Maru	7,463	3,168
Hitachi Maru	6,716	2,886
Aki Maru	6,444	2,842
Shimano Maru	6,388	2,916
Iyo Maru	6,320	2,965
Awa Maru	6,309	2,854
Kaga Maru	6,301	2,872
Wakasa Maru	6,265	2,717
Bingo Maru	6,247	2,805
Sado Maru	6,227	2,740
Inaba Maru	6,189	2,816
Kanagawa Maru	6,170	2,832
Hakata Maru	6,161	2,415
Tamba Maru	6,134	2,794

Name	Tonnage	Troop Capacity Officers and Men
Kamakura Maru	6,126	2,670
Sanuki Maru	6,112	2,700
Kawachi Maru	6,101	2,532
Hongkong Maru	6,000	2,600
America Maru	6,000	2,600
Nippon Maru	6,000	2,600
Tosa Maru	5,823	2,885
Nikko Maru	5,539	2,400
Kumano Maru	5,076	2,396
Ceylon Maru	5,068	2,300
Riojun Maru	4,806	2,840
Troop capacity		126,419

We have before called attention to the degree the configuration of the earth plays in the wars of man. We have shown that, relative to the naval struggle between the United States and Japan, the strategic situation is so vastly in favor of the Japanese Empire that, in conjunction with the policy of the American Government the naval supremacy of the Pacific rests with Japan, though upon the vast sea not a gun is fired. So now in regard to the land warfare, we again witness the strange coincidence of the strategic situation being so overwhelmingly in favor of the Asian Empire that if the military policy of this nation is continued in the future as in the past, we can say that Japan will overwhelm this Republic on the Pacific coast with greater ease and with less hardship than ever, in modern times, one nation has overcome another.

Let us assume that there are three arcs of invasion; in other words, there are three distinct theaters of war. Between the landing-places of these three zones and their arcs of defense exist great natural bases capable of supplying manifold the armies that would be necessary to secure these States. The combined area of the three Pacific coast States is equal approximately to that of France and Prussia and composes the richest portion of the United States. Together they are more than two and a half times larger than the Empire of Japan. For them to maintain an additional Japanese population of even two or three millions would have no effect upon their resources.

Immediately east of these three bases, which constructively are at Portland, Sacramento, and Los Angeles, facing mountains and desert, are the Japanese lines of defense. On the north flank exists a double arc, one defending Washington and having Spokane as its center, the other defending

Oregon and having Umatilla, Pasco, Walla Walla, and Pendleton as its center. The defense of the Japanese middle strategic zone has its center at Reno, its right center on Walker River, and its left center north of Plumus Junction. The arc of defense of the Japanese right flank has San Jacinto Cañon on the extreme right, Saugus Cañon on the extreme left, and the Cajon in the center.

On the Japanese left or northern flank we have the following strategic conditions: both positions are situated in a fertile country, while to the east of them are great uninhabitable mountains. To their main base it is less than four hundred miles, while the American main base is over fifteen hundred. If the American commander wished to transfer forces from the Spokane field of operations to the Oregon field of operations it would be necessary for the troops to traverse, over a single line of railway, through a mountainous and sparsely settled country, about thirteen hundred miles. The Japanese changing front on the same lines would have but one hundred and forty-nine miles to traverse over three railways.

The line of defense of the Japanese center is one hundred and fifty-four miles from their base in the Sacramento Valley, while the American field base situated at Salt Lake is five hundred and seventy-eight miles distant over a desert and sparsely settled country. The Japanese lines encompass the most fertile valley of Nevada, while the American lines are thrown back upon the desolate wastes of Carson Sink, their right flank resting on Black Rock and Smoke Creek deserts, their left on barren mountains.

On the right or southern flank, if the American commander wished to withdraw forces from the Cajon Pass and reinforce those at San Jacinto, it would be necessary for his troops to traverse more than one thousand miles of desert on a single line of railway. The Japanese, to transfer on the same front, but on interior lines, have only forty miles.

The American forces attacking the Japanese southern flank at the Cajon, rest on the Mojave Desert, and are two hundred and forty-six miles from a sufficient supply of water; attacking the San Jacinto, they rest on the Conchilla Desert, and are one hundred and thirty-six miles from water.

Some military authorities estimate that, under modern conditions of warfare, to make a frontal attack upon an intrenched army, sheltered behind semi-permanent works, re-

quires a proportion of three to one; others state that it requires five to one. It is obvious that the Japanese left flank cannot be turned strategically because it is protected by the Canadian boundary; the right flank cannot be strategically turned because it is protected by the Mexican boundary.

The American armies will, therefore, be forced to make a strategically frontal attack, which, owing to the peculiar geographical position occupied by the Japanese, must result in a tactical frontal attack. Hence, to say that it will require three Americans to one Japanese to attack them in these positions is taking the lowest estimate that would be supported by any military authority.

Should Japan occupy each of these three strategic zones with approximately two hundred thousand men, or six hundred thousand in all, it would require one million eight hundred thousand Americans to make the attack—one million eight hundred thousand Americans as fully equipped, disciplined, trained, and officered as the Japanese. They must conquer deserts, assault vast barren mountain-ranges; and not until they have overcome the hostility of these savage lands does the struggle begin.

Concerning this struggle we shall say nothing.

HOMER LEA.

EFFICIENCY IN THE PUBLIC-HEALTH CAMPAIGN

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THE science of public health had its beginnings in the discovery of the causes and vehicles of disease, twenty years ago. To-day we are entering upon a second epoch in the history of the war against the microbe. There is a change coming over the spirit of sanitary science almost as important as that which occurred between 1880 and 1900. The period of Pasteur and Koch marked a transition from intuitive guesswork to science; and to-day we are making a further step, from a merely scientific and rational, to an economic and quantitative viewpoint. We ask now, not as we did ten years ago, "Is such-and-such a thing dangerous?" but, "How dangerous is it?" Cities are cramped for funds and there is no prospect that for some time to come half as much money will be available for health purposes as could profitably be spent. It is impossible to attack all the points at which microbic foes or unhealthful conditions might possibly injure an occasional victim. Resources must be directed with skilled generalship against those gaps in our defenses where the enemy is constantly striking down his victims in large numbers. There are such gaps, numerous and important enough to demand the best energies of the competent public-health expert. He is striving therefore to cut down expenditures for some of the ancient and traditional, but fruitless, health activities and to apply the money where it will do most good. He is asking himself continually, "How can I save the greatest number of lives for a hundred or a thousand dollars by this or that line of preventive work?"

The first fruits of this economic point of view is the relegation to a position of obscurity of some of the most time-

honored activities of the municipal health department. Perhaps even to-day the average citizen may believe that the chief functions of the Board of Health are to keep the neighbor's back yard clean, to inspect plumbing, and to disinfect after contagious disease; yet all these duties are of minor if not of negligible importance. The dread of disease from garbage in the back lot is a legacy from Murchison's pythogenic theory. We know to-day that the only important relation of garbage to disease lies in the fact that it may, under certain circumstances, breed flies which may, in turn, serve as carriers of pathogenic germs. Municipal cleanliness is good for its own sake and only in a minor degree as a health measure, except in warm climates where insect-borne disease is an important factor; and garbage collection and disposal is more and more generally transferred from the health department to some other division of the city government. From the pythogenic theory, too, dates the fear that miasms of disease may emanate from a pinhole in the plumbing pipe and fly across the room to seize upon their helpless victims. There are, no doubt, disease germs in sewage, but they cannot be detached from moist surfaces except by considerable force, and bacteriological studies have shown that if a man placed his mouth at the top of a house drain and breathed drain or sewer air for twenty-four hours continuously he would run less danger of acquiring intestinal germs than in drinking a quart of New York water prior to the installation of a disinfection plant in 1911. So plumbing inspection, in progressive cities, is taken from the health board and placed with the building department where it properly belongs.

Even the problem of sewage disposal is changing its aspect under the influence of the same considerations. The demand for complete and ideal purification in all instances is giving way to the rational consideration of each special case on its own merits, carrying the treatment just so far as is necessary for local needs. As Professor Whipple has so effectively pointed out it is not Sewage Purification, but Sewage Treatment that is desired and treatment carried, only so far as is really essential, in view of the pressing demand for other applications of public-health funds.

These alterations of emphasis have come from a recognition of the fact that communicable disease does not arise from decomposing organic matter, but from infected per-

sons. The demonstration, abundantly established by bacteriological and epidemiological evidence, that, even material, which has been infected, rapidly loses its infectivity, that disease germs, habituated to the warm rich fluids of the body, quickly die out when removed from it, that recent infection is the dangerous infection,—this demonstration too has an important influence upon practical sanitation. Air-borne disease has been shown to be a negligible factor except in the immediate neighborhood of the infected person, where coughing or loud speaking may throw out a fine spray of germ-bearing droplets. Even fomites, or objects which have been in contact with the sick, are dangerous only when infection has been recent. The tales of toys put away in a closet for two years and yet capable of transmitting disease are purely mythical.

From the fact that microbes are carried only in gross particles of excretal material there has arisen a new conception of disinfection. The disinfection of excreta, of sputum and bowel discharges, and of bedding and clothing, and other things which have been in direct contact with the sick, assumes greater and greater importance. On the other hand, general room-disinfection, the burning of sulphur or formaldehyde to destroy germs floating in the air or perching on the walls or ceiling is coming more and more to be regarded, as a sanitary authority has expressed it, as "incense burned to the memory of bygone theories of disease." Even when gaseous disinfection is to follow, sterilizing of clothing and bedding by heat and thorough cleansing of infected surfaces is essential, since formaldehyde gas has little penetrative power; and, if these things are done, gaseous disinfection is of no particular importance as shown by the experience of cities where it has been abandoned.

Only one other instance need be cited of the negative or critical side of the new attitude toward prophylactic measures. This concerns the campaign for pure foods which, though essentially important, and the result of modern science rather than a heritage from pythogenic days, has been carried to such extremes by many of its leaders that it threatens to do serious harm by obscuring the proper sense of proportion for which we are striving. Infected water, milk, and raw shellfish are real dangers, of great practical importance, and measures for their control have produced definite and tangible results. With the exception of these

three substances, however, the danger to life and health from "impure foods" is not quantitatively an important one. Food-poisoning due to decomposed foods undoubtedly occurs and should be prevented, so far as possible, by the exclusion of meat and fish obviously tainted. Unfortunately, however, we have in most cases no tests for the detection of incipient decomposition which are as yet sufficiently well established to supplement the evidence of the senses. The large sums of money spent by municipal health departments in the condemnation of decayed fruit have absolutely no warrant from a public-health standpoint. Even the sale of meat from diseased animals is not an appreciable cause of human disease, thanks to the saving grace of cookery. As a matter of fact most cases of food-poisoning are due to decompositions in salads and the like after the food has been cooked and can be prevented only by care in the kitchen. A prominent pathologist recently deplored the fact that tons of tuberculous meat are sold in New York. It would be a sad day for New York if such were not the case, for New York would go hungry if all tuberculous meat were excluded from the market. The ideally healthy animal is about as rare as the ideally perfect human being, and the present policy of condemning only grossly diseased animals, and parts of animals, errs if anything on the side of severity. As Dr. Theobald Smith has pointed out the pressure of the cost of living is likely to bring us nearer to the German system under which much meat condemned here would be utilized for food after sterilization. We need, not less inspection, but more; only the ultimate disposal of the inspected goods should be governed by the principle that all foods which can be safely used should be used and not wasted for sentimental reasons. These problems have two sides; and it is the condemnation, not the utilization, of safe but second-grade foodstuffs which should be considered an injury to the public.

Adulteration and misbranding is for the most part an economic, rather than a sanitary, problem. There are exceptions to this rule, as in the case of the use of arsenic for coloring candies and notably in the case of poisonous and habit-forming drugs, the sale of which is of serious moment. For the most part, however, adulterants are no more unwholesome than the things for which they are substituted. They injure the pocketbook and so indirectly the health, but

their control is not primarily a health measure. So with the question of preservatives. Some preservatives, like sugar, salt, vinegar, cloves, cinnamon, mustard, are commonly used in the household and little objection has been raised to them. Other preservatives, like benzoic acid and benzoates, salicylic acid and copper sulphate, are less familiar and the whole country has been ringing with the agitation over them. It is unnecessary here to go into the detailed merits of this controversy, although in the opinion of the writer the truth seems to lie, as pointed out by Dr. D. R. Lucas, somewhere between the extreme positions of the Bureau of Chemistry on the one hand and the Referee Board on the other. The main point for our present purpose is, that the harmfulness of benzoate of soda is at least so slight that it cannot be demonstrated to exist at all to the satisfaction of some of the ablest and most disinterested chemists and physiologists. Such being the case, it is obvious that, from the quantitative viewpoint, this dubious danger should not be allowed to divert attention from causes of disease and death which we know kill their thousands and their tens of thousands.

I do not in any way question the general righteousness of the Pure Food law and the campaign of which it forms a part. Dr. Wiley and his associates have made a good fight for honesty and cleanliness, a fight which should be continued, though now on more rational and less emotional lines. It is time, however, that a movement which is primarily economic and esthetic should cease to monopolize attention as a supreme factor in the public-health movement, which it is not; and it is time that some of the energies which have been turned in this direction in the name of Hygeia should be diverted to more profitable channels. If the Women's Clubs of this country could be as actively interested in infant mortality and tuberculosis as they have been in pure foods, we should see something approaching a sanitary revolution.

The only safe way to guide public-health efforts along quantitative lines is to govern them by an intelligent study of vital statistics. Vital statistics are, to public health, what bookkeeping is to the ordinary business. The wise merchant studies his records of profit and loss and expands along the lines where he can get the best interest on his capital. So with the modern health officer. The various

causes of death in his city indicate the possible end toward which he may direct his efforts, and his past experience and the experience of others tells him which of them are likely to be profitably attacked. For example, there were 732,538 deaths in the registration area of the United States in 1909. One hundred and seventy-four thousand four hundred and seventy of these deaths were from various minor causes hard to classify in brief form. The other 558,068 deaths, or 76 per cent. of the whole, were due to 11 causes which may be grouped in two series as below.

A.—IMPORTANT CAUSES OF DEATH WHICH ARE IN THE MAIN OF EXTERNAL ORIGIN AND THEREFORE PREVENTABLE

Typhoid fever	10,722
Diphtheria	10,358
Other epidemic diseases	28,908
Tuberculosis	81,720
Pneumonia and other respiratory diseases	90,868
Diarrhœa of infants	44,648
Accidents	47,135
Total	314,359

B.—IMPORTANT CAUSES OF DEATH WHICH ARE IN THE MAIN OF INTERNAL ORIGIN AND NOT AT PRESENT PREVENTABLE

Cancer and tumors	38,020
Nervous diseases	66,803
Circulatory diseases	90,456
Bright's disease	48,430
Total	243,709

This classification is of course an imperfect one. Tuberculosis is in large measure the result of hereditary predisposition, which is an internal factor; and a man may die of heart disease as a result of lifting heavy weights, an external factor. In the main, however, it is true that there is one great class of important diseases, like cancer and the others in its class, which are not at present within the practical control of public-health authorities. It is to the other class of diseases, in which external and controllable factors are predominant, that the health officer must turn, in order to use his funds to best advantage; and it is encouraging to note that the seven controllable causes of death enumerated above include 314,359 deaths in the registration area, or 43 per cent. of the total.

No one can safely predict the entire elimination of all, or any, of these " preventable " causes of death. What is certain is that they could be greatly reduced by the application of simple, known measures of control. It would be very conservative to assume that tuberculosis and the respiratory diseases could be diminished by one-quarter and that the other death rolls could be cut in half, within the immediate future, meaning a saving of 100,000 lives a year.

Typhoid fever (10,000 deaths in the registration area) can be reduced by purification of water and pasteurization of milk, by anti-fly campaigns in the South, by excluding polluted shellfish from the market, by the bedside disinfection of excreta, by the supervision of carriers, by general education in habits of personal cleanliness, and by vaccination of those likely to be exposed to infection. In Pittsburg the filtration of the public water supplies cut the typhoid death-rate down to an extent which meant a saving of 400 lives a year. In Chicago and Boston the general pasteurization of milk supplies was followed by a reduction in the typhoid rate amounting to a saving of 100 and 30 lives a year, respectively. At Jacksonville, Florida, as in many Southern cities, the fly is an important agent in transmitting typhoid fever; and here a vigorous campaign for the elimination of flies and the screening of vaults led to a saving of 22 lives a year in a population of only 60,000. Remember that these reductions are not transient, but permanent, and consider what the saving of 20 or 100 lives a year in one city really means in lifting the burden of sorrow and suffering from the human race.

In addition to these sanitary measures of control, we now have in the case of typhoid fever a thoroughly efficient protective vaccine. Better sanitation had something to do with the protection of our army camps in Texas from typhoid fever, but the main influence was vaccination, which was so efficient that out of 12,800 men at San Antonio in an unsanitary typhoid-infected country there was but one case of typhoid, a teamster who had not received his second inoculation. In a similar body of men in the Spanish War there would have been 2,000 cases of typhoid and 200 deaths.

Diphtheria (10,000 deaths a year in the registration area) is the second great controllable cause of death. It can be held in check by two principal measures, by the detection and

isolation of suspected persons and by curative and protective injections of antitoxin. In diphtheria and typhoid fever and certain other diseases it is possible to detect the carriers by bacteriological examinations and by this means important results have been achieved. By effective school inspection, diphtheria can be reduced to a low level, and the examination of the throats of persons exposed to the disease, with prompt isolation and antitoxin treatment of those who prove to be infected, has again and again proved efficacious in quickly putting a stop to a threatened epidemic. The most effective of all our weapons against this disease is of course antitoxin. It came into general use in this country between 1894 and 1896, and while the death-rate in New York and Chicago for the decade 1885–1894 was over 140 per 100,000 it dropped to less than 70 for the decade 1895–1904. This meant an annual saving of over 2,500 lives a year in New York City alone.

The other contagious diseases (30,000 deaths a year in the registration area) which include measles, scarlet fever, whooping-cough, and the like, are much less easily controllable, since we have no specific vaccines against them and, in many cases, lack the clear knowledge as to their mode of spread which is necessary to the most efficient sanitary control. The isolation of the infected individual has shown itself most useful with rarer diseases like cholera and plague which can be kept out entirely from countries in which they have not gained a foothold. During the past two summers the bacteriological examination of passengers from cholera ports and the isolation of infected persons has proved an impassable barrier at our maritime cities. We have had in history two great world pandemics of bubonic plague beginning in the sixth and eleventh centuries; and we should to-day be in the midst of a third, of similar character, if it were not for the protections of modern sanitary science. The present outbreak began as the earlier ones did in Asia in 1894 and ravaged unhappy India, killing 8,000,000 persons. It has found its way all over the world, to Cuba and Porto Rica and South America. The rats in England have become infected and the ground squirrels in California. Everywhere, however, outside of Asia, the disease has been met by restrictive measures. Human cases and infected rodents have been discovered and it has been demonstrated that even the terrible " Black Death " is under our control.

With the more familiar diseases which have gained a foothold and are widely distributed in the community isolation is much more difficult on account of the presence of unrecognized and carrier cases. In many instances, as in measles, the very early stages are the most infective ones, while in other diseases, as in typhoid fever, the recovered convalescent may in rarer cases continue to distribute virulent germs for twenty years. A certain proportion of normal persons may be carriers of infectious germs without ever having had the particular disease. Some 2 or 3 per cent. of any average population will be diphtheria carriers and 2 or 3 out of a thousand will be typhoid carriers. This is the great reason why it is so hard to secure good results from isolation in many diseases, particularly those in which the specific germ remains unknown. Measles, whooping-cough, and scarlet fever have been reduced, and will be further reduced, by isolation regulations, but a still more powerful factor is the spread of popular education as to bacteriological cleanness in daily life, a cultivation of what may be called the aseptic sense, the subconscious instinct which keeps the hands so far as possible from what has been specifically infected by the hands or mouth of the sick and which guards the mouth with certainty against whatever has not been specifically cleaned.

The largest of all groups of preventable disease, the shining targets for the sanitarian, are the respiratory diseases, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and bronchitis. We can make headway against tuberculosis (80,000 deaths) by pasteurization of milk to eliminate bovine infection, by enforcing the proper care of sputum, and, above all, by attention to the factors which effect vital resistance, by better housing, by improvements in factory ventilation, and the elimination of dangerous dusts which lacerate the lung tissue of grinders, granite-workers, and the like and by popular education in the rules of hygienic living. The latter factors, housing and working conditions, fresh cool air, and the personal conduct of life, are also the prime measures in the control of pneumonia and bronchitis (90,000 deaths).

The fight is by no means an easy one. Hopes entertained fifteen years ago that tuberculosis sanatoria would soon be curiosities like the pest-houses of the Middle Ages have been rudely shattered. Yet we are making headway. In New York State the death-rate for 1911 was 150 per 100,000

against an average death-rate of 180 for the past twenty-five years. This means a saving of 2,800 lives a year, by comparison merely with the average, and not with the extreme conditions of twenty years ago. This result has been achieved mainly by sanatorium treatment and by a campaign of popular education in the principles which should underlie the conduct of the individual life. We know from the results of the bacteriologists that practically all adults are infected with the tubercle bacillus and, from the statistical studies of Karl Pearson, that in adult life the element of infection plays an almost negligible part. Tuberculosis is a disease of the factory and the tenement. In certain dusty trades four out of five deaths are from " grinder's consumption " or its analogue. We have made much progress in the cure of the great white plague and a beginning in its prevention; but rapid progress will come only, I believe, through a definite movement for the sanitation of living and work places and for the hygienic conduct of the individual life, such as has yet hardly been attempted.

Infant mortality, and particularly infant diarrhœa (45,000 deaths a year in the registration area), is the second great strategic point of attack for the progressive sanitarian. Here the really effective weapon is again education,—education of the individual mother. Breast-feeding, first and foremost, and intelligent personal care in clothing, bathing, airing, and the like could unquestionably prevent one-half of the slaughter of the innocents which carries off one baby out of five born in many of our cities before it reaches the age of one year. The work of the municipal health department and the New York Milk Committee in New York City has furnished a brilliant example of what may be accomplished. Vigorous efforts to reach the mothers began on a large scale in the spring of 1911. The reduction in death rate that followed is equivalent to a saving of 1,182 lives a year, and in the summer of 1912 the death-rate fell still further below that of 1911.

Finally, accidents (47,000 deaths a year in the registration area) could be greatly reduced, as they have been reduced in European countries, by regulation of railroading, mining and factory work, and by the extension of systems of workmen's compensation, which automatically prevent many preventable accidents, while they place the burden for the non-preventable accidents where it belongs. It is well to remem-

ber that the fatality among the employees of English railways is one-fourth what it is here and the rate of non-fatal accidents only one-seventh of ours. In coal-mining, Belgium had a fatality in 1830 about the same as that which exists in American mines to-day; but the Belgian death-rate has been cut to less than one-third of what it was.

One interesting and notable thing about modern public-health work is its tendency to supplement purely administrative methods by educational ones. First, in connection with the anti-tuberculosis movement it was clearly recognized that the man and woman in the home and in the factory are the only people who can prevent tuberculosis; and there resulted the organization of a campaign of popular education of unprecedented scope and effectiveness. The same thing has happened in the campaign against infant mortality. It began as a movement for pure milk, largely administrative in character. It soon appeared, however, that Budin's *consultations des nourissons*, not the *gouttes de lait,* indicated the line of profitable endeavor. One worker after another discovered that the success of a milk station was gauged, not by the number of quarts of milk distributed, but by the number of mothers taught to feed and care for their own children. In one city the authorities refuse to call them "milk stations" at all, but correct you and say "consultations"; and they are right, for the infant-mortality movement is an educational movement first and foremost. The campaign against venereal disease is following the same lines, and promises to become a third nation-wide organized effort for public enlightenment.

All this educational work puts new and unlooked-for stresses upon the Health Department of the olden times. It is a simple enough matter to purify the water-supply of a city. All that you have to do is to convince a Mayor and a Council or whatever the administrative authority may be, and the thing is done. But to get a sanitary sense into the heads of the people is much harder than to lead water-pipes into their houses. A really efficient State or city department of health must have an organization of experts in sanitary publicity such as was built up in Chicago during the administration as Health Commissioner of Dr. W. A. Evans. Instead of cumbrous annual reports he issued a weekly bulletin sparkling with cartoons and "healthgrams" that were quoted from one end of the country to the other.

He had a press service, which supplied the foreign papers, religious papers, and labor papers with weekly material, and a bulletin service, which placed constantly changing health hints on the notice boards of factories all over the city. Finally he had a staff of speakers, with himself at the head, ready to answer any call, and to give any group of men, women, or children news of the progress of the war against disease.

So far, no allusion has been made to the constitutional diseases, whose origin is largely internal, and which are commonly held to lie outside the field of public-health preventive work. Are these maladies, however, to be accepted as dispensations of Providence with no struggle for control on the part of the community as a whole? If so, the outlook is a grave one, for these " constitutional " diseases not only cause about half the total deaths to-day, but, while the " environmental " causes of death are increasing, some of the constitutional causes are steadily increasing, not relatively, but absolutely. The increase is in part of course due to the greater average age of the population. The environmental diseases are diseases of youth, and their reduction leaves more people to grow old and die of heart disease and kidney disease in later life. Even at a given age period, however, there is a real increase in the fatality of these diseases. Yet they are by no means beyond our control. In the first place, many " constitutional " diseases of the blood vessels or kidneys are due to " environmental " causes, to lead-poisoning, or alcoholism or venereal disease. In the second place, in almost every case death could be postponed by observance of proper hygienic rules. Often the physician is called in too late to do much good, and only by a systematic public-health movement of colossal proportions can a serious impression be made upon these diseases of later life. A few of the well-to-do and intelligent have themselves examined once a year after the age of forty, for the first signs of these maladies, which are some day sure to come. If public-health money may be spent, as it is spent, to detect tuberculosis in its curable stage, and to teach a man how to get well, why should not it be devoted in the same way to saving him from Bright's disease?

The history of school inspection is significant in this connection. It began as a public-health measure of the strict sanitary police type, that is, it was intended to protect one

child against another. To-day, however, nine-tenths of the work of school inspection is directed toward physical defects, such as bad teeth, poor vision, glands, and the like, which are not communicable at all. That is, the work has passed from the police stage of protecting one individual against another to the social stage of caring for the individual for his own sake. With adults we have not gone quite so far. The new English insurance act with its free medical attendance is, however, a step in the right direction, whatever fault may be found in detail with its terms. In the future it seems probable that a large proportion of the medical and nursing professions will be in the employ of the State, and that none of the preventable or mitigable maladies to which mankind is subject will lie beyond the scope of their preventive work.

This is for the future. In the present it is clear that there are public-health activities of the more usual and orthodox kind which are capable of yielding practical results of enormous importance, results which must not be sacrificed to the mistaken ideals of an outgrown pseudo-sanitation. The cleaning of streets, the improvement of sewage-polluted rivers and harbors, the inspection of plumbing, the supervision of food supplies to detect substitution and incipient decomposition, all these things are desirable from the standpoint of municipal cleanness and municipal decency. They are not primarily health measures, however. It cannot be shown that they save lives. They should be carried as far as a city or State can afford to carry them, but they must not take precedence of measures that are immediately needed to save human lives. When a city like Minneapolis spends $76,000 for the collection and disposal of garbage and refuse and $47,000 for its health department, it is clear that a sense of proportion is somewhere lacking. When one says that the death-rate of New York City has been reduced 40 per cent. in twenty years, the statistical statement is not impressive. If some powerful spirit like Lesage's Asmodeus could lift the roofs from the houses and show us over 200 deathbeds every day in this great city and then show us 130 other households where Azrael's sword would be flashing if sanitary science had not sheathed it, we should perhaps understand what the cold figures mean.

C.-E. A. Winslow.

GREAT BRITAIN'S POSITION IN EUROPE

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

At a time when Europe is emerging from one crisis only to rearm itself with unexampled lavishness for the next and when the whole atmosphere of Continental politics is oppressive with thunderous suspicions and anxieties, what is the position, what are the policies and commitments of Great Britain? Between France and Russia on the one hand and the Teutonic Powers on the other, where does she stand, to which side do her interests and sympathies incline her? What precisely is the nature and the scope of the Agreements she has concluded with the Governments of the Dual Alliance and of the friendly disposition she has manifested toward their peoples? What obligations has she incurred either to engage in or to abstain from the bristling arena of Continental strife, and what are the political and military liabilities that these obligations entail? How has her insular position been affected by the astounding development of air-ships and aeroplanes and their conversion into offensive weapons of formidable potency, and to what extent is the prodigious increase of European armaments likely to influence her own preparations for defense and the settled scheme of her naval and military policy?

A dozen years ago hardly one of these questions could have been propounded as a problem of tangible moment; hardly one of them would have come within the sphere of what the Germans call "*Realpolitik.*" At the beginning of the present century Great Britain stood aloof from all Continental complications; her statesmen prided themselves on her "splendid isolation"; her relations with and her sentiments toward the various Powers of Europe were governed not by European but by Asiatic, South-African, and other Imperial considerations; she clashed with France, for instance, over Egypt, with Germany over the Transvaal, with

Russia over India and Persia, but these differences were mainly local, carried with them no European implications, and were very far from committing her to either of the two groups of Powers that divided the field of European politics. Great Britain, in short, played a lone hand in the great game of Continental diplomacy, siding now with this combination and now with that, adopting no definite principles of action, and varying her attitude and policy in accordance with the run of events in one quarter or another of her far-flung Empire. The position had its advantages in keeping her free from entanglements in strictly European concerns and in enabling her to interpose at times with decisive effect, and it had also its disadvantages inasmuch as no Power could count on her to keep to a fixed course while all Powers resented having to reckon with so erratic and incalculable a factor. But whatever its merits or its risks that position has been abandoned and so far as one can see will not again, or at any rate not in our time, be reoccupied. Great Britain in the past twelve years has ceased to be a detached Power. She no longer views the Triple and the Dual Alliance with an equal impartiality. Step by step, without any intention of shifting the entire basis of her foreign policy, and greatly to her own bewilderment and consternation, Great Britain, in her usual absent-minded and improvident fashion, has been forced to range herself against the Teutonic Powers and with France and Russia. Her identity with them is not, indeed, complete; she is not a party to their compact; no agreement, verbal or written, secret or published, binds her to support them by force of arms. Nevertheless she is universally and accurately regarded as something more than the sympathetic friend of both Russia and France, and on at least three occasions within the past seven years her partiality for the Third Republic and the interest she has come to feel in its independence and security have brought her within measurable distance of a war with Germany.

To understand how such a situation has arisen in so short a time one must go back to the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904. That Agreement was born of the union of three streams of tendencies. One stream represented the reaction in England against the Philo-Germanism of British foreign policy; another represented the desire of France to simplify and co-ordinate her external interests; the third represented

a sudden accession of weariness and disgust among the French and British peoples with the furious scoldings and recriminations of Fashoda, the Dreyfus case, and the Boer War. Great Britain's policy during the two final decades of the nineteenth century was, as I have said, to have no policy at all. Between the Dual and the Triple Alliance she remained neutral, but with an inclination of sentiment toward the latter. Under the late Lord Salisbury, indeed, it more than once seemed as though England's weight would be definitely thrown on the German side of the balance. I need not now detail the various incidents and influences that gradually changed both the popular and the official attitude of Great Britain toward Germany. It is enough for my present purpose to register the fact that by the time the Boer War ended, a change, and a very decided change, had taken place. The explosion of anger with which England greeted the Anglo-German expedition against Venezuela in 1903 put the reality of the transformation beyond question. From that moment Anglo-French relations began automatically to improve. French anxieties that Great Britain might side against her were allayed when it was seen that there was a powerful flow of British opinion away from the policy of graceful concessions to Germany's pistoling diplomacy. At the same time a movement toward an Anglo-French *rapprochement* began to declare itself in France. M. Delcassé, who had been in charge of French foreign affairs since 1898, based his policy on the conviction that France could not afford two first-class hatreds. She could not be at one and the same time anti-German and anti-British. She could not simultaneously oppose the strongest military and the strongest naval Power in the world. It was necessary to make a choice. M. Delcassé decided that a haphazard and provocative Colonial policy which brought England and France face to face at more than one perilous point, which dissipated instead of consolidating the strength of his country, and seduced France from what must always remain her paramount objective, was really risking more than the game was worth. He therefore bent all his efforts toward removing Great Britain from the list of France's possible enemies.

Two circumstances aided him. One was that both the French and the British peoples were somewhat ashamed of their ceaseless squabbles and had come to the end of their

resources of abuse. After the peace of Vereeniging there was a period of political and journalistic calm, a return to an atmosphere of tranquilizing sanity. On both sides of the Channel men began to look into the foundations of their disputes over Egypt and Siam and Newfoundland and Madagascar and to see whether, after all, there was so much in them as they had been pretending; and when the peoples of two countries reach this stage of quiet and friendly reflection, it does not take the statesmen very long to discover that political differences are rarely insuperable when tackled in the right spirit. The other circumstance that prompted appeasement was the accession to the British throne of a Sovereign whom all Frenchmen knew and liked, and who speedily made it his business to further the gathering impulse toward confidence and good-will. It was in such conditions that the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904, clearing up a number of Colonial questions and giving Great Britain a free hand in Egypt, and France a free hand in Morocco, came to be negotiated. Its authors, or at any rate its British authors, looked upon it as an exclusively Anglo-French compact, with no bearing of any moment on the interests of other Powers, and with no European implications of any kind. Their sole purpose in concluding it was to wipe the slate clean of a variety of difficulties that had long perturbed Anglo-French relations. It was not aimed at Germany or at any other Power; and it certainly never occurred to any one in Downing Street that it would put a severe strain on Anglo-German relations or initiate a wide-turning movement in the operations of British policy. Events, however, quickly expanded its scope and gave to the new-born friendship which it embodied a European importance. Had the period of Anglo-French bickerings and pin-pricks lasted on into the Russo-Japanese War, the two seconds to the duelists in the Far East might themselves have become involved in the struggle. The *entente* between the French and British Governments served to draw a ring round the combatants; it furnished a round-table at which both Great Britain and Russia could meet for the settlement of the North Sea incident; and its development under the impact of the war brought home to the consciousness of both nations some perception of its far-reaching potency.

But it was Germany's somewhat tardy discovery that her interests had been ignored in the disposal of the Morocco

question, followed by the Kaiser's visit to Tangier and the exciting months that preceded and accompanied the meetings of the Algeciras Conference, that first revealed the full range and effectiveness of the Anglo-French *entente.* International friendships and agreements are coming more and more to depend for their validity on the interpretation put upon them, and the sentiment with which they are invested, by public opinion. When it seemed as though Germany, taking advantage of the collapse of Russian power in the Far East, were bent on engineering the Morocco crisis to threaten an unprovoked attack upon France, public opinion in England, disregarding the written letter of the Anglo-French compact and acting instinctively upon its spirit, declared in effect that if the attack were delivered it would be resisted by France and Great Britain together. A somewhat similar situation arose in 1907 and again in 1911 and on both occasions it was met in the same way. Germany at no time has possessed any interests in Morocco of vital or even of considerable value. But she saw that Great Britain and France had come together and harmonized their differences without consulting her and she used the Morocco opening as a pretext for probing the new combination and testing both its scope and strength. To London and Paris it appeared as though Germany were challenging the right of France to form any new friendships whatever of which the Wilhelmstrasse might chance to disapprove and as though she were seizing the opportunity of Russia's temporary breakdown to establish such an ascendency in Europe as would place the foreign policies of every Chancellery under her dictation. This was a pretension that Great Britain felt bound to join with France in resisting with all the power at the disposal of either country. Germany on the other hand became equally convinced that one of the prime objects of the Anglo-French *entente* was to hem her in and that in striving for its disruption she was merely defending the essentials of her political and strategic position. In this way the *entente* was caught in the mesh of Continental rivalries, broadened out into a sort of informal compact of co-operation between Great Britain and France, and became invested with an unlooked-for but accepted responsibility as one of the mainstays of the European equilibrium.

Moreover, it contributed powerfully to the formation of

an Anglo-Russian understanding. For fifty years and more the relations between London and St. Petersburg had been palpably disquieting. There was little sanity in them and next to none of that consistency and stability which can only obtain when two Powers have seriously examined and compared their mutual interests. From the Crimean War to the Peace of Portsmouth they had been penetrated with a seemingly incurable suspiciousness. Many suggestions for their improvement were put forward from time to time, but nothing ever came of them. The British mind was saturated with the persuasion that Russia was the most grasping, the most deceitful, the most far-seeing of Powers. The Russian mind held precisely the same convictions in regard to Great Britain. Popular instincts, prejudice, and ignorance, the irresponsible form of the Russian Government, and fears for the safety of the Indian Empire helped to produce an estrangement which benefited neither Power yet which neither Power seemed able to break. But after the Peace of Portsmouth their relations at once took a happier turn. There began to be a growing perception among British statesmen and publicists that the deadlock between the two countries was a mutually barren one and played directly into the hands of Germany. Then, too, the defeat of Russia in the Far East and her internal convulsions had reduced her power of injuring Great Britain to an unprecedented minimum, and encouraged in her statesmen an unwontedly conciliatory temper. British diplomacy would have been purblind indeed to have let so favorable an opportunity pass by unused. Moreover, the unrest in India had become such that it was more desirable than ever to come to an agreement with the Power which chiefly menaced the northwest frontier and was, therefore, chiefly responsible for the size of the Indian military budget. Besides this, the common sense of Great Britain could not understand a friendship with France that left the ally of France out in the cold; the settlement of the Far-Eastern question on the basis of the Treaty of Portsmouth had removed one of the most vexed and contentious of Anglo-Russian issues; and, finally, the Morocco episode had taught England that it was not a British interest, but its very reverse, that Russia should be unable to make her due weight felt in the European balance of power. On the Russian side the reasons for an understanding with Great Britain were not less cogent. The Rus-

sians had formed a decided opinion as to whether their failure to come to terms with Great Britain had improved or had weakened their position in the Far East and they were anxious not to repeat the blunder in the Near East. With a long and doubtful period of recuperation and internal reconstruction ahead of them they were well aware that the friendship of the greatest naval Power and the goodwill of the richest money-market in the world would be assets of no little importance; and they realized not less clearly that what Russia had lost in the Far East Germany had gained in Europe and that to offset German predominance in the Baltic, on the Continent, and in Asia Minor was a desirable end to strive for. Great Britain and Russia accordingly, in September, 1907, negotiated a Convention which divided Persia into two spheres of influence and reconciled their respective interests in Afghanistan and Tibet.

Here, again, as in the case of the Anglo-French Agreement, the influence of the Convention of 1907 extended far beyond the problems it specifically dealt with. It altered the whole temper of the British and Russian Governments and peoples toward each other; it dissipated the insensate antagonism and distrust that had kept them apart; it encouraged them to view each other's necessities in a new and friendlier light and to look out for and to welcome opportunities of mutual assistance and intercourse. Inevitably their *rapprochement* had its European reactions. It not only confirmed and strengthened the understanding that had been reached between Great Britain and France, but converted it into a Triple Entente. It came to be understood that Russia, France, and Great Britain would be found acting in common on most, or all, matters of European concern. Inevitably, also, it increased Germany's suspicions. Since Great Britain abandoned her position of neutrality and took to forming alliances and *ententes* she had concluded one compact with Japan, another with Russia, another with France, and a fourth, for the adjustment of their Mediterranean interests, with Spain. The British Government and the British press proclaimed each and all of these agreements to be absolutely unaggressive and innocent, threatening no one. But the statesmen of the Wilhelmstrasse could hardly be expected to accept that version of their purpose and effects. They pointed out that all these instruments

had one feature in common—Germany was excluded from them. They went on to remind themselves that the result of the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 was to dispose of the fate of Morocco as though Germany had no interest whatever in the Shereefian Empire. They noted that a similar result in regard to Persia, to the Far East, and to the Mediterranean followed from the compacts with Russia, Japan, and Spain, and they observed, moreover, that every sign of the lukewarmness of Italy in supporting her allies of the Triplice was hailed in Great Britain with obvious gratification; and they came irresistibly to the conclusion that the British were giving an anti-German point to their diplomacy, were tampering with the loyalty of Germany's allies, and were organizing a league of Powers with the object of penning Germany in. It is probably the case, though most Englishmen would deny it, that behind British diplomacy of the past ten years there has been a double motive. The first motive unquestionably was to make an end of the old and unprofitable disputes that had for so long kept England and France, and England and Russia, at loggerheads. This was an object worth pursuing for itself alone. But while pursuing it, no British statesman could have been blind to the fact that the nearer Great Britain drew to France and to Russia, by so much was Germany's preponderance diminished. The *rapprochements* with France and Russia, while very far from being in intention a declaration of diplomatic war upon Germany, had very much the air of resembling a clearing of the decks. If they were not aimed at Germany, they were welcomed by British opinion as being, at the least, a precaution against Germany; and that this invested them with a more sporting attractiveness in the eyes of Downing Street, it would be hard to deny. But whatever the calculation, if calculation there were, that underlay the new British policy of alliances and *ententes,* its effects have been to confront the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente in a vigorous and clean-cut rivalry. At the time of the Balkan crisis of four years ago, throughout the Morocco difficulty which was only settled for good and all toward the close of 1911, and during the discussion of the manifold and contentious issues stirred up by the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, Russia, France, and Great Britain have as a rule taken one side and Germany and Austria the other; and twice at least war

between them has only been averted by the narrowest of margins.

It will be seen, therefore, that Great Britain has stepped, or rather slid, into the very thick of the European conflict. Yet she has done so not as the ally of any one combatant or group of combatants, not in obedience to any formal and reciprocal pledges, but simply as the result of circumstances beyond her power to control; and neither the position in which she now finds herself nor the policy it imposes on her can be said to be altogether clear and coherent. British opinion decided in 1905, and reaffirmed its decision emphatically in 1911, that the independence of France is a British interest to be preserved, if need be, by the full exercise of British power. Without asking from France anything in return, the British people have virtually engaged themselves to join with her in warding off an unprovoked attack by Germany. There is no evidence to show that the French are prepared to reciprocate in kind. Never without a touch of quixotism in their composition, the British people have read into the *entente* meanings and obligations that its framers never contemplated. The French, more emotional on the surface, but infinitely more prudent and restrained at heart, while not less cordially in favor of the *entente,* have not yet translated it, even subconsciously, into a definite policy. In these extraordinary and indeed unparalleled circumstances one can appreciate, without necessarily indorsing, the standpoint of those Englishmen who argue that the time has come when all uncertainty should cease, and when clear and formal expression should be given, in terms of politics, to what is at present an alliance of sentiment. The relations between Great Britain and France that now exist constitute a strong fact, but it is a fact of which the consequences are confused and the scope indefinite. It is agreed by practically all Englishmen that their country cannot continue to hold, or rather cannot revert to, its old position of neutrality in European politics and declare itself equally indifferent and equally sympathetic to both the Dual and the Triple Alliances. Events have forced Great Britain to throw in her lot with the former, while disclaiming, and disclaiming sincerely, any hostility to the latter. But how far her adhesion carries her, and what exactly it involves, is unknown. "Any support we would give France or Russia in times of trouble,"

said Sir Edward Grey some eighteen months ago, "would depend entirely upon the feeling of Parliamentary and public opinion here when the trouble came." There is not much enlightenment to be extracted from so nebulous an utterance as that. That Great Britain would not be a party to any movement of aggression against Germany, that both France and Russia would quickly drop the *entente* if it were to be used as a means of embroiling them with their formidable neighbor, may be laid down as axiomatic. But on the other hand "the feeling of Parliamentary and public opinion" in Great Britain during the past few years appears to have charged itself with the responsibility of defending France against anything it considered an "unprovoked" attack from the German side. The discretion, the moral saving-clause, hinted at in the adjective "unprovoked," would not, I imagine, prove a very steady barrier at a time of crisis. Nothing is more hopeless or, as a rule, more irrelevant than to attempt to decide, when two nations are at war, which of them "provoked" it; and clearly if it is a British interest to prevent France from being overwhelmed by Germany, then that interest would operate whether France at any given crisis was "right" or "wrong," the aggressor or the attacked. From the broad standpoint of national interests and the enduring law of self-preservation, Great Britain, if convinced that the conquest of France would be the certain prelude to an attempted conquest of England, would be bound to go to the aid of France whenever and however her security was menaced.

The advocates of a definite Anglo-French alliance have, therefore, a measure of reason when they urge that, such being the facts, they ought to be embodied in a political compact, if only because, whether so embodied or not, they will continue to exist and will have to be faced. The alternatives, they insist, lie between prolonging a situation full of vagueness and reducing it to coherence and precision. In their view such an alliance as they favor would add nothing to the responsibilities which self-interest has already compelled Great Britain to shoulder voluntarily, while by defining them it would, in fact, tend to lessen them. In the place of a dubious and unlimited liability, they maintain, Great Britain would then have a liability that could be measured and prepared for; in the place of uncertainty there would be something fixed to go upon; and in the place of the present one-sided arrangement under which Great Brit-

ain regards herself as bound to render France the greatest service that one nation can ever render another, while France remains unconscious of any reciprocal obligation, there would then be a more equitable and businesslike compact. The better sense of the nation, however, is in favor of letting things remain as they are. No defensive alliance between England and France could possibly entail the same equality of risk so long as France is Germany's immediate neighbor and exposed to a land attack, and so long as Germany is separated from Great Britain by the element in which the British still remain supreme; and the calculating and prudential spirit of French statesmanship would accordingly shrink from any such compact. An Anglo-French Alliance, moreover, would goad all Germany to madness, remove the last doubt that it was the supreme aim of British policy to surround her with an iron ring, and drive her to stake everything on an immediate effort to break through the cordon. The British people prefer, therefore, to go on as they are, and in the situation in which they find themselves, with all its perils, incongruities, and haziness, rather than attempt the desperate venture of mending matters by imparting to them a sharper edge. But it is doubtful whether they altogether realize what the situation actually is, and how far they have pondered all that is involved in the enterprise of upholding France in a war with Germany, and whether they are quite aware that Great Britain is reverting to the principles and activities of the Palmerstonian era, and is intervening in the affairs of Europe precisely at the moment when her military resources, compared with those of her possible antagonists, are most manifestly inferior, and whether they have made the necessary connection between the Anglo-French *entente* and the prodigious expansion of German sea-power.

It is, therefore, extremely difficult to foretell what would be the British course of action in the event of a war between the members of the Dual and of the Triple Alliance that concerned none of the questions dealt with by either the Anglo-French or the Anglo-Russian Agreement, but that might none the less have a vital influence on British interests. Such a war, arising out of the Balkan crisis, has been a possibility any time during the past six months and at moments something more than a possibility. And, naturally, the line that Great Britain would take were it to break out has been the subject of a good deal of discussion. One

school has argued that the limits of British obligation to support France or Russia are precisely fixed by the terms of the Anglo-French and the Anglo-Russian Conventions and are very far from involving a general liability to take up arms on their behalf in all eventualities, and that Great Britain, therefore, in the event of a European conflict provoked by the problems of the Balkans, would be free, if she chose, to remain neutral. Another and, I should judge, a more powerful school has maintained on the contrary that neutrality would mean the destruction of that policy of European insurance which Downing Street has laboriously built up in the past decade; that Great Britain would return in that event to her old position of isolation, with all its perils indefinitely multiplied; that in the long run it is not possible for her to be inside the Triple Entente one year and outside it the next, as the mood of the moment may decide; and that her Agreements and friendships with France and Russia which, so long as they are effective, remove the possibility of an anti-British coalition wielding the balance of naval power, commit her to the support of those Powers whenever their existence is jeopardized by European foes. The publicists of this school, however, are very apt to spoil their case by insisting that the only way in which Great Britain can render effectual aid to France or Russia is to adopt universal and compulsory military service and to raise her army to the Continental scale of magnitude. The objections to any such course are overwhelming. It would place upon Great Britain the burden of providing and supporting, first, a supreme navy, secondly, a highly expensive force, such as she possesses at present, of 150,000 men for the service of the Empire, and lastly, an enormous conscript army nominally raised for purposes of home defense, but really intended for use on the Continent. The creation of such a military power would be an act of financial, political, and economic madness; it would inevitably result in the navy, on which Great Britain's existence must always in the main depend, being starved; it would intensify the competition in armaments all over Europe and in the end leave Great Britain relatively where she is now; it would deal a disastrously disorganizing blow at her whole industrial system; and it would raise up against her a gigantic host of apprehensions and antagonisms were the greatest sea-power to lay herself open to the suspicion of

harboring vast military designs. Great Britain has no intention of being drawn into any such whirlpool. She will continue to depend for her security against invasion in the first place upon the Navy, in the second upon the Regular Army, and in the third upon the Territorial force; and though undoubtedly a good deal has yet to be done to bring the territorials up to a proper height both of numbers and efficiency, and though some system of military training and instruction may be made a part of the national educational curriculum for excellent moral and physical reasons, I do not believe that Great Britain will depart from the voluntary principle for the purpose of providing against a chance raid upon her shores, and I am very confident she will never embrace compulsory service in order to engage in a Continental war on the quantitative scale that comes natural to Powers whose frontiers are not the sea. The development of aerial fleets will no doubt in time impair the advantages of her insular position, but that is hardly a reason why she should throw them all away prematurely and gratuitously; and if she is ever compelled to take part in a European struggle her magnificent fleet and her splendidly organized and efficient Expeditionary Force would not only enable her to give a good account of herself, but would make her an invaluable ally and a most formidable antagonist. Great Britain's answer to the spurt in Continental armaments takes, in effect, the form of a refusal to be deflected from the sane and sufficient lines on which her naval and military policy and preparations have developed during the past ten years.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

THE EFFECTIVE IDEALS OF PERICLEAN ATHENS AND PISISTRATUS

BY SIR CHARLES WALDSTEIN

All human beings aim at, what has been called, self-effectuation. It is the realization of their capacities, aspirations, hopes, wishes, passions. The lower, the less developed the being, the less conscious; the higher the more conscious, is it of this motive to action. The range is thus: from instinct and appetite to clear purpose and ideals.

The same applies to societies and states. All states strive for self-effectuation, and in their relation to other states this leads to self-preservation and the positive manifestation of power. They again differ in the degree of consciousness with which they pursue this main motive of existence. The lower in organization and development the less are they conscious of this mainspring to political activity, the higher they are in the scale of civilization the greater is the consciousness of their political motive, until they adopt what is called a policy, a logical and reasoned system of action governing, dominating every individual phase of public activity. In their relation to other states the first impulse of self-preservation leads to a defensive policy, while the more positive impulse of self-realization may lead to aggression and an offensive policy. The two aspects often, if not generally, interact upon each other. The defensive policy, when directed against the aggression of other states, may naturally lead to an aggressive or offensive policy as regards other states; while the dominance of an offensive policy may not only strengthen the defensive aspect of national life, but may modify or determine the whole nature of purely internal, social, and domestic affairs in the lives of the citizens. It further leads to imperial and colonial policy.

But the degree of consciousness with which these motives

to national life act may be modified or regulated by a third aspect, which partakes, on the one hand, of a higher degree of self-consciousness, while, on the other, it implies greater self-detachment, until it attains almost a cosmical, and certainly a philosophic, character. This is the realization of an ideal for each state, ever present in the minds of statesmen and even of the mass of the people, toward which ideal, as a pattern of its civic existence, the state tends or consciously strives—the perfect realization of its national existence. Here again the height to which in the evolution of society a state has risen is measured by the degree of consciousness and effectiveness in political action to which each state has risen with regard to such an ideal of its national existence. The nature of this ideal is again determined by the leading motives in the lives of its leading classes or citizens, and the actual life interests of the people or the dominant element within the nation. It may thus be military, economical, commercial, even religious. Power, wealth, or the sway of its god or gods or priests will be the determining factor in its national ideal, the pattern or model of a state toward which its life as a state tends.

But the determining factor in the national ideal may be neither of these, though they may all be included in part or as means to a final end. It may be of a more spiritual nature and rest upon the ideal life of the best citizens, the highest collective spirit of the people as a whole. This highest life may be best conveyed in the term Culture, which determines as a final goal the life of the highest individual citizens and of the nation as a whole. The distinctive feature in the ideal of such a state—ever present and effective in the consciousness of its statesmen as a final goal toward which national self-effectuation tends—would be national culture. In its attitude toward other states—defensive or offensive, domestic, colonial, or imperial—this element will then always be the essential factor; and even if it does not lead to an antagonistic attitude toward other societies, it will at least be the chief distinctive element present in their national consciousness when they fix their own position as a political unit within the whole of human society of which they are a part. The distinction will be consciously drawn between themselves and the *Barbaroi*. The *Barbaroi* are all the people—even of the same race—who are not possessed of the same culture.

It is my contention that the introduction of culture as a practical and effective element—in fact, as the dominant element—into national politics was the distinctive feature in the national life of Periclean Athens, the unique characteristic of Hellenism through which its influence has persisted through all ages.

Thus the essential and distinctive characteristics of Hellenism may be defined epigrammatically as consisting of the infusion of culture as a dominant element into the actual social and political life of the ancient Greek people. In no period of man's history can the same be said for any state. If we review the leading states in man's history, those who attained to supreme power and dominated the world's affairs beyond the mere realms of their original country, we find that all aimed at, and attained, power—the rule of that state. This included actual military power to dominate the peoples who came under their sway, to regulate their lives in accordance with the ruling peoples' customs, the extension of commerce, and the acquisition of wealth. It may also have included the imposition upon the subjugated or contiguous peoples of the orderly social life, of the laws—and even the religion, which made up the more ideal side of their existence. This was the case in ancient Egypt, with the Jews, with the Assyrians, with the Persians, with the Roman Empire, and, in more modern times, with the great Holy Roman Empire down to the very threshold of our immediate days.

In our own days the collective, though far from united, peoples of the West, the representatives of European civilization, may be justified in drawing a hard-and-fast line of distinction between themselves collectively and the savage peoples devoid of all civilization; or even between themselves and those representatives of different races and color, whose claim to civilization may be chiefly based upon the elements which they have absorbed from European nations.

But the ancient Greeks drew a distinction between themselves and the *Barbaroi,* and these *Barbaroi* included nations contemporary with, and even contiguous to, themselves, who could never be considered by them nor by us as devoid of civilization, as we look upon barbarians and savages who in every respect differ essentially from ourselves in civilization. The real ground of this distinction, which the Greeks consciously drew between themselves and the *Bar-*

baroi, was based upon the fact that the power to which they, in common with all states in man's history, strove to attain, was immediately connected with, if not based upon, culture. It was the actual recognition of this distinction which became a political and practical factor in their national existence, the consciousness of being better than others because of the higher intellectual and moral standards in the collective life of the state and in the actual living of each citizen. I repeat: it is upon this consciousness that the distinctive characteristics of ancient Hellas rests; and this distinctive and conscious policy of the Hellenic people was attained in the age of Pericles and finds its most direct expression in the funeral oration of Pericles as recorded in Thucydides. There could, in fact, be no clearer statement of this policy in which he pointedly draws a distinction—in fact, establishes a contrast—between Greece and the rest of the world, and, with pointed implication, between the policy of Athens and Sparta.[1]

"Worthy indeed of praise are they, and yet more worthy are our immediate fathers; since, enlarging their own inheritance into the extensive empire which we now possess, they bequeathed that their work of toil to us their sons. Yet even these successes we ourselves here present, we who are yet in the strength and vigour of our days, have nobly improved, and have made such provisions for this our Athens, that now it is all-sufficient in itself to answer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite those martial exploits by which these ends were accomplished, or the resolute defences we ourselves and our fathers have made against the formidable invasions of Barbarians and Greeks —your own knowledge of these will excuse the long detail. But by what methods we have risen to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I shall first endeavor to show; and then proceed to the praise of the deceased. These, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occasion; the discussion of them must be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of strangers.

"We are happy in a form of government which cannot envy the laws

[1] No doubt this speech is primarily meant to raise the patriotic spirit of the Athenian people and is in so far partial in the praise it bestows upon the Athenian commonwealth and its institutions. But it clearly proves the ideal which Pericles held before his compatriots and the practical importance he attached to it as being able to urge the democracy, whom he is addressing, to definite political action by means of this ideal. The main point is that the difference between the private and political life of the Athenians, as contrasted with that of all other peoples, and more directly the Spartans, is the infusion of Attic culture into every aspect of their life.

of our neighbors; for it hath served as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the few, but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy. How different soever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the same general equality our laws are fitted to preserve; and superior honours just as we excel. The public administration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not a hinderance, since whoever is able to serve his country meets with no obstacle to preferment from his first obscurity. The offices of the state we go through without obstructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without suspicions; not angry with a neighbor for following the bent of his own humor, nor putting on that countenance of discontent, which pains though it cannot punish—so that in private life we converse without diffidence or damage, whilst we dare not on any account offend against the public, through the reverence we bear to the magistrates and the laws, chiefly to those enacted for redress of the injured, and to those unwritten, a breach of which is allowed disgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind most frequent intermissions of care by the appointment of public recreations and sacrifices throughout the year elegantly performed with a peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens causeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth, than of those of other nations.

"In the affairs of war we excel those of our enemies, who adhere to methods opposite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general resort, nor even drive any stranger from us whom either improvement or curiosity hath brought amongst us, lest any enemy should hurt us by seeing what is never concealed. We place not so great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war, as in the native warmth of our souls impelling us to action. In point of education, the youth of some people are inured by a course of laborious exercise, to support toil and exercise like men; but we, notwithstanding our easy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, since the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united strength of all their confederates. But when we invade the dominions of our neighbors, for the most part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country those who fight in defense of their own habitations. The strength of our whole force no enemy yet hath ever experienced, because it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our service by land. But if anywhere they engage and defeat a small party of our forces, they boastingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly overpowered by our united strength. What though from a state of inactivity rather than laborious exercise, or with a natural rather than an acquired valor, we learn to encounter danger?—this good at least we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehension of possible misfortunes, and when we hazard the danger, are found no less courageous than those who are continually inured to it. In these respects our whole community deserves justly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.

"In our manner of living we show an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philosophy without enervating the mind. We display our wealth in the season of beneficence, and not in the vanity of discourse. A confession of poverty is disgrace to no man, no effort to avoid it is disgrace indeed. There is visibly in the same persons an attention to their own private concerns and those of the public; and in others engaged in the labors of life, there is a competent skill in the affairs of government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in state affairs—not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet we pass the soundest judgments, and are quick at catching the right apprehensions of things, not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions, but rather the not being duly prepared by previous debate, before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein consists our distinguishing excellence, that in the hour of action we show the greatest courage, and yet debate beforehand the expediency of our measures. The courage of others is the result of ignorance; deliberation makes them cowards. And those undoubtedly must be owned to have the greatest souls, who, most acutely sensible of the miseries of war and the sweets of peace, are not hence in the least deterred from facing danger.

"In acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preserve friends not by receiving, but by conferring obligations. For he who does a kindness hath the advantage over him who by the law of gratitude becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The person obliged is compelled to act the more insipid part, conscious that a return of kindness is merely a payment and not an obligation. And we alone are splendidly beneficent to others, not so much from interested motives as for the credit of pure liberality. I shall sum up what yet remains by only adding—that our Athens in general is the school of Greece; and that every single Athenian amongst us is excellently formed, by his personal qualification, for all the various scenes of active life acting with a most graceful demeanor and a most ready habit of despatch."

No doubt there is a before and an after to the Periclean age; and, though elements leading to this final consummation may be discerned beforehand and the spirit of that age in its full expression survived into later periods (nay, survives down to our own days), the fact remains, that it is in this age of Pericles that Hellenism, as we understand it, finds its full expression and retains for us the significance which gives vitality to the ideas it embodies throughout the whole of man's subsequent history down to our own days and, beyond all doubt, to all successive ages in the future.

No doubt, also, it is a mistake to think that Greece means Athens. We must always remember the important position held in the earliest days by Crete, by Argos, by Sparta, by Corinth, by Chalkis, and, subsequently, by Ægina; the cities and the islands of Ionia, especially Miletos, and, above all, by the centers of Hellenic civilization in Sicily and Magna

Græcia. In all these cities and states philosophy, art, and advanced political and social institutions flourished. It would indeed be untrue to maintain that all these cities and states were not representative of what we call Hellenic culture, and that they did not contribute their share to the making of that totality of civilized life with which ancient Greece is always associated in our minds. But there is no evidence that the conscious distinctive characteristics of Hellenism, which I have endeavored to define, forming the basis, and essentially modifying and directing the course, of practical politics, ever present in the minds of their statesmen, the leaders of their democracy, nay, the whole of the community itself, was the dominant factor in the life of these separate constituent parts of ancient Hellas. It was only true of Athens, Periclean Athens, Athens the leader of the united Greek states, which struck the dominant note in the symphony of Greek civilization so that the whole vibrates on through all times—the harmony of the spheres.

But it was only through the growth of power of Periclean Athens and through its actual leadership, its hegemony in the confederacy of Greek states, that this policy of practical culture could become effectively the ruling element for the whole of ancient Hellas. The consciousness, the conscious expression, of this political aspect of Hellenic culture was emphasized and made clear to Pericles and the Athenian people by the opposition of the other leading state of ancient Hellas, Sparta, with whom Athens had to struggle for that hegemony. It is not impossible or improbable that, if the antithesis to the Attic ideal had not been so clearly expressed and powerfully realized in opposition on the part of Sparta, the step to the conversion of such an ideal of culture into an element of practical politics might never have been made. A generation after Pericles, during the most acute phase of the Peloponnesian War, Isocrates formulates this most striking feature of Attic and Hellenic civilization in his great speech called "Panegyricus." Enumerating the achievements of Athens, he says: "For also the arts—as well those that provide for things useful in life as also those that are productive of pleasure—Athens has supplied for the other states, having either invented or improved them." He then enlarges on this point in showing that, not only athletic games are encouraged, but also intellectual and artistic pursuits, the splendid dramatic entertainments, the art of ora-

tory, philosophy, developing among the citizens thought and taste and refining the art of social intercourse.

The identification and actual interfusion of such a spiritual element with the physical and practical exigencies of political life was but short-lived. The coarser and sterner elements of physical power, and especially the internal dissensions among the various elements in a democracy, led to the downfall of the political dominance, the hegemony of Athens. But here comes the consoling feature inherent in the things of the mind and the spirit, in truth and beauty: that, having once been manifested and realized, through their tenacious vitality, they cannot be utterly undone; and, like the phœnix, they arise again out of the ashes in new forms and permeate and modify even that which may have been the physical cause of the destruction of their actual empire. Hellenic culture becomes an integral part of the robust and purely warlike life of the Macedonian Empire; and through Alexander the Great it is carried into the remotest parts of the ancient world, so that we meet with the influence of Hellenic art in the Far East among the remains discovered there in our own days; it becomes the cement which holds together the rough blocks from which the great structure of Roman society is built up in the time of Cæsar and his imperial successors, welding together the discordant racial and social elements of the Italic Peninsula, and, subsequently, of the discordant peoples all over the ancient Roman world. It is revived during the Italian Renaissance, and its leading elements still furnish us with that ideal of culture in our own days, which can never be dissociated from the Athens of Pericles.

No doubt when we study the complex and wonderful constitution of Athens we realize how, even in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the constant and gradual changes in the administration of political life in this small community reflect the growth of their civilized and intelligent existence; until we come to that wonderful achievement in the constitution given by Solon, which in a singular manner seems to anticipate many of the political and social difficulties with which we are now grappling in our own days. No doubt also we must look upon Themistocles as the actual initiator of Attic Imperialism, which put that city in the position of claiming the hegemony of the great Greek confederation after the Persian aggressor had been driven back.

His patriotic and statesman-like zeal led him rightly to begin with the establishment of security at home and maritime power abroad. He might thus be considered the founder of Athenian supremacy. Without Themistocles no Pericles and no Periclean Athens. But I should like to add: without Pericles no Athens and no Hellenism as we know it. Nor must we forget what was done by Cimon in the advance of culture at Athens.

Even before Themistocles, however, the distinctive element which Pericles gave to the world's history was in some way anticipated; and this I hold was done by Pisistratus.

To put the case shortly: the two elements that had to be combined by Pericles into the actual life of the Athenian people and the confederacy of Greek states as an organic whole were culture, on the one hand, and, on the other, the power of Athens, which should make it the leader in a confederation of the whole Hellenic people. In a very interesting article recently published, Mr. Guy Dickins has shown how Sparta, under Chilon, the contemporary of Pisistratus, pursued a non-imperialistic policy which directly discouraged the higher forms of culture.[1] Scholars and historians such as Wilamovitz-Moellendorff, Meyer, and Busolt have maintained on strong grounds that there was a conscious Pan-Ionic element in the politics of Athens of this period. It is also clear that "Ionia" stood for "culture" as opposed to Dorianism even in those days. But I venture to maintain, that in the mind of Pisistratus Pan-Ionianism was conceived as a step to the wider conception of Pan-Hellenism, which he realized in a more embryonic form than the clear conception given to it after the Persian War in the Periclean age.

Culture is the pursuit of the things of the mind for their own sake. It thus leads to philosophy and science and to art in all its forms. But, in order that this culture should be evolved and grow and become efficient and practically potent as a leading feature in actual political and national life, we must have wealth—wealth as leading to the surplusage of energy and to leisure. So long as the individual man or a nation is driven to expend all energy in merely providing for physical existence there is no room for culture. As leisure implies spare time beyond that required for active work, and as leisure is essential to recreation, to play of

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1912, p. 25.

the body and of the mind, so we require a surplusage of energy which leads us to exert our energies in physical or mental play in all those occupations which are not directly called forth by the pressure of needs actually before our eyes. Necessity may be the mother of invention; but it is not likely that man can approach and solve the problems of higher mathematics and physics, or create great works of art, when the one thing that he must do is to make his spade or his plow, his flint arrow-head or hatchet or knife, in order to subsist at all. It is a most characteristic and singular fact that the ancient Greeks, who gave the world culture, were the first people who produced a system of athletic games as a most important part of their life. This could not have been the case if they had not possessed that surplusage of time, coupled with energy, which enabled them to *play,* to find satisfaction and pleasure in physical exertion and energy for its own sake, and in the production of things of the mind for the sake of their beauty and truth. In economical terms this means wealth.

The first requisite, therefore, was an economical one to produce this surplusage of wealth and leisure. This Pisistratus realized and endeavored to supply. By carrying on the injunctions of Solon he restored the national prosperity of the Athenian people by economical enactments within and, in the second place, enlarged the sphere by developing the foreign relations of economical life in commerce and industry. The extension of foreign commerce through colonization and the employment of Athenian capital (his own in the Chersonesus) led to the increase of the navy and definite foreign and imperial policy.

That he clearly recognized the need for the coalition of all the Greek states and, at the same time, entertained the hope that Athens should be the leader in this federation, is clear from the fact, that he used the two elements which should thus combine them in this sense. Pisistratus recognized that the most powerful factors to bring about such a federation, based upon the consciousness of national unity, were and always are, language and religion, including the traditions and customs of peoples with regard to their common past.

To begin with religion. The divinity which stands for the supreme national unity in the complex and confused polytheistic system of ancient Greek mythology is Zeus,

who became the Pan-Hellenic Zeus of the fifth century, really the creation of that age. It is significant that Pisistratus establishes and develops the position of this ruling divinity for the whole Greek people and began on a colossal scale the erection of the temple at Athens which was only completed in Roman times.

Thus in giving definite organization to the mythological system of ancient Greece as laid down in the Homeric poems (which have frequently, with some justification, been called the Bible of the ancient Hellenic world) he provided Greece with a definite national religion embodying all the independent local forms of worship and traditions into a more or less harmonious system, the Pan-Hellenic Zeus ruling over all supreme. He thus gave religious expression to the federation and unity of the Hellenic people on the political side. There is no doubt that he also desired to draw in the Ionic people, especially in the personality of Apollo, to whom he erected a temple. But within this system, corresponding to the aims which he had for the predominance of Athens within the federation, it is distinctly his endeavor to give marked prominence to the worship of Athene, who henceforth was to be markedly associated with the Attic people. There is evidence to show that in the earlier days Athene was an agricultural divinity of the Attic peasantry. In the time of Pisistratus, corresponding to the development of the Attic polity, she became the Panathenaic Athene, a most important figure among the Olympians of ancient Greece. It was he or Solon who first put the head of Athene on the coins of ancient Athens, and this archaic type survived for many generations after the type of the goddess had been beautified and ennobled by the great artists of the Pheidiac period. Whether the story of his entering Athens with Phya from Pæania, disguised as Athene, is strictly true or not, it does indicate the close relationship which he strove to establish between his rule and this divinity, henceforth to symbolize the political dominance of the Athenian people.

It is he who builds the great temple, the Hekatompedos, on the Acropolis, the remains of which have been so ingeniously identified by Dr. Doerpfeld. This temple is to be distinguished from the Parthenon, which in the days of Pericles gave the clearest expression to Attic hegemony. The older (Palaios) Temple of Athene is confusedly interwoven with the Erechtheum and was no doubt built on the

site and joined onto the house of Erechtheus, as the cultus of Erechtheus and Poseidon are themselves mixed up with the cult of Athene. But it is significant to note that what might have been a kingly palace in the Minoan and Mycenæan ages, especially when democracy is for the time superseded by the rule of a tyrant, now becomes a religious and national monument in the temple of Athene. This marks the difference, which I have long ago [1] endeavored to make clear, between the *palatial* character of the art of the Minoan and Mycenæan periods as compared with the *national* character of Hellenic art in the historical period, the beginnings of which are especially associated with Pisistratus.

So also he developed this national feeling by that most important act of his, the editing and publication of the Homeric poems,[2] which became in this respect the most effective and direct means of uniting the Greek peoples among one another. On the other hand, the Homeric poems did not tend to support the Attic hegemony, which he had in his mind. As has been amply recognized by Homeric scholars, the passages referring to Athens and Theseus were interpolated at that time. It is especially in the cult and the development of the whole heroic story of Theseus, further consummated in the time of Cimon, that this conscious tendency on the part of Pisistratus is to be noted. It is again only in the age of Cimon and Pericles that this primary action on the part of Pisistratus receives full expression. It is only then, for instance, that in vase representations the favorite labors of Hercules are superseded by the exploits of Theseus. But it is with Pisistratus that the beginnings of this cult of Theseus, as the distinctively Attic hero, are made. It is easy to recognize how the personality of Theseus, his life, and his exploits are based upon, or modified by, the traditions concerning Hercules. This mytho-poetic process may even have arisen out of the

[1] See THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, March, 1901.

[2] Whether we hold the view of P. Cauer, who maintains that the Homeric poems were first put in writing by Pisistratus, or accept the refutation of this view by Rothe; whether we accept the statement of Cicero or explain much of all these traditions by definite machinations of Megusian writers (see the most recent interesting article in the *Classical Quarterly*, January, 1913, by Mr. T. W. Allen), it cannot be doubted by anybody that Pisistratus introduced the recitation of these poems into the Greater Panathenaic games, and that he did much to emphasize their importance as an integral part of Greek national culture.

anticipated rivalry between Athens and Sparta in that the Attic people desired to have a non-Dorian Heracles of their own. Yet there is no doubt that by pushing Theseus forward on the horizon of dominant heroic figures Pisistratus and his followers meant to give a religious or quasi-religious justification to their actual aims in practical politics. This, no doubt, was the universal method adopted in the tradition of the ancient world. To illustrate it in other spheres I need but point to the method adopted by Pindar in his odes, by Attic vases, prize vases—in fact, by the decoration with mythological scenes in so many great edifices of ancient Hellas. In Cimon's time Theseus certainly had an important temple dedicated to himself, though the beautiful extant temple, commonly called Theseum, cannot be identified with that building.

Pisistratus realized how language and literature and art were the most efficient means for instituting national unity and, in their turn again, for giving prominence to Athens as the central home of literature and art. The redaction of the Homeric poems was thus not only efficient in giving system and national unity to the religion and heroic traditions, as well as to the literary art of the several Greek peoples, but also in directly unifying the language.

We cannot exaggerate the direct political effectiveness and significance of these poems for the Greek peoples. Let me but point to one illuminating fact. The subjects chosen for the artistic decoration of the implements of peace and war as described in the Homeric poems themselves—for instance, on the shield of Achilles—are all taken from actual life and in no way from national mythology or heroölogy. These stories did not exist at the time in intelligible form; in fact, only these poems made them accessible and familiar to the Greek-speaking people. The works that have come down to us from the Minoan and Mycenæan ages are in the same way decorated with scenes of actual life, and in no way render mythological or heroic stories. It is only with the chest of Kypselos that the mythological and heroic traditions have so far become the common property of the Greek peoples so as to be utilized in art through the spread of these very epic poems which we call Homeric. From that time on these traditions became the source of all literary and artistic treatment. Not only in the metopes and pediments, on the vases and bronzes and terra-cottas, but in the great

tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, nay, throughout the whole of Greek literature, the mythical and heroic stories, as deposited in these poems, become the subjects for the highest manifestation of art in every one of its departments. The passages dealing with, describing, and praising the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, directly refer to the adequacy with which the sculptor has expressed the conceptions which Homer forms of that divinity. When we realize the significance of these poems in their bearing upon the intellectual and artistic life of the ancient Greeks, we can realize, what Pisistratus saw, the influence which they would have in uniting the Greek peoples, and the political and social value of their actual publication and dissemination.

At the same time, by thus making Athens the literary and distributing center for the literature, the home of the libraries, he intended to make it the artistic center, the center of culture for the whole of Greece. That he desired to direct wealth into the channels of public, not of personal and domestic, art, was manifested by the erection for the first time in Athens of great temples on a large scale to which I have referred. I do not venture to decide whether the development of the cult of Dionysus and the erection of an earlier temple to him is to be ascribed to Pisistratus or his sons or a subsequent generation. As a less artistic, but important, adjunct to civilized life, we must also recall his gift to Athens of the magnificent improvement in the water-supply of the city by the construction of the Enneacrunus, of which the remains have been excavated in our own days. He consciously meant to make Athens the most beautiful and civilized city of Greece, an ideal finally realized by Pericles.

Lastly, it is important, in illustration of his policy, to consider his action in founding the Greater Panathenæa (Penteteris) in addition to the lesser, or yearly, Panathenæa, the origin of which was ascribed to Erechtheus and Theseus. The early Panathenæa also served as a chronological landmark by which the yearly offices could be measured, as the Olympic festivals served as a chronological division for the whole of Greece. Pisistratus, while no doubt recognizing the direct practical and political significance of the Olympic festivals as a chronological system for the Pan-Hellenic federation, tried to enforce the Panathenaic unity by adopt-

ing the division into four years of the Greater Panathenaic festival. It is an approach in mind to this larger spirit of federation, bringing the Attic people into an immediate relationship to it, which foreshadowed its political leadership. It is interesting to note how every step in the advance of the Attic polity is associated directly with this central festival, which originally had a purely political significance. We might almost say that the history of the Panathenaic festival marks, in its main lines, the history of the Attic people. It certainly was at one time identified with the Synoikia or Synoikysmos, which meant the closer unity of the separate Attic communities, tribes, and families, with the Acropolis as the local center and fortress. This step is again associated in Attic tradition with Erechtheus and Theseus, the founders of the Panathenæa and of the Synoikia. Pisistratus introduces the Greater Panathenæa and the recitation of the Homeric poems, while Pericles still further enriches the musical contests. Politics, religion, games, and art are thus all fused together to give predominance to the Attic state.[1] I have long since endeavored to show how Theseus becomes mixed up in this festival with Athene and her cult and how the political question of the growing sea-power of the Attic people affects the rites and ceremonies of Theseus and Athene. For the *peplos* of Athene, the dedication of which at one time formed a central part in the ceremonies of the festival, subsequently takes the shape of the sail on the ship which is dragged through the streets up to the Acropolis and is a survival of the Delian mission and the Thesean story, while at the same time it directly refers to the maritime element in the national life of the Athenian people.

I venture to hold that there is hardly any act of Pisistratus which does not tend to show, that there was present in his mind some conception of an Hellenic federation such as Pericles definitely attempted to achieve, in which Athens should be the leading state, and that this leadership, moreover, should be based on the superior culture of the Attic people.

[1] *American Journal of Archæology,* Vol. I., No. 1, 1885; and *Essays on the Art of Pheidias,* Note E, p. 253, 1886.

SIR CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

SYMBOLISTIC POETRY IN FRANCE

BY WILLIAM A. NITZE

"THE essence of poetry," says Herder, "is in the magic power that cleaves to words, a magic power that works upon my soul through fantasy and recollection." While it is not true that all poetry has this function, the particular kind we are to consider possesses it to an eminent degree—a fact admirably brought out by the American critic whose English rendering I have just quoted. The "magic power" to which Herder refers is obviously what is otherwise called the power of suggestion, and this quality is at the basis of French symbolism.

Now, all art is necessarily concerned with symbols, since every work of art is an image or emblem of something else. When Audrey inquires naïvely of Touchstone in "As You Like It" what poetry is: "Is it honest in word and deed? Is it a *real* thing?" she is propounding a question (though she knows it not) that Plato had presumably answered centuries ago when he condemned poetry for its departure from the Truth, being the imitation by the poet of an imitation in Nature of an idea in the mind of God. Yet no one would rashly deny that Plato is himself an artist, a creator of symbols in the highest sense; for what else are the great concepts of Truth, Love, and Beauty but three symbols of the Absolute, which he has vitalized for all men and all time? "Man," said Carlyle, "consciously or unconsciously, lives, works, and has his being . . . in and through symbols"; and it is the function of art to employ the symbol: image, sound, word, or gesture for its own sake, with reference to the effect it makes, the emotion it awakens, the pleasure it gives.

Since, then, the material of art is the symbol, we may note at once that in the hands of the artist the symbol is capable of two different interpretations. The work of art

may be symbolical or it may be symbolistic, and the modern (romantic) tendency has been to keep the two qualities distinct by over-emphasizing the second.

In the primary sense of the symbolical the symbol is an immediate image of something in nature. We say "house" and there rises at once before our mind's eye the particular structure of stone and mortar which we so designate. The prime *raison d'être* of the symbol, therefore, is its expressiveness, and its aim is to be definite and absolute, in the domain of art to give concrete form to an idea which has a definite range. The Greek artist in search of an expression of divine beauty bodies it forth in the perfect image of the Venus of Milo. From this point of view the symbolical is a definition, and since every definition is also a negation the symbol thus conceived attains to perfection by the extent to which its outlines are clear and precise to the exclusion of what lies beyond its immediate object.

The symbolistic, on the other hand, is the reverse of the definite and absolute. It is the relative *par excellence* and its outlines are more often obscure than clear. When it represents, as it needs must, it does not imitate closely. In fact, symbolism has been defined as a "representation which does not aim to be a reproduction." In sharp contrast to the symbolical, the symbolistic calls forth, evokes, prompts, or suggests what cannot be imitated directly—namely, the secret quality or essence of things: the unexplained and inexplicable, the intangible and illusive, the fugitive and unattainable, what lies beyond the world of rational control; in short, the purely imaginative.

On the whole, English poetry, with its strong bent for idealism, tends in this direction, although few English poets are strictly symbolistic. We expect the poet to "imagine" the universe for us, as Shelley so admirably says,

> "to hope till Hope creates
> From its own wreck the thing it contemplates."

Whereas the French, with their attachment to the real and their passion for clear-cut ideas, instinctively move along the opposite path of endowing *what is* with the permanency of form. "Nothing is beautiful but the true," said Boileau; and by truth he meant rational truth, which all men are capable of understanding. For this reason the question is so often asked among us: Are French poets poetical? And

can we call a poem that which leaves nothing unsaid, nothing to be added by the reader's fancy? But such a view of poetry is necessarily one-sided; and the Frenchman can retort, Poetry is not an individual frenzy or madness, but a rational exercise of taste and talent, and its appeal is universal and not individualistic. Moreover, fundamentally expression and suggestion are not incompatible in human nature, however much we may be tempted to give this or that principle our national preference. Thus a single word may be expressive in what it really states and suggestive in the ideas it prompts in others. Or, to employ the language of grammar, a word may denote one thing and connote another. Renan once said to Tennyson, "*La vérité, Monsieur, est dans une nuance*"; and the particular difference the symbolists exemplify is this principle of connotation as distinguished from that of denotation, in literature as well as in language. In other words, the symbolists in France make into a conscious—one might almost say a rational—maxim of art, what romanticists like Herder considered to be a fixed principle of poetry, and it is in the light of this intention that we should judge their work.

There is an example in English verse which will serve to illustrate the distinction just noted besides showing how symbolism, in the stricter sense, takes its start. It is a short poem by William Morris, which his editor, Alfred Noyes, regards as characteristic of Morris's manner. While the poem is not yet genuinely symbolistic, it shows clearly at what point mere expressiveness ceases and the world of suggestion begins. It reads:

"'Twas in Church on Palm Sunday
Listening what the priest did say
Of the kiss that did betray,

"That the thought did come to me
How the olives used to be
Growing in Gethsemane.

"That the thought upon me came
Of the lantern's steady flame,
Of the softly whispered name.

"Of how kiss and words did sound
While the olives stood around,
While the robe lay on the ground.

"Then the words the Lord did speak
And that kiss in Holy Week
Dreams of many a kiss did make."

. . . . . .

"It is obvious," says the commentator, "that Morris was not exactly listening to 'what the priest did say' from a 'High Churchman's' point of view, but simply and solely from the point of view of the artist. Even in church he was striving to build a 'shadowy isle of bliss midmost the beatings of the steely sea.'" Or scientifically stated, he was extracting from a given situation an emotional evaluation out of all proportion to what the circumstances would seem to warrant. Through "fantasy" or "recollection"—or both—Morris was employing the passion of Gethsemane as the representation of other passions no less real, but infinitely less sublime and heroic. This emotional unrestraint is characteristic of symbolistic art, at least in the beginning; and in kind, though not in degree, the same process is at work when Diderot speaks of distinguishing voices as "blond or brunette," when Flaubert characterizes Rodolphe's passion for Emma in the words, "*Il admirait son exaltation d'âme et la dentelle sur sa jupe,*" or, finally, when the gentle Gérard de Nerval in the naïveté of his madness claims that an apron-string is the garter of the Queen of Sheba, or that the reason he led a lobster about at the end of a blue string was because it knew the secrets of the deep; the visionary had simply lost control of his visions, for Gérard could write what he justly called *vers dorés:*

"Respecte dans la bête un esprit agissant:
Chaque fleur est une âme à la nature éclose;
Un mystère d'amour dans le métal repose;
'Tout est sensible!' Et tout sur ton être est puissant."

It seems a far cry from the Tennysonian England of Morris to the France of Gautier and Baudelaire. And yet, in spite of appearances to the contrary, there was much more kinship of feeling between the generations of 1860 on either side of the Channel than one would commonly suppose. It is well to say "feeling" and not "ideals," because the backgrounds were in most respects quite different. On the one side the Victorian reign of respectability was in full sway, whereas on the other the tawdry régime of the Second Empire was concealing with difficulty the cankers

that were undermining French society. However, in England, as in France, the thundercloud of Darwinism was brooding heavily on the spiritual horizon; and creed and system were tumbling pell-mell into "the intellectual melting-pot." Already the charnel-house of the mind was encumbered with the broken bones of human illusions. Baudelaire said:

> *"Mon âme est un tombeau que, mauvais cénobite,*
> *Depuis l'éternité je parcours et j'habite."*

Christianity itself was pronounced a fiction, its founder—according to Strauss (David F.)—an idea, and the soul, the suffering, browbeaten soul which it pretended to save, a nervous fluid, which Zola said some scientist was about to bottle up in his laboratory. Even Balzac's vast "*Comédie Humaine,*" vitalized as it is, throbs mainly with the animalistic impulse of material possession. Thus had the romantic dream of idealism and faith vanished before the cold, strong light of Science, and the fabric of human institutions was quaking in its foundations.

But what of Art? Was it too to fall a victim to the universal disaffection and *Ennui?* If it had lost the power to please, could it not at least console? Had Poetry, *cette petite fleur bleue,* lost all its charm? Certainly Nature, however implacable, was still beautiful, and if Science had ruthlessly rent her veil of mystery, the human eye could still find delight in line, color, and form:

> *"Je suis belle, O mortels! comme un rêve de pierre,*
> *Et mon sein, où chacun s'est meurtri tour à tour,*
> *Est fait pour inspirer au poète un amour*
> *Eternel et muet ainsi que la matière.*
>
> *"Je trône dans l'azur comme un sphinx incompris;*
> *J'unis un cœur de neige à la blancheur des cygnes;*
> *Je hais le mouvement qui déplace les lignes;*
> *Et jamais je ne pleure et jamais je ne ris."*

Thus, let the word be soulless and unfeeling, man could lose himself in its sensuous beauty, and failing that he could renounce. The Pariah could turn Buddhist and pass into a Nirvana as a last resort. Meanwhile the poet craves expression and finds it in a defiant utterance on the eternity of Art for Art's sake:

"Les dieux eux-mêmes meurent
Mais les vers souverains
Demeurent
Plus forts que les airains."

And so it happens that words, as such, are fraught with an importance they but rarely possess. With striking flexibility they do wonders in portraying the visible image of things. In itself this idea was not new. Hugo's "*Les Orientales*"—in 1829—exemplify it profusely. As early as the Renaissance critics had made the poet the creator of language in obedience to the Horatian view that he was the author of civilization. And by an easy twist language became the criterion of judging a poet and assumed an esthetic value quite apart from the particular significance any individual might impart to it. Gradually thus there arose the attempt of judging words with reference to the psychological laws of color and form. The point of view, of course, is pre-eminently French, although there have been well-known poets in Germany and England who have accepted it; for example, Tieck or Rossetti. Almost plaintively Catulle Mendès cried out, "*Il y a cette redoutable netteté de notre langue, il y a cette terrible précision de la langue française.*" Yet that aids rather than retards the formalistic tendency. "Words," said Bourget, "live the life of human beings. They breathe and throb, they are noble, they are plebeian. Some are sublime, some infamous. They possess a physiognomy, a physiology, a psychology quite their own." Lafcadio Hearn used to say that he could never get away from the obsession of certain words—a statement which recalls that of Oscar Wilde that "actions are the first tragedy of life, words the second. Words perhaps are the worse; they are pitiless."

In Gautier and the school of art for art's sake, however, words are entirely "objective." Whatever qualities they possess must be readily apprehensible to every artistic mind, to every lover of the beautiful. "*Je suis un homme,*" he said, "*pour lequel le monde visible existe*"; and it is necessary to add that to him and his immediate followers the visible world was the only reality. As a consequence his school carried visualization in speech to the utmost. Gautier himself was a word-painter; "*au poète impeccable, au parfait magicien ès lettres françaises*" are the glowing terms with which Baudelaire dedicated to him "*Les Fleurs*

du Mal." That he valued the plastic above other qualities appears distinctly in the advice he gives to poets in his "Triumph of Petrarch":

> "Like an alabaster vase in which burns a light,
> Sink deep the idea into the sculptured form,
> And with a glowing flame make the tomb bright."

Sainte-Beuve says that Gautier has recourse to the word-image "as if it were a veil"; magically his sentiment assumes a transparent and figurative shape. But if Gautier succeeds here, Leconte de Lisle is the true Parnassian. With him poetry has the effect of stone and Heredia chisels it into marble. These are the real sculptors in poetic art. Now, beyond this point pure expressiveness could not go and with Heredia the poetry of formal perfection ends in its own realization.

Meantime, however, the angle of vision changes. The alabaster vase in which Gautier sought to confine poetry had overflowed. The contours of the visible were incapable of holding all that the soul poured into them. As yet the form stood secure, but steadily the flood from within was threatening destruction. Baudelaire, the disciple of Gautier, had passed the point where his master would follow. In a letter of 1857 Sainte-Beuve writes:

> "You too are of the school of Art for Art's sake, you too belong to those who seek poetry everywhere; but since your forerunners have left your little room, since the heavenly and earthly fields are all garnered, since you are the last, you have said to yourself, I fancy, I shall not seek in vain, I shall find poetry again where no one else has thought of gathering it and expressing it."

Scrupulous artist that Baudelaire was, he was unable, however, to brook the bankruptcy of the ideal world. Temperamentally he revolted at the thought of surrender to the impersonal. If there were no Paradise beyond life, he would construct one by artificial means. At all events, there was sensation and he would elevate it, refine it, polish it, Petrarchize it—as Sainte-Beuve says—and make it the burden of art.

> "*La Nature est un temple où de vivants piliers*
> *Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles;*
> *L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles*
> *Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers.*

Comme de longs échos qui de loin se confondent
Dans une ténébreuse et profonde unité,
Vaste comme la nuit et comme la clarté,
Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent."

And having interrogated sentient Nature, he would consult Death, for Death on its biological side as the great transformer was a thought that the most impersonal of men could not escape.

Doubtless this touches upon madness, and like Poe, whom he imitated, the poet of "*Les Fleurs du Mal,*" or, as the subtitle is "*Les Fleurs Maladives,*" may be "three-fifths of him genius and two-fifths mere fudge." It does not, moreover, increase our present-day sympathy with him to know that his "soul floated on perfumes as the souls of other men float on music," that he liked the bizarre, the baroque, the anti-natural, believing that depravity of instinct, unknown to the beast, is the sign of the truly great soul, nor that he endeavored to create the unknown world of dreams and sensations by the use of *hashish,* although Gautier takes pains to assure us that this drug was not responsible for Baudelaire's paralysis.

The *Paradis Artificiels* is the minute, pathological record of the strange hallucinations the *hashish* produced, in which, according to his own account, he felt his personality magnified beyond measure with his characteristic sensibilities keyed to a concert pitch. Then it was that

"the walls of the room (at the Hôtel Pimodan) ceased to be opaque and became translucent and semi-transparent, opening up a hazy perspective deep and bluish, like a window looking out upon the Infinite. Nymphs and goddesses descended majestically from pictures and tapestries, statues in the corners revealed their mythological nudity, and maggots cut faces on the corner shelves."

Or take the "*Illusion Magique*" from *Little Poems in Prose:*

"From the top of her fleecy stairway the moon bends down over the cradle of the sleeping child, bathing it in a flood of light and in the poisonous wildfire of her rays. Like some fairy godmother, she endows the sleeping infant with wonderful and mysterious gifts, and she whispers gently into its ear: Hold forever the magic of my kiss, be beautiful as I am beautiful. Love what I love and that which loves me. The limpid water, the clouds, silence, darkness, the immense green sea, the place where thou art not and can never be, the lover whom thou shalt never know, the flowers of monstrous size, the perfumes that cloy the will, the cats lulled by music, whose cry is like the voice of women, sweet but shrill."

Obviously the illusion for the sake of illusion is here sought at some cost, and this "dalliance of soul and sense" would soon exhaust the reader's patience were it not that absolute sincerity is one of the dominant traits of Baudelaire's genius. Never did a man strive more ardently, in the Emersonian phrase, "to hitch his wagon to a star." Nor, as a consequence, is there a career more profoundly tragic. We may disapprove of the extraordinary lucubrations to which his gloomy and, doubtless, satanic fancy led him, but that his convictions are heartfelt even his enemies admit. Harken, for example, to the majestic stanzas of "*Le Voyage,*" that epitome of the wreck of every human illusion save Death:

"Un matin nous partons, le cœur plein de flamme,
Le cœur gros de rancune et de désirs amers,
Et nous allons, suivant le rythme de la lame,
Berçant notre infini sur le fini des mers:

"Chaque îlot signalé par l'homme de vigie,
Est un Eldorado promis par le Destin;
L'imagination qui dresse son orgie
Ne trouve qu'un récif aux clartés du matin.

"O le pauvre amoureux des pays chimériques!
Faut-il le mettre aux fers, le jeter à la mer,
Ce matelot ivrogne, inventeur d'Amériques
Dont le mirage rend le gouffre plus amer!

"O Mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps! levons l'ancre
Ce pays nous ennuie, ô Mort! Appareillons!
Si le ciel et la mer sont noirs comme de l'encre,
Nos cœurs que tu connais sont remplis de rayons!

"Verse-nous ton poison pour qu'il nous réconforte;
Nous voulons, tant ce feu nous brûle le cerveau,
Plonger au fond du gouffre, Enfer ou Ciel, qu'importe?
Au fond de L'Inconnu pour trouver du nouveau."

The triumphant closing line, "*Au fond de L'Inconnu pour trouver du nouveau,*" more even than Baudelaire's belief in correspondences, voices his contribution. The "soul floating on perfumes" had formulated the universal longing. But was there an Unknown? Had not the Positivists shown there was none in the sense Baudelaire meant? At least none that the mind could grasp as an entity through the reason. The fact that Comte, the originator of positivism, stood for immanence in place of transcendence was of no value, or its value was not at first understood. But if

this be the mind's verdict, what of the emotions? Having ceased to believe and think, could we cease to feel and imagine? Or must the poet go the way Nietzsche was to indicate and transvalue his values, regarding "all ideals and all faith as themselves a product of decadence and the cause of deeper decay"? Long ago Pascal had said, "*Le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît point.*" But that was only a rationalist's return to the Augustinian doctrine of self-abasement. Here, then, lies the crux of the symbolists' point of view; and from this moment their advance into the foreground is assured. In shutting the door upon the past and looking resolutely into the future in their reliance on primal, intuitive emotion, the symbolists react against the Parnassians in art and bring back literature to life. To be sure, we must not think of them as transcending nature, as breaking through the clouds, like Shelley, into the starlit empyrean. They do not "outsoar the shadow of our night." The road they travel is of the earth and, therefore, earthy, encumbered, as it were, with the débris and protoplasms of biological life. They touch close upon the point where death and life commingle: where the decadent and corrupt give rise to new forms of being, where the dung-heap of to-day is the flower-bed of to-morrow. Rapidly, however, they work away from this position to the realm of pure mystery, to where night broods over the silent waters, to where doors creak significantly on their rusty hinges, to where time and place are annihilated by the contact with eternity. Life might be a continual "flux," a continual succession, or, as Nietzsche claimed, a "recurrence"; at least it was animated and it moved onward if not upward. The supernatural in the sense of the superrational might be a lie; there still remained the sub-natural, the sub-rational, the sub-conscious to reckon with. And its realm was not bounded by philosophies and systems — by any demonstrable interest in man as the highest form of creation. No; the center of the universe was not to be found in the human brain except as a part of the multifarious and limitless phenomena of nature. Thus regarded Baudelaire's "*Fleurs du Mal,*" in spite of their pungent odor, are not wholly the exotic and artificial things they appear to be, not simply the vagaries of a madman's fancy, but justifiable and in a sense necessary.

But Baudelaire, interesting as he is, was only a fore-

runner. His mysticism, like that of Morris, is mainly of the flesh. Of genuine symbolism he possessed what the French call the *don de correspondance,* but he had little else. As we now approach the symbolist proper—and I shall deal mainly with the greatest of them—we note as characteristic: first, how intentionally vague their ideas are in presentation, and, secondly, how they strive to deepen the mystery through the choice of words with reference to light and sound rather than color or form.

> *"Car nous voulons la Nuance encor,*
> *Pas la couleur, rien que la nuance!*
> *Oh! la nuance seule fiance*
> *Le rêve au rêve et la flûte au cor."*

"Poetry being at once word and music," says Stuart Merrill, "is wonderfully prone to that suggestion of an infinite which is often only the indefinite." Much depends here upon what you mean by the indefinite. If you have in mind the clearly immaterial, the distinctly spiritual, the manifest impression of experience with dreams rather than with facts, the indefinite may assume the permanency of one of Verlaine's masterpieces.

> *"Dans le vieux parc, solitaire et glacé,*
> *Deux spectres ont évoqué le passé.*
>
> *"Leurs yeux sont morts et leurs lèvres molles,*
> *Et l'on entend à peine leur paroles.*
>
> *"Dans le vieux parc, solitaire et glacé,*
> *Deux spectres ont évoqué le passé.*
>
> *"— Te souvient-il de notre extase ancienne?*
> *— Pourquoi voulez-vous donc qu'l m'en souvienne?*
>
> *"— Ton cœur bat-il toujours à mon seul nom?*
> *— Toujours vois-tu mon âme en rêve—Non."*

But if the indefinite be sought for its own sake the tendency soon degenerates into a pose and affectation, as when René Ghil in "*Le Geste Inconnu*" leaves two pages blank and at the foot of the second page sums up his silence—or shall we say vacuity—with the resonant verse,

> *"Mille sanglots plangorent là."*

In Pierre Quillard's mystery, "*La Fille aux Mains Coupées,*" the only stage direction is that "the action takes place anywhere, or, rather, in the Middle Ages."

And Régnier, who is certainly a poet, is truly Shakespearian in violating geography, as when he places a forest on the delta of the river Nile near the Sphinx and the Pyramids.

This vagueness is, as we have seen, inherent in symbolistic thought. Man divines rather than sees distinctly what is going on about him. He feels even when he cannot apprehend the latent relationships of the physical universe with his spiritual being. Compare, for instance, Rodenbach's "*La Pluie*" or the closing stanza of his "*Vieux Quais*":

> "*Et l'on devine au loin le musicien sombre,*
> *Pauvre, morne, qui joue au bord croulant des toits;*
> *La tristesse du soir a passé dans ses doigts,*
> *Et dans sa flûte à trous il fait chanter de l'ombre.*"

Or the following from Gustave Kahn's "*Chantonne Lentement*" (hum slowly):

> "*D'où donc ce frisselis* (quiverishness) *d'émoi qui me pénètre,*
> *D'où très mesurément ce rythme mou d'andante?*
> *Il circule là-bas, aux blancheurs des fenêtres,*
> *De bougeuses moiteurs, des ailes succédantes.*"

Or, indeed, the unexplained sorrow of Verlaine's "Romance without Words":

> "*Il pleure dans mon cœur*
> *Comme il pleut sur la ville,*
> *Quelle est cette langueur*
> *Qui pénètre mon cœur?*
>
> . . . . .
>
> "*Il pleure sans raison*
> *Dans ce cœur qui s'écœure.*
> *Quoi! nulle trahison?*
> *Ce deuil est sans raison.*
>
> "*C'est bien la pire peine*
> *De ne savoir pourquoi,*
> *Sans amour et sans haine,*
> *Mon cœur a tant de peine.*"
>
> . . . . .

This is of the very essence of symbolism: the certainty of unknown and unattainable causes; the melancholy not of parting but of nature in her sorrowful moods, the dream life realized and made palpable to us. That is why so much symbolistic verse deals with autumn, the season when the leaves fall, or with the shadowy twilight, or with the moonlight falling through the forest trees, or with any uninhabited, dark, and dank place. In short, wherever a mystery

lurks. Compare, in this connection, the awesome silence that hangs over Maeterlinck's "*Pélléas et Mélisande,*" like fate in ancient tragedy, with the glowing radiance of Verlaine's "*Bonne Chanson*":

"*La lune blanche*
Luit dans les bois;
De chaque branche
Part une voix
Sous la ramée—
O bien aimée.

"*L'étang reflète*
Profond miroir,
La silhouette
Du saule noir
Où le vent pleure—
Rêvons, c'est l'heure."

Other poets, other themes. In René Ghil the mystical Orient also comes in for its share of treatment. Symbolism does not seek exclusively the gray skies and solitary forests of the North, though this is prevailingly so.

To speak now of the *technique* of Symbolism, it is the recognized function of the symbolist poet to create in his reader a certain *état d'âme*—that is, an emotional disposition favorable to stimulus from without. Poet and reader must share this state of sensibility if they are both to experience the contact with the world of intuitions. Thus will the reader also become creative and feel arise in himself shapes and figures stimulated by his own fancy; and the unseen world will be to him a reality. To achieve this, one is tempted to say, poetic hypnosis necessitates an entire change of *technique* from that of the school of Art for Art's sake. The prime object of verse being no longer to define, but to suggest, the method of the plastic arts had to be abandoned. Mallarmé, the law-giver of the new school, said, "To name is to destroy." "To name an object is to take away three-fourths of the pleasure afforded by a poem." Words (and all that is meant by "words") are to be chosen, then, for their associations rather than their inherent meanings. Above all, the musical quality of words is important, for music is the least plastic of the fine arts. Here we approach closest to "the magic power that cleaves to words" of which Herder had spoken. Verlaine formulates this idea in his advice to his contemporaries:

"*De la musique avant toute chose,*"

and he at once specifies:

> *"Et pour cela préfère l'Impair*
> *Plus vague et plus souple dans l'air";*

for the symbolist symbol must not convey directly, but by implication; and it is music in a so-called elemental, sublimated sense that the real symbolists, at least the later ones, seek. Hence the attempt by some to revive the primitive principles of verse, alliteration, and assonance; as, for example, Merrill's

> "Module en *mal* d'amour sa *molle mél*odie."

Or Verlaine's

> *"C'est à cause du clair de la lune*
> *Que j'assume ce masque nocturne,*
> *Et de Saturne penchant son urne,*
> *Et de ces lunes, l'une après l'une."*

As for the Impair or "unequal line," it has its most successful wielder in Régnier. Take this example:

> *"Alor j'ai dit: 'Voici des flûtes et des corbeilles,*
> *Mordez aux fruits;*
> *Ecoutez chanter les abeilles*
> *Et l'humble bruit*
> *De l'osier vert qu'on tresse et des roseaux qu'on coupe.'*
> *J'ai dit encore: 'Ecoute,*
> *Ecoute,*
> *Il y a quelqu'un derrière l'écho,*
> *Debout parmi la vie universelle,*
> *Et qui porte l'arc double et le double flambeau,*
> *Et qui est nous*
> *Divinement. . . .'"*

In this way by degrees the symbolists work around from the point of view that art is an evocation to the position that art, through its intrinsic formal elements, hampers evocation and prevents the work of the poet. While the forerunners of symbolism had been scrupulous about form, the later poets strive to annihilate form as much as possible. And upon this rock the symbolist movement founders. The symbolist not only turns impressionist—to the extent even of confusing prose with poetry—but his impressionism verges on the unintelligible and on the inane. It is possible to quote stanza upon stanza of symbolistic verse in which no one except perhaps the author could find any sense. And without going that far, Rimbaud's famous sonnet upon the

colors corresponding to the vowels of the alphabet, "*A noir, E blanc, I rouge, U vert, O bleu,*" has significance only for a person capable of repeating the experiment and may well have been written, "*pour épater le bourgeois.*"

It would be wrong, however, to leave the impression that with so promising a start the symbolist movement had achieved little in the way of positive accomplishment. While one must admit that as individuals they are too often deflected from the highroad of life into the bypaths of the extremist and faddist, that they too readily take the bizarre and obscure for the genuinely mysterious and suggestive, this is a fault to which their undertaking made them especially liable. French poetry is by its essence and its tradition formalistic. It is through form that our thought or our emotion assumes objective reality and exists as a thing in itself. Art is an immediate semblance. Literature portrays the universal in the form of the particular. If, then, you blur the outlines upon which form is dependent you destroy poetry. The tenet of the symbolists to be vague rather than precise naturally blinded them to this important law. As a consequence much of their work is a nullity.

Nevertheless, not only do Verlaine, Régnier, Maeterlinck, Verhaeren, and others avoid this pitfall, but they have really enlarged the scope of French poetic art. This they did by producing genuinely new effects, by striking new chords, as it were, on the poetic lyre, but especially in the case of Maeterlinck by making their art the vehicle of a new conception of life, the expression of a new idealism.

It would be interesting to trace Maeterlinck's evolution; to show how the artist has gradually become the thinker, to see how by degrees the intuitions of the symbolist have been transformed into active, moral ideas. Others—Régnier, for example — have sung of the triumph of life in the eternal renewal of nature, and therefore in man's being. But it is Maeterlinck who brings this idea to its fruition. While Maeterlinck to a great extent has remained true to the country of his birth, and his ideas cannot yet be said to have permeated French literature, nevertheless a comparison of his views with those of M. Bergson will show at once which way the pendulum is swinging. In any case here we have a poet, a man of letters essentially, who has worked his way through to an unusually clear grasp of definite principles.

Already in his dramas we see him busy at the problem why it is that disaster forms the basis of all dramatic poems. "It is no longer," he says, "the effect of disaster that arrests our attention, it is disaster itself, and we are eager to know its essence and its laws." But it is in his essays that the full measure of his thought is revealed. "Let us work in silence," he says, "perhaps ere long we shall be conscious of the 'murmur of the gods'"; and in the same breath he tells us how that murmur will sound:

"Look upon men and things with the inner eye, with its form and desire, never forgetting that the shadow they throw as they pass by, upon hillock or wall, is but the fleeting image of a mightier shadow, which, like the wings of an imperishable swan, floats over every soul that draws nearer to their soul."

More than any one poet of to-day, Maeterlinck has energized the strife of the spirit seeking to penetrate the veil that no one can lift. Without forsaking reason—and herein he is indeed on the side of science—he would assign Reason her proper sphere, not as a builder and destroyer of systems, but as the sifter and recorder of phenomena, the fearless guardian of our intellectual and moral life. He says:

"She waits there lamp in hand, and her sole presence renders the threshold inaccessible to that which is not comfortable to the nature of light. . . . The duty of the flame is to be as clear, as extended as possible, and not to abandon its post.

"But it happens that among the captives that wake some more radiant than herself approach the entrance. They spread a light more immaterial, more diffuse, more incomprehensible than that of the firm and definite flame her hand protects. These forces are those of love, of unexplained good (or others even more infinite and mysterious), that demand passage. . . .

"If reason does not tremble (because by all that she has not been able to learn she has, nevertheless, learned that no light is dangerous and that in the life of reason one can risk reason itself for greater clarity) ineffable exchanges take place from lamp to lamp upon the threshold. Drops of an unknown oil are mixed with the oil of human wisdom; and when the white strangers have passed, the flame of reason's lamp will rise higher, more mighty, and more pure."

Such optimism is certainly far removed from the morbid dreams of Baudelaire and the despairing melancholy of Verlaine. Nevertheless, the tenor of the thought is symbolistic, the infinite merges into the finite, the presence of the unknown is felt throughout. But instead of a thing to be feared, the unknown is transformed into the medium of

human progress, through its association with justice, benevolence, and love; an organizing force, positive, serene, and helpful.

Again he says:

"It is the recognition of the unknown in which we live which bestows on our lives a meaning which they would not have if we confined ourselves to what we know."

And further:

"The thought of the unknowable and the infinite becomes truly salutary only when it is the unexpected recompense of the intelligence that has given itself to the study of the knowable and the finite. . . . Rarely does a mystery disappear; generally it only changes place. . . . From a certain point of view all the progress of the human mind reduces itself to two or three changes of this kind; to have dislodged two or three mysteries from a place where they did harm in order to transport them where they become harmless, where they can do good. Sometimes it is enough, without changing its place, if we can succeed in giving it another name. That which was called the 'gods' we now call 'life.' And if life is as inexplicable as the gods we have at least gained this, that in the name of life no one has the right to speak or do harm."

Thus, at the summit of Symbolism there stands a new affirmation in place of the earlier negation. The everlasting nay is again answered. Life is presented to man as a complexity, a web of conflicting elements; it rests with us, according to the inner light, to rediscover its essential unity. Each new generation of idealists does this in its particular way. But rather than seek the ideal above Nature, as Plato had done and as Christianity taught, Maeterlinck seeks it in Nature, through the method indicated by Science, from sensation, to intuition, to thought, to external form. To be sure, not every one will share the poet's serenity of mind nor his faith in the validity of his views, but let us hope then that all will see light in his light. Did not Baudelaire say of the poet:

"Car il ne sera fait que de pure lumière,
Puisée au foyer saint des rayons primitifs,
Et dont les yeux mortels, dans leur splendeur entière,
Ne sont que des miroirs obscurcis et plaintifs."

William A. Nitze.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

BY GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR.

JANE AUSTEN lived her brief life in two or three quiet English towns. She had no adventures, no experiences, no great fortunes or misfortunes. She began to do her best writing when she was little more than a girl. She left a few immortal works, surpassed by no others in the painting of the human heart. What sort of woman was she herself? Not very remarkable to look at, it appears. Round, full cheeks—"for the most part they are foolish that are so," Cleopatra tells us—bright, hazel eyes, brown curls about her face. No doubt, in every point a lady. But her soul?

At first sight, it seems that she laughed, mocked, at all things, very gently and decorously, but still mocked. "I dearly love a laugh," says the heroine who surely most resembles her creatress. And again it is said of this same Elizabeth Bennett: "She had a lively, playful disposition which delighted in anything ridiculous."

Those who love Miss Austen best will recognize, far beyond any testimony of quoted instances, this incessant, pervading spirit of gentle mockery which appears in all her books, courteous, infinitely well-bred, but sometimes very far from amiable.

That she should mock at woman's education was, perhaps, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, natural enough. But it would be hard to find any one in any century who has mocked at it more cruelly. "Where people wish to attach, they should always be ignorant. To come with a well-informed mind is to come with an inability of administering to the vanity of others, which a sensible person would always wish to avoid. A woman, especially, if she have the misfortune of knowing anything, should conceal it as well as she can." Which was also the opinion of Lady Mary Montagu, considered one of the most learned women of her time. Now we have changed all that.

But if you suppose that Miss Austen wishes to contrast

with learning the sweets of domesticity, you are far astray indeed. I do not know whether she read La Rochefoucauld. She hardly needed to. In any case, she well supports his dictum that there are comfortable marriages, but no delicious ones. The motive of most she lashes with her whip of silken scorn. "His temper might perhaps be a little soured by finding, like many others of her sex, that through some unaccountable bias in favor of beauty, he was the husband of a very silly woman." Though she had a sister whom she loved better than anything on earth, the kindest thing she could find to say of two most affectionate sisters was: "Among the merits and the happiness of Elinor and Marianne, let it not be ranked as the least considerable that, though sisters, and living almost within sight of each other, they could live without disagreement between themselves or producing coolness between their husbands."

Nor is she much more enthusiastic about the charms of society. Her heroines do, indeed, love an outing or a ball; but much more stress is laid on untoward accidents that blight enjoyment than on its rapturous completeness. And this is life, as we all know. Only—. As for the little distresses of social converse, who has ever depicted them more subtly?

No one probably will maintain that Miss Austen treats love very seriously. Its common youthful ardors, "what is so often described as arising on a first interview with its object, and even before two words have been exchanged," she makes matter for derision or dismisses with indifference. Isabella utters a platitude on the subject. "This charming sentiment, recommended as much by sense as novelty, gave Catherine a pleasing remembrance of all the heroines of her acquaintance." With the author's own serious heroines love is an emotion of such reverend profundity that the heroines themselves require years to discover it, and even then it has to be forced upon their notice.

Religion and the deeper concerns of life generally, where they are mentioned at all, fare no better. They are touched with an irony of somewhat dubious effect on the profane, as at the end of *Northanger Abbey,* where those it may concern are left to wonder "whether the tendency of this work be altogether to recommend parental tyranny, or reward filial disobedience." There is no doubt, however, that Miss Austen sincerely honored sacred things. She would have

said with her own Elizabeth, "I hope I never ridicule what is wise and good." She appeared to think she would attain this end by keeping matters of the soul mainly out of her work. But she miscalculated a little. I do not know how one could more discredit religion than by exhibiting it in such representatives as Dr. Grant, Mr. Elton, and Mr. Collins: a glutton, a ninny, and an imbecile. If any reader holds that the prosy sermonizing of Edward Bertram helps the divine end of the matter, I disagree totally.

And as she mocked all things in human life, so she had a peculiar fancy for mocking the departure out of it. We know much mockable is there; but it seems odd material for a young girl to deal with. "It was felt as such things must be felt. Everybody had a degree of gravity and sorrow; tenderness for the departed, solicitude for the surviving friends; and, in a reasonable time, curiosity to know where she would be buried. Goldsmith tells us that when lovely woman stoops to folly, she has nothing to do but to die; and when she stoops to be disagreeable, it is equally to be recommended as a clearer of ill fame."

Obviously, Miss Austen's mocking was not all sweet, sunny, natural gaiety. It had too much ill-nature in it. This shows, I think, in her fundamental conception of character. Read over her list of *dramatis personæ* and see how many are attractive or agreeable. It is not that she presents set types of evil or folly. Far from it. Her people are all human, vividly human, walking figures of flesh-and-blood humanity. But like all true human beings, they have good and evil both, and her vision always turns toward the evil, the mildly evil, the foolish and ridiculous. This perversion is slight, but constant, and its very slightness makes it more true—and more depressing. What doubles the hideousness of the hideous scene between Mr. and Mrs. Dashwood (*Sense and Sensibility,* Chap. II.) is its perfect humanity and the possibility that it might have been you and I.

She will brand a whole company with a touch: they "almost all labored under one or other of these disqualifications for being agreeable—want of sense, either natural or improved—want of elegance—want of spirits—or want of temper." As any company might, to be sure—if you took it so. She will brand a whole sex. Mr. Palmer had "no traits at all unusual in his sex and time of life. He was nice in

his eating, uncertain in his hours; fond of his child, though affecting to slight it; and idled away the morning at billiards, which ought to have been devoted to business."

Above all, she is severe upon women past middle life. Few indeed has she drawn that are even tolerable. Yet I have known some who were charming. With what infinite, subtle, loving art are Mrs. Jennings and Mrs. Norris made odious! And the best illustration of all for Miss Austen's methods is Miss Bates. Her creatress starts with a heroic determination to be amiable for once. God has given this poor old specimen excellent qualities. For Heaven's sake, let us dwell upon them and leave the defects in shadow. "She was a happy woman, and a woman whom no one named without good-will. It was her own universal good-will and contented temper which worked such wonders. She loved everybody, was interested in everybody's happiness, quick-sighted to everybody's merits." Yet the turning of a page makes Miss Bates ridiculous, and the turning of more makes her almost as tedious to us as the author evidently found her. In the end she drives even Emma to open insult, which Emma speedily regrets, and would probably as speedily renew.

But, it will be urged, I am making the old mistake of interpreting an author from her writings, of transferring to her the sentiments of her characters, or, at any rate, her merely formal literary expression.

Very well, let us turn to Miss Austen's letters, and see what we find there. To begin with, they are charming letters, full of life, spirit, and vivacity, quite as charming as her novels. Her editors and biographers seem to feel it necessary to apologize for them. Why? It is true they contain no reference to topics of the day. She might never have heard of Napoleon, or known that America was discovered. But, as letters, they are none the worse for that. Also, they are not formally literary, have no set pieces or elaborate disquisitions. There is hardly a general thought in the whole of them. Who cares? They are literary as being the work of one of the most exquisite masters of expression. But, in general, they are merely the swiftest, lightest chronicle of little daily happenings, made eternal by a sense of fun as keen as Lamb's. Is there in Lamb any bit of happier nonsense than the sketch of Mr. Haden? "You seem to be under a mistake as to Mr. H. You call

him an apothecary. He is no apothecary; he has never been an apothecary; there is not an apothecary in this neighborhood. . . . He is a Haden, nothing but a Haden, a sort of wonderful nondescript creature on two legs, something between a man and an angel, but without the least spice of an apothecary. He is, perhaps, the only person *not* an apothecary hereabouts. He has never sung to us. He will not sing without pianoforte accompaniment."

Yet, minute as they are, and natural as they are, Miss Austen's letters tell us little about herself, that is, the inmost self that we wish to get at. Those we have were almost all written to her nearest and dearest sister, Cassandra. To Cassandra, if to any one, she must have opened her soul. But, if so, she did it by lip and not by letter. It is rare indeed that she goes so far as to say, "I am sick of myself and my bad pens." To be sure, such concealment of personal feeling and emotion is a most significant trait of character. The gleam and glitter of those sparkling pages, with all their implication and suggestion, recalls the charming speech of Birnheim to Fanny Lear—"*Ce qui fait le charme de votre conversation, ce n'est pas seulement ce que vous dites, c'est encore et surtout ce que vous ne dites pas.*" But when we try to get any definite picture of the writer, she seems a fairy, a spirit, in perpetual, glimmering, mazy dance, refusing to stand still.

At any rate, mockery is the prominent feature in the letters, as in the novels; and in letters as in novels the mockery, though sometimes sunny and sweet, is too often unkindly and leaves a sting. Miss Austen herself once at least recognizes this. She describes a certain person as "the sort of woman who gives me the idea of being determined never to be well and who likes her spasms and nervousness, and the consequence they give her, better than anything else. This is an ill-natured statement to send all over the Baltic." Doubtless her modesty prevented her from thinking of the ill-natured statements she was to send for ages all over the world.

But let us see, again, with more minuteness how completely she spins this gauze web of satire over every phase of life. Is learning in question? "I think I may boast myself to be, with all possible vanity, the most unlearned and uninformed female who ever dared to be an authoress." Or is she discussing family life? "The possessor of one

of the finest estates in England and of more worthless nephews and nieces than any other private man in the United Kingdom." A prospective marriage is summarily disposed of. Mr. Blackall is "a piece of perfection—noisy perfection. . . . I could wish Miss Lewis to be of a silent turn and rather ignorant, but naturally intelligent and wishing to learn, fond of cold veal pies, green tea in the afternoon, and a green window-blind at night." Mrs. Austen is disturbed by receiving an unamiable letter from a relative. Miss Austen is not. "The discontentedness of it shocked and surprised her—but *I* see nothing in it out of nature."

As to society, she resembles her heroines in liking balls, and, like her heroines, she finds many drawbacks in them. "Our ball was chiefly made up of Jervoises and Terrys, the former of whom were apt to be vulgar, the latter to be noisy. . . . I had a very pleasant evening, however, though you will probably find out that there was no particular reason for it; but I do not think it worth while to wait for enjoyment until there is some real opportunity for it." On beauty she comments freely. "There were very few beauties, and such as there were were not very handsome. Miss Iremonger did not look well, and Mrs. Blount was the only one much admired. She appeared exactly as she did in September, with the same broad face, diamond bandeau, white shoes, pink husband, and fat neck." As in this passage, she often refers to dress and too often unkindly. "Mrs. Powlett was at once expensively and nakedly dressed; we have had the satisfaction of estimating her lace and her muslins; and she said too little to afford us much other amusement." In regard to one special company she seems to express naïvely her general attitude. "I cannot anyhow continue to find people agreeable."

More intimate social relationships and the sacred name of friendship are treated at least as lightly. "The neighborhood have quite recovered the death of Mrs. Rider; so much so that I think they are rather rejoiced at it now; her things were so very dear! And Mrs. Rogers is to be all that is desirable. Not even death itself can fix the friendships of this world."

And love? Persons who mock at nothing else mock at that. What should we expect, then, from the genius of mockery? Whether she rallied her young men to their faces, I

do not know. Assuredly she rallied them behind their backs. One evening she expects an offer, but is determined to refuse, unless he promises to give away his white coat. The next she makes over to a friend all her love interests, even "the kiss which C. Powlett wanted to give me," everything except Tom Lefroy, "for whom I don't care sixpence." And when, writing to her niece, in later years, she sketches the man she might have loved, she ends by turning all into laughter. "There *are* such beings in the world, perhaps one in a thousand, as the creature you and I should think perfection, where grace and spirit are united to worth, where the manners are equal to the heart and understanding, but such a person may not come in your way, or, if he does, he may not be the eldest son of a man of fortune, the near relation of your particular friend and belonging to your own county."

Also, as in the novels, she is perpetually laughing at religion and virtue, that is, of course, at those elements in religion and virtue which are undeniably laughable. Morals and immorals she can treat lightly in individual instances. In their general phases she can jumble them happily with physical complaints. "What is become of all the shyness in the world? Moral as well as natural diseases disappear in the progress of time, and new ones take their place. Shyness and the sweating sickness have given way to confidence and paralytic complaints." On death she is inexhaustible. One would think she found it the most humorous thing in life—as perhaps it is. With what amiable, kid-gloved atrocity does she bury Mrs. Holder! "Only think of Mrs. Holder's being dead! Poor woman, she has done the only thing in the world she could possibly do to make one cease to abuse her." Apparently, even this supreme effort of Mrs. Holder's was not successful—in fact, embalmed her with spiced abuse forever.

Most curious of all is Miss Austen on the death of a near relative, the trim decorum, the correct restraint, the evident fear of being either over-conventional or under-feeling. So in the first letter; but two days later she rebounds and trifles with her mourning. "*One* Miss Baker makes my gown and *the other* my bonnet, which is to be silk covered with crape." Well could she say of herself, "I can lament in one sentence and laugh in the next." Only she immensely mistook the proportion.

One bare, strong phrase takes us right to the root of all the mocking and perversity. "Pictures of perfection, as you know, make me sick and wicked."

It is in this spirit that she makes fun even of her own art, novel-writing, will not take it seriously—"the art of keeping lovers apart in five volumes"—will not take its professors seriously. She mocks at their machinery, their heroines, their landscape, their morals, and their language—"novel slang," she calls it, "thorough novel slang, and so old that I dare say Adam met with it in the first novel he opened." Whatever pains she may have taken with her own work, she does not mention them, unless ironically, when some one praises her: "I am looking about for a sentiment, an illustration, or a metaphor in every corner of the room." If money and profit are suggested as possible objects, she laughs at them. Fame is all she is thinking of. "I write only for fame and without any view to pecuniary emolument." But when it is a question of glory, she laughs at that, and toils instead for pounds and shillings. "Though I like praise as well as anybody, I like what Edward calls *Pewter,* too." Yet, at the getting of money, and at the keeping of it, and at the spending of it, and at the lack of it still she laughs: "They will not come often, I dare say. They live in a handsome style and are rich, and she seemed to like to be rich, and we gave her to understand that we were far from being so; she will soon feel, therefore, that we are not worth her acquaintance."

One subject only is too sacred for mocking—the British navy. And even that seems sacred chiefly in connection with the Austens; for Sir Walter Elliot is allowed to say that all officers should be killed off after forty because of their weather-beaten complexions. Miss Austen herself, however, appears to have been possessed, like Louisa Musgrove, with "a fine naval fervor," which blossoms in Captain Wentworth's rapturous praise of his calling and fruits in the charming conclusion of *Persuasion:* "She gloried in being a sailor's wife, but she must pay the tax of quick alarm for belonging to that profession which is, if possible, more distinguished in the domestic virtues than in its national importance." A sentiment which would have delighted Sir Joseph Porter, K.C.B., though it would have obliged Nelson to turn away his face.

So, are we to set down this demure, round-faced chit of

a parson's daughter as one of the universal mockers, *der Geist der stets verneint* in petticoats, a sister of Aristophanes and Heine? It sounds ridiculous. How she would have shrunk from *das Buch Le Grand* and shuddered with horror at *Schnabelwopski!* Yet would she?

But her cynicism is more nearly related to Fielding and Smollett and to the eighteenth century—that is, it does not flow from Heine's universal dissolution of all things, but is founded on a secure basis of conventional belief. Minds of that eighteenth-century type were so confident of God that they felt entirely at liberty to abuse man. "Whatever is is right," said the "one infallible Pope," as Miss Austen calls him, therefore there could be no harm in calling it wrong.

On the other hand, what separates Miss Austen from Fielding, what brings her close to Heine, and what almost, if not quite, makes up for all her mocking, is that you feel underneath the mocking an infinite fund of tenderness, a warm, loving, hoping, earnest heart. Rarely has a woman been more misjudged by another than Miss Austen by Miss Brontë when she wrote, "Jane Austen was a complete and most sensible lady, but a very incomplete and insensible woman." Oh, no, under that demure demeanor was hidden the germ of every emotion known to woman or to man. She knew them all, she felt them all, and she restrained them all, which means quite as much character — and "temperament" also—as the volcanic flare of Charlotte Brontë. The very difficulty of tracing these things under Miss Austen's vigilant reserve adds to their significance when found and to the convincing force of their reality.

First, as to more general emotions. The testimony of the novels is often disputed. It is disputable when it refers to particular experiences and must be used with care. But many little touches would have been absolutely impossible if the writer had not first felt them herself. Thus it is when she writes that "It is the misfortune of poetry to be seldom safely enjoyed by those who enjoy it completely, and that the strong feelings which alone can estimate it truly are the very feelings which ought to taste it but sparingly." Or again, with brief and rapid analysis, "She read with an eagerness which hardly left her the power of comprehension: and from impatience of knowing what the next sentence might bring was incapable of attending to the sense

of the one before her eyes." Do you suppose the writer of that had never torn the heart out of a letter as madly as Jane Eyre? And was there not plenty of temperament in the woman who described the moment of release from a disagreeable partner as "ecstasy," and who fainted dead away when told suddenly that she was to leave her old home and seek a new?

Or in another line, how the clever mockery of her own writing withers before one short sentence which shows the real author, like all other authors: "I *should* like to know what her estimate is, but am always half afraid of finding a clever novel *too clever,* and of finding my own story and my own people all forestalled."

Then, as to love. Here the story is more obscure. Some critics have endeavored to deduce Miss Austen's feelings from those of her heroines. Others have entirely denied the legitimacy of such deduction. No doubt observation and divination may do much, but it seems to me that the subtle details introduced in many a critical moment must be based on experiences closely akin to those described. No man can ever understand Miss Austen's taste in heroes, and her creations in this line are the worst of her mockeries, all the more so because unintentional. But if she was blind to the faults of the type, she may have been equally blind to them in some real Edward or Knightley. We all are. I should even like to believe, with her adoring relative, that that shadowy lover who died unnamed to posterity blighted her literary effort and accounted for the singular gap between her earlier and later work. "That her grief should have silenced her is, I think, quite consistent with the reserve of her character," writes the said relative. I agree as to the possibility, but somewhat question the fact.

With the more common domestic and social feelings we are on surer ground. There is a universal concordance of testimony as to Miss Austen's sweetness in these relations, her tenderness, her charm. Guarded, reserved as her letters are, these qualities appear in all the laughter, in all the mockery. She watches over her mother, she longs for every detail about her brothers, she cries for joy at their promotion, she exchanges with her sister a thousand little intimacies, all the more sincere for their daily triviality. It is said that the family were always amiable in their familiar intercourse, never argued or spoke harshly, and I can be-

lieve it. It is said that Cassandra always controlled her temper, but that Jane had no temper to control, and the latter statement I do not believe, but do believe that appearances justified it. It is said that she loved children, and many passages in her letters prove this. See in the following the deep and evident tenderness turning into her eternal mockery. "My dear itty Dordy's remembrance of me is very pleasing to me—foolishly pleasing, because I know it will be over so soon. My attachment to him will be more durable. I shall think with tenderness and delight on his beautiful and smiling countenance and interesting manner until a few years have turned him into an ungracious fellow."

That she enjoyed playing the rôle of maiden aunt I see no reason to imagine. But she accepted it with infinite, sweet graciousness, and as years went on she seems to have grown even more self-forgetful and thoughtful of those about her. I have spoken of Heine. What was ever lovelier than his efforts to spare his old mother every detail of his last torturing illness, writing her the gayest of letters from his pillow of agony? Everything with Miss Austen is on a slighter scale; but how sweet is the story of the sofa. Sofas were scarce in those days. The Austen rooms contained but one, and Jane, dying, propped herself on two chairs, and left the sofa to her invalid mother, declaring that the chairs were preferable.

And if she loved others, they loved her. Her brother makes the truly astonishing statement that in regard to her neighbors "even on their vices did she never trust herself to comment with unkindness. . . . She always sought in the faults of others something to excuse, to forgive or forget." And he adds, "No one could be often in her company without feeling a strong desire of obtaining her friendship and cherishing a hope of having obtained it." The profound affection of her sister Cassandra needs no further evidence than the pathetic letters written by her after Jane's death, and the feeling of the other members of the family seems to have been hardly less deep. Especially was her society cherished by children and young people. "Her first charm to children was great sweetness of manner," writes her niece; "she seemed to love you, and you loved her in return." Again, "Soon came the delight of her playful talk. She could make everything amusing to a child." And later,

when years had somewhat diminished the difference of age, "It had become a habit with me to put by things in my mind with reference to her, and to say to myself, I shall keep this for Aunt Jane!"

Altogether, whatever may have been her instincts of intellectual cynicism, she was past question a woman exquisitely lovable and one who craved and appreciated love, even when she made least show of doing so. How pathetic is the tenderness of her last letters! "As to what I owe her [Cassandra], and the anxious affection of all my beloved family on this occasion, I can only cry over it, and pray God to bless them more and more." And again: "If ever you are ill, may you be as tenderly nursed as I have been. May the same blessed alleviations of anxious friends be yours; and may you possess, as I dare say you will, the greatest blessing of all, in the consciousness of not being unworthy of their love. *I* could not feel this." Surely those with such a longing and with such a sense of unworthiness are not the least worthy of love in this harsh, self-absorbed, and loveless world.

Nevertheless, what remains most characteristic of Miss Austen is her singular and inexhaustible delight in the observation of humanity. No one illustrates better than she the odd paradox that it is possible to love mankind as a whole, or, at any rate, to take the greatest interest in them, while finding most individual specimens uninteresting and even contemptible. I think she would have understood perfectly that wonderful passage in a letter of another authoress not unlike her, Mrs. Craigie: "I live in a world and among beings of my own creation, and when I hear of tangible mortals, what they do, what they say, and what they think, I feel a stranger and a pilgrim; life frightens me; humanity terrifies me; perhaps that is why it is real suffering for me to be in a room with more than one other. I believe I am a lover of souls, but people scare me out of my wits: it is not that I am nervous. I have only a sensation of being, as it were, in 'the wrong Paradise.' I am not at home: I talk about things I do not believe in to people who do not believe me: I become constrained, artificial."

"I am a great wonderer," says one of Miss Austen's characters. I think she was a great wonderer herself.

How fertile this interest in human nature was, what endless and richly varied entertainment it afforded, is made

manifest in many passages throughout both novels and letters. "I did not know before," says Bingley to Elizabeth, "that you were a studier of character. It must be an amusing study." Elizabeth's creatress found it so. When she visits picture-galleries, she confesses that she cannot look at the pictures for the men and women. In trying social situations the watchful critical instinct remains imperturbable and revels in the unguarded display of emotion commonly concealed. "Anything like a breach of punctuality was a great offense, and Mr. Moore was very angry, which I was rather glad of. I wanted to see him angry." Even in the most solemn crises the habit of curious observation cannot be wholly extinguished. Writing to her sister, with deep and genuine sympathy, on occasion of a sister-in-law's death, she interjects this query, which strikes you like a flat slap on an unexpectant cheek. "I suppose you see the corpse? How does it appear?" Finally, like all profound, minute observers of character, she realizes how far from perfect her knowledge is, that she cannot predict, cannot foresee. "Nobody ever feels or acts, suffers or enjoys, as one expects."

Miss Austen alone would be sufficient to disprove the contention that age and wide knowledge of the world are necessary for the understanding of the human heart. She had neither of these qualifications. Yet, though she may have missed many superficial varieties of experience, who knew better the essential motives that animate us all? She lived in a quiet neighborhood and saw comparatively few specimens; but those were enough. As she says, through Elizabeth, "people alter so much that there is something new to be observed in them forever."

Thus she herself enjoyed and pointed out to others the simplest, the most available, the most inexhaustible of all earthly distractions. Only I could wish she might have seen mankind a little more constantly on the amiable side. As Lamb well observed, almost all of Shakespeare's characters are lovable. How few of Miss Austen's are! Yet it may be that at twenty-one she knew better than Shakespeare.

GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR.

THE ETHICS OF MIRACLES

BY THE REVEREND S. D. MC CONNELL, LL.D.

THE twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles tells the story of Peter's being delivered from prison by the interposition of an angel.

"When Herod was about to bring him forth Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and guards before the door kept the prison. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by him and smote Peter on the side saying, Arise up quickly. And his chains fell off from his hands. And the angel said unto him, Gird thyself and bind on thy sandals and follow me. And he did so. And the iron gate that leadeth into the city opened to them of its own accord."

Thus delivered, Peter proceeded at once to the house where the other disciples were at prayer, and was received by them with thanksgiving. Then, with a curious *naïveté* the story goes on to mention incidentally,

"When Herod had sought for him and found him not he examined the guards, and *commanded that they be put to death.*"

It appears, therefore, that the *cost* of the miracle by which Peter benefited, wrought at the instance of the disciples' prayers, was the lives of half a dozen innocent soldiers who had never so much as heard of either Peter or his Master. In doing their ordinary duty they had been, by the disciples' prayers, pitted, as it were, against God.

This may serve to introduce a very difficult question. All who observe the present movement of religious thought and feeling are aware that the greatest burden which faith has to bear to-day is the element of the *miraculous* in religion. What was once regarded as the chief evidence is now its most serious embarrassment. It is usually assumed that this change has been caused by a better realization of the uniformity of natural law. To an extent this is true. We now realize that a miracle cannot be an isolated event in time or space. The whole universe is so bound together

in a nexus of cause and effect that were the sun to "stand still for three hours over Ajalon" the stars beyond Böotes would be wrecked. This quite new conception of the "reign of Law" has created the demand for infinitely stronger evidences for the fact of alleged miraculous occurrences. This demand has been met in two ways. One is to say "miracles do not happen." The other is to say, "They do happen, but the accepted definition of miracle is wrong. It is not a visitation or interruption of natural law, but an event caused by natural forces and laws which we do not understand." This latter method is the one now generally accepted by the champions of orthodoxy.

I am not greatly interested in the logic-chopping concerning the possibility of miracles, or of their provability. Hume's dictum does not affect me. He was no doubt right. No amount of evidence will ever prove a miracle. The reason is very simple. Evidence itself is a process which functions only within the uniform procedure of nature. It is orderly and has fixed laws. It can therefore never deal with a matter which is by its very definition an exception to the natural order. The thing to be proved or disproved must be a thing in the same category as the process of proof. Evidence, therefore, cannot deal with miracles at all, either for or against.

Professor Huxley probably said the last word for the attitude of Science in the premises: "I am prepared to accept the proof for any alleged miraculous occurrence, provided only the proof be sufficient. I can only say that for those cited the proofs seem to me to be grossly insufficient."

I am willing to leave the theologian and the scientist to fight the matter out in this field. However long the controversy may last, the result can only be a drawn battle. It is a fight between an elephant and a whale. They move in different elements and can only spout at one another.

What concerns me is an aspect of the matter which distresses and perplexes me as a Christian. The question is not, Can any miracle be proved to have happened? or, Can belief in miracles co-exist with belief in the uniformity of nature? It is not can miracles happen, but *ought* they to happen?

In the case of Peter's deliverance, the cost of the divine interposition fell upon some one other than he in whose in-

terest the miracle occurred. In the Old Testament miracles this may be said to be the rule. The servants of Jaweh are prospered, rescued, protected, advanced regardless of how many Edomites perish, how many wanton children are devoured by she-bears, how many women and babes are buried under the walls of Jericho. These stories do not disturb us greatly, because we really do not care very much. We now understand that the people at the stage of moral development where they then were could well conceive and report of God acting in this fashion. But we cannot. "Jaweh" is not the "God of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Our God is bound by moral considerations. He is not a despot who "sends one to Heaven and one to Hell all for His own glory." We cannot think of Him showing favoritism among His children, be they good or bad.

Most of the miracles recorded in the New Testament appear at first to be markedly free from this defect. Whether they really are so will have to be considered. Indeed, I may as well at this point raise the question which perplexes me. It may be stated thus:

Can the special intervention of God at any point, in answer to the solicitation of any man or men, fail to work wrong and injustice to other men?

As an illustration, let us take the case of the miraculous draught of fishes. A fleet of fishing-boats is on the Galilean sea. They are fishing for the market. The livelihood of the fishermen and their families depends upon their catch. They are all presumably using the same skill and diligence. They toil all night, and take nothing. But, in the early morning two of them are favored,—is not "favored" the word,—by divine interposition, so that their nets are suddenly filled and their boats loaded to the gunwale. But what of the other boats and men of the fleet? Had they ground to feel themselves unfairly dealt with by the Lord of sea and men and fishes?

Of course if it shall appear in any case that the showing forth of God is the prime purpose, the seeming favoritism shown to a particular man or group of men becomes of small consequence. But it is not easy to allow this justification for the Gospel miracles. In the first place, Jesus again and again disavows this purpose. He rejects, or at any rate belittles, the belief which came from "seeing many mighty works." In only one case, that of the man born

blind, does he connect God's manifestation with a miracle, and even in that case only indirectly.

Now, if it be admitted, as it is by practically all contemporary apologists, that the *raison d'être* of miracles is not evidential, *i. e.*, to show God to men who could not otherwise discern His presence, then a difficulty to their acceptance emerges which the apologists have not reckoned with. May it be that the old apologists had a truer instinct than the modern ones? If the purpose be not to "show God," then the question arises, not, how can they be proved, but how can they be justified?

Miracles, then, introduce into human life an element of uncertainty of which complaint could justly be made. Moreover, if they occur only at the request and instance of certain persons they would seem to introduce also a partiality of which men might more justly complain. If one blind man in Judea could have his eyes opened by a word, why not all the blind in Judea, in the Empire, in the world? If the son of the widow of Nain was by a word brought back to life to staunch his mother's tears, why would not the same word mend the broken hearts of all weeping mothers?

And so of all the rest; the *one* man with a withered hand, the *one* tormented woman, the *one* paralytic. Is it enough to say that these were the only cases that came in His way, when chance caused the occasion to serve? Does God's omnipotent goodness act only when accident or chance makes the occasion for it? Is He not Lord also of chance?

It may seem a paradox, but it is the fact, that this difficulty in the way of accepting miracles is due ultimately to Jesus Himself. This unlooked-for result may be illustrated by a similar one which He has caused in another ethical region. Many would doubtless be surprised, for instance, at the suggestion that the multiplication of divorces may be referred directly to the influence of Jesus in society. And yet the fact cannot be doubted. As thus—Christianity, for the first time, allowed to woman an independent personality of her own. Before Christ, and outside Christianity, she was always the appendage of a man—a wife, a daughter, a sister, *une femme couverte,* as the old law phrase termed it. Christianity made her a person. It was centuries before the fact sank into her consciousness. Now it has done so, and some unlooked-for results begin to show. For well and ill the woman is now conscious of herself as an individual.

She demands to deal and to be dealt with as such. Christian Courts have accepted the position. Eighty-five per cent. of divorces are at the instance of the woman. Their explanation is to be found in the finally awakened sense of her independent personality. The eternal Christ in the world produces many strange results.

After a similar fashion He has affected the whole idea of the miraculous. Our idea of God comes from Jesus. Wherever that idea prevails God is no longer thought of as an irresponsible monarch whose will is His only law, but as a great-hearted Father yearning over all His children. It is not strange that some of them have at times fancied they could presume upon His indulgence for their special behoof. They fancy He may do them any kindness, for which they ask with sufficient insistence. This, however, finds little encouragement from Jesus Himself. His conception of prayer is eminently noteworthy. In His personal example there is no instance of a petition whose gratification would involve any interference with the natural order. Even when overborne with agony, He had wrung from Him the cry "That this cup might pass," He had still strength to add, "Not my will, but thine." In that most marvelous form prayer which He set for His disciples, which has voiced the devotions of countless millions, there is not a single petition whose satisfaction would involve any interference with the natural order of things.

Now, to my mind,—and I would not presume to speak for any other—the obstinate difficulty in the way of believing that miracles have actually happened, or do happen, is not scientific, and not philosophic, but ethical. God has seemingly so constituted the universe in which men find themselves that, as a very condition of living, they must know what to count upon. Only in a universe where cause and effect hold together can intelligence function at all. And, what is of more consequence, only in such a universe can right and wrong have any meaning.

It will be seen, of course, that this difficulty confronts that continuous miracle which is involved in the common notion of Prayer. The exhortation to be insistent in prayer in expectation that thus the prayer may be "answered" forgets that each answer of this sort at the request of any one petitioner must just in so far forth import the element of uncertainty to the lives of all other men. If such an-

swers became frequent life would become quite incalculable. Every modification of that harmony which we call the natural order could only imperil by so much that sense of confidence upon which all men rest.

It is significant that the "Prayer for Rain," the "Prayer for Fair Weather," the "Prayer to stay a Pestilence," and such like are steadily falling into disuse. Some will say that this is due to the experience of their futility. Others will say it is because of decline of faith. I think it is due to a deepening instinct of their ethical unworthiness. I do not think that devout men pray any less than they ever have done, but I think their prayers tend to be more and more communion and less and less petition.

And it is the doubt as to whether miracles would be good for men to-day which really causes the doubt as to whether they really happened in other days.

The words which Zola places in the mouth of Lazarus, the beneficiary of the supreme miracle, will find an echo in many a heart: "Master! Master! why have you reawakened me to this abominable life? I was so content in the eternal slumber without dreams. I tasted at last so good a repose. I had known all life's miseries, all its dolors, its treacheries, its false hopes, its defeats and maladies. I had paid to suffering my frightful debt of living, and now, Lord, you make me to pay double in condemning me to recommence my sentence to the galleys. Have I then committed some inexpiable fault that you punish me with so cruel a chastisement? To go through life again! To feel myself dying again day by day! And it was ended. I had passed once through the terrifying gate of death, that moment so dread that the very thought of it empoisons existence. This anguish you wish me to endure a second time. You wish me to die twice, that my misery may be beyond that of all other men. Ah, Lord! let it be soon. I beg you do another great miracle; lay me to sleep again. Be merciful; give me again the rest which I had so well won."

There is really only one place at which Christianity rests upon what appears to be the "supernatural," that is the "resurrection" of Jesus. But here His contention is that it was natural for one who followed His "Way" to pass through death in safety:—and that it is equally natural for any other to follow in the same path, provided he set about it properly.

S. D. McConnell.

CO-OPERATION[1]

BY ERVING WINSLOW

One of the earlier committees of the Associated Charities of Boston (among the first formed of the municipal charity organizations) undertook the study of profit-sharing and co-operative business. At that time "efficiency" had received no scientific study and as regards most industrial occupations it seemed as though the employment of mechanical appliances had left little opportunity for that quickening of individual effort which might be the natural result of participation in the profits of a business and which was found indeed to have a notable effect in manufactures requiring individual skill and initiation like that in the Godin Familistère at Guise where each workman was to a considerable degree his own master.

As regards co-operative business the objection to a plan so attractive was one that seemed overwhelming, the lack of ability to manage affairs which must in some sense compete with those conducted by the princes of finance and the captains of industry. The highest qualities found in these great men seemed necessary to conduct the development of their large operations. Those who were chosen to conduct co-operative enterprises, if they had the honesty, very seldom developed the ability to guide the business under their

[1] As "combination" (a "combine") is a kind of "co-operation," though in fact so sharply opposed by intention and effect, proper definitions may be clarifying. The distinction has not been always observed.

"Co-operation" is a union of numbers of producers, artisans (workmen), or distributors for common advantage, to secure fair prices and the division of profits, controlling capital and employing for suitable compensation necessary executive ability.

"Combination" is the union of groups of capitalists and persons of executive ability for special advantage, controlling producers, artisans (workmen), and distributors, to maintain prices and to appropriate profits.

charge with ordinary success, not to speak of earning dividends for the co-operators. It was felt that, after all, the magnates of commerce and banking in the course of their great enterprises with an eye to individual profit were indirectly conferring such a benefit upon the community that they might be regarded as public benefactors and let alone.

The late Mr. Edward Atkinson in those days declared that Jay Gould was the great Socialist. He was not possessed with any particular enthusiasm of humanity, yet in the course of his operations his railroads were enabled to deliver freight at such rates that the cost of living was materially decreased.

To-day, as Professor John Graham Brooks reports, men of first-rate quality and caliber are found managing various forms of co-operation in Europe; whether that the idea of service has so extended itself or merely from the natural increase of good human material. These managers are competing successfully everywhere with the great powers in business and finance and showing the most distinguished ability.

Meanwhile in the recent era of insatiate "promotion" there has been a terrible misuse everywhere of its great opportunities. What Professor Albin W. Small put in the form of a question was really an assertion when he asked whether capitalism as we know it was compatible with social solvency.

With accumulative charges upon the product of labor to satisfy the legal claims of capital we have overtaken the capacity of productive operations to carry the increasing burden. Furthermore, we have lately been mistaking capitalism, mitigated by patriarchalism, for capitalism corrected in principle.

If Sir Thomas Shaughnessy could say at the banquet of the Canadian Pacific last year that it would have been more to the credit of many men prominent in the railway life of the Provinces had their fortunes been one-fiftieth of what they were, what could he have said of conditions in the United States!

The great unrest among us in these days is very largely due to the existence of tremendous inequalities. The patriarchal efforts at reform are obvious. Without embitterment it seems only fair to say that the masses of cash given for endowments and foundations by individuals are

a kind of conscience money to atone for monopolies and syndicates; but this will not suffice. If there is not to be some cataclysm such as has followed with its cleansing besom every overripe civilization, there must be some definitely formulated plan of reconstruction in the social economic fabric, and well it will be if the owners of vast wealth seize the opportunity to initiate and to lead in it.

It seems a conservative view to hold that co-operation in the various forms which it is now assuming is likely to be the remedy for the past and to supply the new departure for the future. Those possessed of wealth and power would be wise and prudent to devote these to the foundation of undertakings of this form which only need a little start to be energizing, self-supporting, and profitable. Back of every well-matured undertaking for co-operation, the agricultural bank, the co-operative store, and the co-operative manufacturer, might be the willing capitalist helping its foundation and assisting by wise loans in its early development. Of course there could be no difficulty between employer and employed when both were one. Where labor was capital and capital was labor, there might be realized Dr. Eliot's "joy" therein and there could be no occasion for either strikes or serious conflicts.

The subject of co-operative Agricultural Credit, an important development of the co-operative idea, was broached during President Taft's campaign last autumn and presented by him at the Annual Meeting of the Governors in December in rather a crude form. The Raiffeisen system, which was the exact one urgently recommended by the President with an expectation, which was gratified, of finding for it a warm reception, was exactly the system adopted for use in the Philippines by the Lower House of the Legislature to enable the native Filipinos to make headway against the invasion of foreign capital. The bill, which would have interfered with the progress of colonial exploitation, was defeated by the Upper House, Mr. Taft's Commission.

The International Institute of Agriculture was established at Rome in 1905 upon the initiative of His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III., King of Italy, who provided it with buildings and contributes generously toward its work, supported by the United States and forty other governments. The inception and organization at Rome was largely due

to the foresight and entire energy of Mr. David Lubin, the American delegate of the International Institute of Agriculture there, and his earnest and valued labors in behalf of the agricultural interests of American farmers should be generally recognized. Mr. Lubin made a very interesting preliminary report upon the subject at the regular monthly meeting of the committee of the Institute, May, 1912, which was printed as a Senate document and published also in the languages of all the nations which comprise the International Institute.

Mr. Lubin came over to make an address at the Southern Commercial Congress which met at Nashville a year ago. At this Congress it was voted that a committee should be sent abroad composed of two delegates from each State in the United States to report to Mr. Lubin in Rome on the subject and to make a tour of investigation with him in European countries, and to report to the Fifth Annual Convention of the Southern Congress which will be held in Mobile in September next.

A preliminary investigation was made by representatives from Texas, North Carolina, and Illinois last summer to prepare the way for the work of this large committee. The American Bankers' Association also appointed a Committee of Investigation into the subject and five ambassadors, with ex-Governor Myron T. Herrick chairman, were deputed by Secretary Knox to study the subject and to report.

It will thus be seen that the declarations of the Democratic and the Republican platform advocating an investigation of agricultural credit societies are likely to be fully carried out.

In France the Crédit Agricole is a highly centralized State-endowed institution granting credit according to stringent rules. It has about three thousand local offices with an average membership of between forty and fifty thousand.

Italy had 1,855 and Austria-Hungary 11,000 banks in 1911, Belgium a smaller number. In England, probably owing to the system of land tenure, rural co-operation has not succeeded, but is prospering in Ireland, and the Government supports a system in India. It is in Germany that, with unostentatious beginnings, the movement has developed its largest proportions. The Schulze-Delitzsch banks are self-supporting, independent, and largely profit-making,

though the members of course alone have an interest in profits. The minimum shares are about $30 and the average is not less than $85. Each member has an unlimited liability in almost every case.

The Schulze-Delitzsch banks were over 1,000 in number January 1, 1912, and are affiliated with the General Union and Economic Co-operative Societies. The volume of the business which they conduct is very large. They are mainly supported by the industrial population. In distinction to the Raiffeisen banks, they make only short-time loans. According to returns made by 952 of them at the close of 1911, credit was afforded in the course of that year, in the form of new loans or extensions of old ones, to the aggregate amount of $1,053,848,000, or an average of $1,107,000 for each society. The volume of outstanding loans at the close of the year was $308,340,000.

The General Union includes, besides the Schulze-Delitzsch banks, some 290 consumers' societies or co-operative stores, of which 273 reported that they sold goods to the gross value of $17,715,000 during 1911 at a net profit, principally distributed in rebates, of $1,671,000.

The Central Union had 1,103 consumers' societies enrolled with it on January 1, 1911, embraced 1,171,763 members, and did a gross business during the year amounting to $73,050,000. Nearly $13,000,000 worth of the goods sold was manufactured by the societies themselves in bakeries and similar establishments connected with their salesrooms. The Central Union itself maintains one or two cigar factories, one match, and one soap factory, and exercises general control and supervision over a limited liability company known as the Wholesale Purchasing Company for German Consumers' Societies, which is located at Hamburg and buys domestically and imports from abroad for further distribution to the individual societies. It reports the gross value of its 1911 business at $26,086,000, as compared with $21,104,000 in 1910.

The dairy or milk-vending societies are engaged in assembling the milk and dairy products of their members and selling them on joint account so as to secure the advantages of large-scale dealing.

Under the designation "other agricultural purchasing and selling societies" have been grouped various organizations selling farm products other than those of the dairy,

and those which purchase for their members the raw materials of the farm.

The 403 industrial purchasing societies, including 98 associations of retail grocers, banded together for co-operative wholesale buying, reported a total business in 1911 amounting to $22,834,000; and 73 selling societies, out of 454 reported in existence, returned the volume of their 1911 business at $3,638,000. Statistics of the business done by co-operative societies of all kinds during the year 1911 have been appearing during the last few months. A compilation shows that 31,981 co-operative societies representing an aggregate membership of about 5,000,000 persons were in existence January 1, 1912. The aggregate value of their property holdings on that date is reckoned at $161,364,000; the aggregate volume of their yearly turnover in the way of credit afforded and food, houses, raw materials, and so on, provided at $6,188,000,000, and the total amount of outside capital employed at $1,029,707,000.

The Raiffeisen banks were organized to supply the needs of the poorer class of people. There were originally no shares or entrance fees, and though the law made subscription of shares and the payment of dividends compulsory in 1889, the shares are as small as possible, ten marks being a usual figure.

The principal safeguard for loans from these banks are that they are made only to members of the group to which persons known to be trustworthy are admitted, membership being confined to persons residing within a small district and personally known to one another. The members being mutually responsible, it is the interest of all members to help a fellow-member when he is in difficulties. The borrower is required to find sureties or to get other collateral security for the repayment of the loan, and he binds himself to apply it to a specific purpose which will bring in a sufficient return to enable him to pay the sum borrowed with interest and to leave a profit for himself. All these safeguards are not adopted indeed in all cases. Loans are sometimes given on the borrower's note of hand without any collateral security.

The number of Raiffeisen banks increased by 683 in the course of the year 1912, or 4.2 per cent., as compared with 1911. Their combined capital grew, according to the provisional figures, to $650,000,000 from $605,464,000 at the

end of 1910, and the volume of savings deposits and deposits on current account to $570,000,000 from $444,108,000 at the end of 1910. On January 1, 1913, 16,927 Raiffeisen banks were in operation within the empire.

The development of co-operative credits with us will lead on to the fuller enlargement of the system: to co-operative production, co-operative marketing, and co-operative buying. A development of loans with banks without a prompt outlet for the funds will be helpless and useless. Their very success, as has been pointed out, in gathering funds may be the cause of their failure. The safeguard will be found in an extension to the needs of the country: co-operative creameries, shipping-stations, packing-houses, cold-storage warehouses, evaporating plants, and so on. The mortgage bank can advance money to build and equip such undertakings on the credit of their owners, the annuitive payment coming out of the profits.

This system of business is indeed in more or less full operation in every civilized country of the world: England and her colonies, Germany, France, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Hungary, Northern Italy, Russia, and Bohemia. In fact, Europe is united in a great Co-operative Alliance and an International Alliance is becoming active.

Co-operative manufacturing and co-operative merchandizing have been developed in Great Britain for nearly half a century, animated by the thrift, energy, enterprise, and zeal for social service which are beginning to manifest themselves among us. Directors of the co-operative society of Manchester, which is made up of nearly 12,000 retail societies doing a business of something like £30,000,000 worth of sales per annum, is managed by thirty-two directors, elected by the local societies, giving their entire time for a salary of £350 each per annum.

Among the larger societies in Great Britain are the well-known Army and Navy Stores, the English Co-operative Wholesale Society, and the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society.

The first payment in the British co-operative societies may be about a shilling as the first instalment on the shares and entitles the subscriber to all the membership privileges, consisting chiefly of lower prices on purchases.

When a share is paid up to the full value of a pound, interest is allowed usually at 5 per cent., with a privilege of

increasing the capital up to £200 bearing interest also at 5 per cent. Of course the principal can be withdrawn at any time with the same freedom that savings can be taken from the savings-bank. In England the law does not allow members to have shares in any one society in excess of £200. Ten to fifteen per cent. dividend is usually paid at the end of six months' purchases.

Great things are expected from a new movement to link together the English trade-unions and the co-operative societies. The probable membership of the combination has been estimated at about 4,000,000. The working arrangement, fusion, amalgamation, or whatever it may be called, will identify the unions closely with the co-operative organization, and the loyalty of the workers to their unions will be devoted to the cause of co-operative trading. An enormous increase in the co-operative turnover would appear to be an inevitable sequel. Not only will the societies gain as customers thousands of trade-unionists who now deal with private shopkeepers, but present co-operatives who are also trade-unionists will be stimulated to give more of their trade to the societies when these bodies have become closely associated with the trade-unions. Clearly the present co-operative trade of £100,000,000 does not represent anything like the purchasing power of 4,000,000 members. There may well be a rise in the co-operative turnover until it approximates £400,000,000 a year.

The prevailing greed of our average business man, attracted by the great opportunity in the development of the country and for making money through participation in "ground-floor" enterprises based upon the control of franchises, and all sorts of natural production, has regarded with contempt such a function as the management of co-operative undertakings. Not only is such opportunity passing with the new era, which is apparently opening, but it seems not improbable that higher standards of civilization will prevail, and that after readjustments have been made our kings of finance, our barons of commerce and industry, may perforce be satisfied to find outlet for their powers in the guidance of affairs which may give them a fair and honorable living and in which a full and worthy scope may be found for their capacity.

It is hardly possible to dwell with more emphasis upon the desirability of co-operation than upon the difficulties in the

way of its general adoption. The effects of co-operative membership, besides its political and social influences, must increase the dignity of humanity, reduce the high cost of living, cultivate the habit of economy, increase gross savings, and give people of moderate means money to spend on the better things of life after provision for food, clothes, and shelter. The system would limit and perhaps do away with the enormous economic waste of advertising with the many evils depending upon it.

It is impossible to realize what the dynamic force might be of these great energies converted to the service of mankind, which hitherto have done incidentally nothing more than build up great enterprises and vast fortunes for their creators. It may be that the fulfilment of the ideal is a remote one, but no sudden alteration is suggested in the conditions of humanity. Greening's prediction to Lloyd fifteen years ago was that co-operation once started in the United States would reach a far greater development than in England. In the Northwest, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts movements of considerable moment and large promise are perhaps in the way of fulfilling it. In small ways also it has begun here and there a safe and moderate development. The immediate interest in the whole matter lies in the fact that, as has been suggested, the great uprising of our day has given an effectual warning that those opportunities for personal acquisition which have been so successfully used, even though we are willing to admit that they have not under the circumstances been criminally misused, will no longer exist. The people do not want gifts of libraries and colleges, picture-galleries, laboratories and endowments, nor paternal profit-sharing, but real free co-operation. They ask for service rendered, for moderate remuneration. And if we would read the handwriting on the wall, perhaps we may say that the success of genuine co-operation is the one means of escaping State Socialism.

Our shifting population is a hindrance. The vested interests, of course, stand in the way of co-operative distribution. The department stores, real-estate owners, the mail-order people, the great advertising systems; in short, all capitalistic businesses in general are necessarily arrayed against a rival with such tremendous claims. The idea presupposes that customers will take a little trouble to go around the most expensive corner block to an humbler site,

that they will be alert to safeguard and look after their own interests and their own undertakings and to fight shy of all the false and fantastical methods for which they know they have to pay. Of little co-operative organizations familiar to the writer, the Harvard Co-operative Society in Cambridge has had a very profitable and prosperous career, though of course it had the advantage of being brought to the attention of a special clientage and of fine courage in its management.

The little co-operative undertakings are making their way among friendly groups of people in spite of the usual difficulties inherent to novel experiment. Even shareholders often let their shares lie dormant because the relations with the regular tradesman, necessary since all supplies cannot be furnished by the co-operative emporium, are unpleasantly strained, because details of delivery and so on cannot be at once perfected, and even because the household servants grumble at being deprived of the visits of the familiar grocers' boys and butchers' boys! Let it be noted that it is the " little wings " to carry us over such " little things " that must be relied upon for success.

Above all, we must look for great co-operative growth to the general development of those principles of thrift among us which perhaps our bitterest lessons have yet been insufficient to teach, for the acceptance of a standard which shall regard care for small savings as an honor and not a disgrace, and which shall recognize as the most important teaching of the Gospels that wonderful lesson of economy, after the manifestation of overflowing bounty, when its ministers were admonished to " Gather up the fragments that remain that nothing may be lost."

Erving Winslow.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

REUNITING THE CHURCHES

THE Editor of this REVIEW requests an opinion from me of Dr. Fosdick's article, in the May number, on "Reuniting the Church." It is a forcible expression of thoughts now in the mind of many churchmen, whatever their denomination. Dr. Fosdick mentions the Christian Unity Foundation, and I speak as a member of that body, and shall refer to several conferences that have been held by it; but what I say is not to be taken as binding the Foundation or any of its members except myself.

I could wish that Dr. Fosdick had used the plural in his title—making it, Reuniting the Churches—for does not this better describe the situation? The oftener I have had the privilege of conferring with members of various religious bodies in connection with our Foundation, the more evident it has been that (to quote one of our articles of incorporation) all these denominations possess "actual membership in the one body of Christ": that essential unity has not been absolutely broken by our unhappy divisions. In which connection one can hardly quote too often the fervid words of Bishop Andrewes, of the Church of England: "Though our government be of divine right, it follows not that without it there is no salvation, or that a church cannot exist. He must be blind who does not see churches existing without it. He must be made of iron who denies them salvation. We are not those iron people. We make a wide difference between those things." * The phraseology savors of the Reformation period, but the gist of it is not out of date. There is one body, and one Holy Spirit. External union is an outward manifestation of this spiritual unity. External union has been more or less broken; and to restore it is the desire of those who pray for "reuniting the churches"; though uniformity is not to be confounded with union, and alliance is not necessarily unity.

We Americans find in our political experience a helpful, though inadequate, analogy which illustrates the difference between unity and union. Our United States, although they have union, nearly lost it. If the Southern Confederacy had been effected, outward union would have been broken between North and South; but their spiritual, racial unity would not necessarily have been quite destroyed, and union might have been restored. Nevertheless we regarded the manifest union of all the States as so precious, that for the sake of it we were willing to sacrifice much blood and treasure. In the process of the years the evils of disunion among

* Cited by Dr. H. E. Thompson, *The Historic Episcopate*, p. 239.

the churches have been realized more and more. Each of them has suffered and learned much. No portion of the divided Church has been without fruits of the Spirit. Under the auspices of the Christian Unity Foundation, in friendly and illuminating conferences, individuals of several of the separated denominations have—unofficially and informally—assembled to pray and to discuss such questions as these: What has each denomination learned by its own experience? If union should be restored, even if there must be some subtraction of present peculiarities, what must each denomination hold to, and bring with it? Are our principles to-day quite the same as our forefathers' were? and do we not now lay less stress than formerly, or a different stress, on matters which still keep us from full communion? What steps have you already taken to improve your order? Since episcopacy — Greek, Roman, Anglican, Methodist—is already the preponderant method, is not episcopacy one key to the situation as to reunion in the Church of the Reconciliation? and how far might episcopal government be practically recognized as the center of governmental unity, by virtue of the power committed to the people of God, without insisting that episcopacy be recognized as the sole channel of divine grace, and without an obligatory philosophy, or theory, of Holy Orders? Without presuming to bind, or even pretending to represent adequately the denominations to which we severally belong, what would we as individuals be willing to drop, if by so doing reunion could be secured? and what creed can we all join in? Which of our denominations are nearest now? and cannot they get together to begin with?

After our conference with Presbyterians, the late Judge William M. Lanning, a prominent Presbyterian, said to me: "I confess that before this conference I had little hope of reunion between Episcopalians and Presbyterians; but I am going away with the happy hope that, sooner or later, reunion is not impossible. And I thank God for it." Not a few, of various denominations, have felt likewise; though the very reality and spontaneity of our conferences made us profoundly aware of the difficulties. Certainly, when we parted, we all felt that our intellectual and spiritual modesty had deepened. Our Foundation's leaflets, published with an account of our conferences with Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Disciples of Christ, and others, will be of interest to readers of this REVIEW, especially in connection with the Australian Resolutions.

There is so much to say, in so limited a space, that I hardly know what to omit. It was a remark of Luther, in his later years: "I tell my God that if He will have His Church, He must govern her Himself. We cannot do it; and if we thought we could, we should be the proudest asses under heaven." Dr. Fosdick speaks wisely and well of the popular impatience of the waste of spiritual energy, and the glaring inefficiency of the churches. Yet in our efforts to cure inefficiency we must remember that human standards of efficiency may not be God's standard. A young man, burdened with doubts as to God's providential care of the world, once said to me, in the characteristic slang of the day, "God doesn't seem to get there." I answered, "Are you sure you know where God intends to get?" It is in this view that I agree with Dr. Fosdick that the church union of the future may be on other lines than we conceive of. So far as we Americans can see, however, and so long as democracy prevails, the united church, while governed constitutionally,

will not be organized for one-man power; nor will the Italian, nor even the European cast of mind, be absolutely dominant. Yet we Americans need not expect that the united church will, on the other hand, be a sort of mere Holding Company. And the awful duty of private judgment will be safeguarded, so that the ministers of God's Word may commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. There will be no extreme centralization; though it will not be supposed that every man is his own theologian, any more than every man is his own scientist or economist.

Dr. Fosdick thinks there will be "no credal subscription"; but in our Unity conferences I do not remember that any one, of any denomination, expressed himself as unable to accept the Apostles' Creed. In another place Dr. Fosdick speaks of "a transforming faith in the spiritual meaning of life." Is not that a creed? Even agnosticism and materialism are creeds. In proportion to our intellectuality, demonstrated premises are conducive to our faith; but our creed is also a matter of our will—of our will to live. Human inferences from revealed facts are not infallible; so that to subject doctrinal inferences to a perpetual stream of criticism may be but "to love God with one's mind"; but real criticism involves real faith, and a creed to start with. Therefore in avoiding over-definition, and the disposition to build up charges of inferential and constructive heresy, the united church will not be without credal subscription; for some such subscription is essential to co-operative organization among reasonable human beings. It is the basis of personal devotion; and Christianity is personal devotion to Jesus Christ in fellowship with men.

Dr. Fosdick's article, therefore, taken as a whole, seems to me somewhat inconclusive and disappointing; too utilitarian, too careless of organic union. To some persons my article also may be disappointing. But this may not be a fault on the part of either of us.

"They see not clearliest who see all things clear."

The Christian church is still young. Probably we are yet in the primitive era of Christianity; for nineteen centuries are but a fraction of the years that lie before mankind. In spite of all that is to the contrary, Dr. Fosdick considers, with Dr. Carroll, that the sixteen Baptist bodies should be united; the eighteen Methodist reduced to three or four; the twelve Presbyterians to three; the twelve Mennonite to two. But Ambassador Bryce, in his inaugural address to the Conference of Historians, speaking of the wonderful unification of the whole earth under the swift changes of the last twenty years, concludes that as commerce and finance and politics have followed in the wake of science in all this process, so will religion: that as eight great political powers sway the world to-day, and already practically there are only four great religions, so a century hence possibly only three great faiths will remain. Is it, then, impossible that Christians everywhere may by and by compass reunion? or that the vision of that great seer, Dr. W. R. Huntington, may be fulfilled—"American Catholicity, with a simple creed, a varied worship, a generous polity"? Let his watchword be ours: "Hope on, Hope ever."

George William Douglas.

Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York.

THE PLEASURE OF FAMILIAR PLAYS

In the May number of the REVIEW, Mr. Firkin's adroitly named article —"The Source of Pleasure in Familiar Plays"—seems to me to have missed the point even more signally than Mr. Archer's contention in his book, *Play-making: A Manual of Craftsmanship,* in which he "draws a sharp distinction between curiosity which pursues the unknown and dramatic interest 'which survives when curiosity is dead.'"

EVERY observer of the drama will, I am sure, agree that some part of the delight we feel in witnessing a familiar play consists in the perception of subtle points of craftsmanship which have hitherto eluded notice; in welcoming old friends and old jokes with hospitable indulgence; even in "a curiosity dependent on the fiction of ignorance" with which we deceive ourselves as the dramatic narrative follows its well-worn course. Yet such diversions have no power to revive a mediocre piece. No play is as dead as the reigning success of last year or the year before. And it may be doubted whether they quite explain the spell which the classics have exerted on mankind through so many centuries. Is it nothing more than Shakespeare's technical skill which has invested Rosalind with perennial youth and beauty? Is it only "a curiosity dependent upon the fiction of ignorance" which has made Hamlet the supreme delight of every succeeding generation?

Personally I find Mr. Archer's "original" suggestion far more to the point. He recognizes a deeper pleasure in the "foreknowledge" one enjoys when witnessing a well-known play. "Our seat in the theater is like a seat on the Epicurean Olympus" which enables us to "taste for the moment the glory of omniscience." This is also, perhaps, a too trivial explanation of our unquenchable delight in the classics; yet to my mind it is a sound half-truth which carries one a long way forward.

Far from being new, however, the idea is familiar to the least analytical, the most empirical, man of the theater. And it is applied to new plays quite as confidently as to old. The late Frank Mayo used to warn aspiring dramatists against leaving the audience in doubt, even for a moment, as to any important detail regarding a character or situation; and he illustrated the point (with a conviction which perhaps surpassed his modesty) by citing the treatment of the finger-prints in his dramatization of "Pudd'nhead Wilson." From the outset the plot was foreshadowed; all that remained unknown was the *manner* of its development. In very similar terms Mr. Wilton Lackaye has lauded the skill with which, in the dramatization of "Trilby," the audience is shown the nature and potency of Svengali's hypnotic spells, and told how he intends to use them against the heroine. Even Mr. Archer's figures of speech have been anticipated, though crudely. Mr. Mayo used to say, and no doubt many a man before him: "People in the play may be fooled to the top of their bent; but an audience must be like God—it must know everything."

The same principle is illustrated in the fact, frequently commented on in the world of the theater, that no "mystery story" has been successfully dramatized. A novelist may introduce us into the thick of an unsolved murder, and keep us guessing, through several hundreds of

breathless pages, as to which of the varied characters is the criminal. If the leading figure can be successfully involved in mystery, the result is especially effective. This sort of story is occasionally elevated to the dignity of literature, as in certain of the tales of Edgar Allen Poe. On the stage, as far as I know, it does not even make good melodrama. From the outset the audience requires to know which is the hero and which the villain; and it requires, furthermore, to feel always assured that, however dark the hour may be, in the end the hero will triumph and the villain be crushed. In certain popular melodramas, as Mr. Archer himself has somewhere observed, this principle is deemed so important that the hero is shown triumphant at the end of each and every act.

In artistic drama, even in high comedy and tragedy, a similar principle obtains, though it is veiled beneath a subtler simulation of the complex texture of actual life. In every character virtues modulate into their cognate vices, qualities into their defects. Yet the sympathetic mind is never for a moment at a loss as to which side in the dramatic conflict is the side of the angels—and of the author. Othello is jealous, but the great gods love him. Hamlet is weak—but he is Shakespeare. Even as they die, we rejoice in them.

Here I am reminded of another of those managerial rules of thumb, so crudely phrased, and so firmly based on experience: "It isn't enough to let your audience know everything, like God; you've got to make it get right up on the stage with your hero—hold him back from doing the wrong thing, and push him on to do the right one. In every good play the audience is the chief actor." This saying, I take it, carries us a step beyond Mr. Archer's analysis. His gods are Epicurean; they have no touch of the gods of Æschylus, no touch of Jehovah. For the moment he ignores the fact that wherever the drama rises to the heights it is a vital, propulsive force in human existence.

In brief, the well-springs of dramatic art minister to the thirst of the human soul. We have all of us hopes and desires far beyond the possibilities of life to realize. Who would care to see Shakespeare acted if he could himself for the time in his own person, be Hamlet or Rosalind? What good citizen of Athens would have frequented the theater if his life offered him scope for the heroism of Prometheus or of Alcestis? In our narrow lives from day to day a thousand large impulses are thwarted, a thousand aspirations quenched. But under the spell of great art they are realized—if only in imagination, and for a moment.

With this quenchless thirst of the spirit all graceful Epicurean delights have nothing to do—the stimulation of an idle curiosity by means of the minor arts of suspense and surprise; the mazes of a well-exploited mystery; even a flawless artistry in legtimate technique. Such delights may amuse our leisure; but once known, they are as empty of real interest as last year's nests. If the drama has small place for them it is because, even in its humbler forms, it is at once the largest and the most concentrated of arts. It has been well said—and by Mr. Archer, among others—that no theme is worthy of the stage unless it centers in a struggle for something greater than any mere question of life and death. The protagonist in the drama is the immortal spirit; and what it demands in the theater is to feel not only omniscience

but omnipotence. No trick or concealment is tolerable which holds us from spreading our wings, and no play is ever stale which lures to the loftier flights. JOHN CORBIN.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

A REJOINDER TO SOME CRITICISMS.

THE articles recently appearing in this REVIEW under the general title of "What is Socialism?" brought numerous letters to the Editor and the writer. This correspondence is of significance for at least three reasons.

First, almost without exception, the REVIEW'S correspondents were Socialists. Here and there was a letter from the opposing camp, but these were few. From this I draw the conclusion—strongly impressed upon me before but now reinforced—that while the supporters of the revolutionary movement are active in carrying on their campaign its opponents are indifferent to the dangers facing them. This attitude explains the enormous strides Socialism is making. The Socialist is tireless. He is an omnivorous reader. In the reading-rooms it is the Socialist who is devouring the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and similar American and foreign publications, earnestly studying what the opponents or supporters of Socialism write, always ready to join the issue, giving circulation by word of mouth to every argument or plea that will advance his cause. Socialist literature and Socialist speakers spread the doctrine, but little if any attempt is made to rebut or to reach the dissatisfied on the border-line willing to listen to reason if properly presented, who join the ranks of the revolutionists because they hear only one side.

Second.—These letters breathe conviction. Whether we believe Socialism is right or wrong, it is evident that to the Socialist his cause is just. He does not question; he knows. It is that profound confidence in the righteousness of the cause he has espoused that makes Socialism the vital—and dangerous—thing it is and constitutes the menace to society. The sincerity of the Socialist is as striking as the indifference of his opponent, whose courage may be no less, but who is content to oppose a resolute advance by wilfully closing his eyes.

Third.—These letters show that Socialism is confined to no one class or profession, that it has wiped out sectionalism and broken down the artificial boundaries of geographers. One is not surprised to receive a letter supporting Socialism from that hotbed of lawlessness Los Angeles, but it is somewhat bewildering that a man writing from Wall Street (who is courageous enough to give his name and his office-building) should avow his belief. New Ulm (Minnesota), Washington, Nashville, Seattle, great centers as well as places having only a local fame, are represented in the correspondence; clergymen, newspaper writers, workingmen, lawyers, and men whose occupations or professions are unclassified, have read these articles and thought proper to expose the fallacies of the author.

I said in one of my articles that the reason Socialism had obtained such a hold was the belief of its votaries, nearly always sincere and very

frequently disinterested, that it would ameliorate social conditions and lead to the suppression of poverty. Thus writes one of my correspondents, whose every word stamps him as a man of deep sincerity who has given earnest thought to pressing social problems: "To be frank, I, like thousands of others, have joined the Socialistic movement, not for its historical mission, but through economic oppression. To-day Socialism is to me what the synagogue was for my father, a hope for a better present and a gateway to heaven." This is the burden of all the letters. The world is to be rejuvenated, reformed, remade through Socialism. It cannot abolish death, but it will drive out everything else of which man now complains.

If I believed this I should be a Socialist. So, I think, would all my friends whose views are similar to my own. But it is because we cannot believe this, it is because our reasoning has convinced us that Socialism instead of improving conditions would bring greater confusion, greater injustice, greater inequality, and set back progress instead of advancing it, that we endeavor to lead men in the proper direction and to point out the dangers we would avert and the evils not to be contemplated without fear.

Socialism I declared to be wrong, fundamentally wrong, and it *is* wrong because it is an attempt to subvert economic laws and to defy the laws of nature. Several of my correspondents write that Socialism would do away with "wage slavery" and "the exploitation of labor"; that instead of "profits," which they hold to be the cause of low wages and long hours of labor, every person would receive a "labor credit," which would substitute honesty for our present system of legalized robbery. I cannot in the limited space at my command do more than again remind my readers that the Socialist is not so much concerned in abolishing profits as he is in receiving some of those profits himself, which he believes would be paid in the form of higher wages. No fault can be found with this; it is not only perfectly natural but also perfectly proper that every man should desire higher wages, but what the Socialist cannot see, or refuses to admit if he is capable of clear thinking, is that he would not destroy "wage slavery" and he could not bring about equality, and he is always professing to be striving for equality. The so-called "labor credit" would not materially differ from the existing wage system, for every man who now works receives credit for his labor and is paid for it in money, which he may do with as he pleases; under Socialism his "labor credit" would be satisfied either in money or the right to obtain goods manufactured by the community to be charged against his labor credit, or the services of others, who in turn would be given credit for the work performed. The method of recompense and payment would be different, but the practical effect would be the same. As for equality—that is, equality of work or equality of compensation—that is impossible. All men are not born equal, neither do they remain equal. One man is born with a better brain, another with greater strength, another with more will power. One man is either born with ambition or acquires it; his ambition makes him overcome difficulties and he succeeds. Another man is indolent, still another is hard-working but unintelligent. Shall the stupid man who can do nothing except what he is told—and even then does it very badly—receive as

high reward as the directing hand or brain? How long does any one suppose that state of affairs would last? One of my Socialist correspondents, after decrying profits, makes this original suggestion: "Now let us get together on a broad platform and declare that the laborer and worker shall be rewarded by a Board of Industry according to the grade and quality of his services." Is not this very thing being done every day in the year? Are not men now rewarded according to the quality of their services? The Socialist is forced to recognize that inequality of service must result in inequality of compensation.

One may as well talk about the equality of animals or the equality of trees or the equality of substances as the equality of men. Why are not all horses equal—equal in courage or strength or beauty or intelligence; in the same orchard are some apple trees better than others; why does one mine produce coal of the highest quality while that from an adjoining mine is inferior? Let he who can answer these questions, but until he does let him keep silent about the equality of man. Man never has been equal. I do not say that his dream may not be realized some time in the distant future, but in our present stage of development it is an impossibility.

I repeat what I said in my previous articles. The existing social system is not perfect. Many things are permitted to be done that society for its own good ought to prohibit. In every community there is an element that has just cause for complaint. The reward of labor is often unfair, inequitable, insufficient. These things I recognize; these things, I think, every thoughtful man is compelled to admit. What is wrong I believe ultimately will be corrected, for I have profound faith in the development of man and the progress of society, but I do not believe that man will improve or society will make progress if science is abandoned in the pursuit of empiricism.

A. Maurice Low.

Church of St. John the Evangelist.

Syracuse, New York, *April 23, 1913.*

Dear Editor,—The usually accurate Sydney Brooks, in his article on "Aspects of the Income Tax," in the April issue of your valuable periodicals, falls into a grave error.

The Civil War amendments were both assented to and participated in by the seceding States. Mr. Seward did not issue his proclamation until twenty-seven of the thirty-six States had ratified. They probably did not act from the heart, but the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of their ratification.

I am, dear sir, Michael Clune.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

VIRGINIA. By ELLEN GLASGOW. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1913.

WE have said elsewhere of this book: In this great realistic novel, a woman's heart, at the mercy of a system and a tradition, reflects the entire history of a people. It is not only a personal history; it is the "new history which in its amplest meaning includes every trace and vestige of everything that man has thought and done." We have here the history which is conscious that the tiniest stirrings of emotion, the surprises, the set convictions of the obscurest individual are a legitimate part of the structure of life and go to the making of a civilization. As Arnold Bennett has immortalized the "Five Towns," so Ellen Glasgow has caught and set in lasting mold the civilization of a certain period in Virginia.

A great realistic novel; this phrase gives the key-note to any criticism that can be made of *Virginia*. "Great fiction," its author says elsewhere, "is neither more nor less than great truth-telling." To hold up the mirror of life, to see the figures there reflected without distorting glamour, or subjective breathings, and then to give honest report of what is seen; this is to be the great writer of fiction.

The state of Virginia, so long a picturesque survival into a new age, has suffered no little from the sentimental tenderness of her historians. It is human, probably, to regard the past through a softening haze that blurs outlines and modifies ugliness. It is the greatest of Miss Glasgow's achievements that she has always been able to see with precision, and the value of her novels lies in their untrammelled sincerity. She knows her own land from beginning to end; she has watched its development; she has noted those who are at ease in their environment, those who have rebelled and by rebellion made the entering-wedge for progress. Virginia, in this case, however, is not the name of a country, but of a woman; a typical woman of her locality and her time, the early eighties. She is a woman who has never questioned the traditions in which she was bred and whose reading and experiences have given her no glimpses into a wider or more varied life. Virginia is beautiful, gentle, self-sacrificing. She felt ardently, but she neither thought nor read. Indeed, it was a part of the very tradition in which she was reared that reading was a luxury for the idle, only to be indulged in as one would in dancing. Education was not so much a mental preparation for ac-

quiring an understanding of life as a moral training for self-sacrifice; for this, according to tradition, was the sole object of a woman's life. Before marriage, beauty and joyousness and freedom from care were but the duteous means of attracting a husband, but after marriage one became a slave to that convention which regards the continuance of life as its sole object. Not that life should gain in value and worth, but that it should go on, was the objective-point of woman's creation; and to this theory Virginia devoted herself instinctively.

"Your first duty now," was her mother's parting admonition to her after her marriage, "is to your husband. His will must be yours now, and wherever your ideas cross, it is your duty to give up, darling. It is the woman's part to sacrifice herself." And so with outworn traditions, sheltered by a fallacious view of life, Virginia falls in love, marries, bears children, suffers the pangs and knows the rewards of motherhood, and learns that the fruits of renunciation are more renunciations. She flings away her youth, her beauty, her part in the outside world in the service of wifehood and motherhood, only to find in the end that the world has moved on without her; that as she gave up, others fulfilled their lives and that fate demands more of us than mere renunciation. It demands the will-to-live, to create, to add to the fullness of consciousness and being.

If the first book in this novel is idyllic, the last one is poignantly and unrelentingly austere. The great chapter in the first book is "White Magic," a chapter which in poetic loveliness may be set beside the famous nineteenth chapter of *Richard Feveral*. The great chapter in the end is "Bitterness." With the truth of the historian and psychologist, to whom nothing so much matters as fact, Ellen Glasgow preserves a complete fidelity to life. What was lovely and exquisite in her heroine remains so to the last. Virginia trained in gentleness and self-restraint retains these virtues to the last. She accepts, almost unconsciously, the slow withdrawal of personalities that comes between her husband and herself without recriminations or scenes or quarrels, but only with the slowly divergent interests, till there is nothing of soul that one can give the other; so that when the physical bond is broken the partners wake suddenly to find that nothing is left.

It is a profound tragedy that Miss Glasgow depicts, and in these days, when traditions are breaking up and ties are loosening, her tale carries a fine moral.

The English of this book is faithful to the coloring of the author's spirit. Unforced and unadorned except where the subject is of itself poetic, it is throughout of a classic purity. There is not a trace of the modern mixing up of the parts of speech, or of modish defacements of the language. As far as language goes it might have been written in the days of Addison himself.

Indeed from many points of view, Ellen Glasgow's work bears the imprint of permanency. She has never courted public favor; she has never written a "best-seller" for applause or money; but like Hardy, like Meredith, like John Galsworthy, she does the work to the highest reach of her capacity and leaves the results to Life. But her books are more likely than any other American novels of this day to find a place on the ultimate and permanent shelves of literature.

THE ENJOYMENT OF POETRY. By MAX EASTMAN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Always we have more or less obscurely understood that the age-long quarrel between the poetic mind and the practical mind has been based upon an incompatibility of temperament rather than a conflict of beliefs. Temperamental quarrels, we know, are often precisely the bitterest; yet, unlike quarrels of conviction, they tend to disappear as their underlying cause becomes more clearly understood. Thus, true discernment, while it seems to erect barriers, often in reality dissolves them. No sooner has William James propounded his famous distinction between the "tough-minded" and the "tender-minded" than we perceive that no one belongs wholly to either class; and from that moment each is in a better position for mutual understanding.

As effectual in its way is the evidently sound distinction which Max Eastman has drawn in his book, *The Enjoyment of Poetry,* between the poetic and the practical. Like most sound distinctions, this turns out to be not a gulf, but a line of light and shade. Once we have glimpsed the shadowy demarcation — shadowy, but real — we see, as thinkers, what the artist sees in nature—that there are no absolute divisions. Then we may begin to enjoy literature and life more genuinely and to use them both to better purpose.

Fundamentally the distinction lies in this: that practical people habitually view things in relation to some ulterior purpose, and name them accordingly, while the poetic instinct aims at vivid realization and chooses the names that help realization most. Very simple the distinction seems, but in its simplicity its great utility resides. The difference between the poetic and the practical is not an imaginary cross-section, but a natural line of cleavage: it runs through literature and on into life. It separates one mood from another, one kind of conversation from another, one kind of book from another. In short, it is a vital distinction, and in accepting it we must accept what it implies—what adheres to it on each side—both the poetry and the prose.

And if we accept it we shall see, more clearly, perhaps, than ever before, that poetry is not merely prettiness "printed and bound in little books," but that it is essentially the desire for realization throbbing through life and through language. The same cause, we perceive, explains the creation of slang—which is often poetry in the rough—and the instinctive desire to taste experience to the full. Moreover, we cannot help seeing that if life without purpose is insignificant, life without at least some degree of realization would have, so to speak, no substance: so that a wholly unpoetic world would be a world of abstract relations merely. In practice there is room—there is need—for both worlds. In words that recall certain utterances of Professor Münsterberg, Mr. Eastman emphasizes the fact that "things are and continue to be what the poet names them, whatever else they may be, or be named, by the scientist." Elsewhere he enforces the wholesome truth that poetry and purposeful achievement are not incompatible. "We are all," he remarks, "except those lost in apathy, in some degree both poetic and practical. But the example of the hero proves that it is possible for a man, who can think clearly and command the differences that lie within him, to be both poetic and practical in a high degree."

The clear definition of poetry considered psychologically—that is, vitally—persuades more powerfully toward its enjoyment than any amount of critical eloquence; for it may be doubted if the rhetoric of appreciation ever really does more than confirm tastes already formed. Carrying on his method of analysis, Mr. Eastman shows that the poetic naming of things really enriches our experience of them. Children know this instinctively; in some degree we feel the truth of it every day of our lives. We might well be content with the simple correlation of poetic with ordinary experience; but if we seek further explanation, the process of poetic naming may be described as one of selection and comparison. The mind selects the point for most intense realization, and memory deepens the effect. Similarly, another familiar fact of experience—the fact that imaginative realization is often more intense than reality itself—affords a simple explanation of the spell of poetry—a spell not to be accounted unreal or illusory, since it is part of the very fabric of life. Incidentally, we find that the poetic figures are by no means indirect modes of expression, but that they contain the very essence of directness.

In detail the author discusses, from the psychological as opposed to the rhetorical standpoint, things, action, emotion, and thought as realized in poetry. In so doing he sweeps aside several "limiting definitions." Emotion, for instance, is not, he maintains, "the essence nor a definitive feature of poetry. The most practical language—like earnest achievement—can awaken the emotions. It is not the existence of these emotions, but our attitude toward them that distinguishes the poetic mood. We wish to experience them for their own sake."

Ingenious and plausible, though no indispensable part of the main thesis of the book, is Mr. Eastman's explanation of the effect of rhythm in intensifying realization — an explanation which may strike some readers as leaning a little too heavily for support upon the not too obviously related phenomena of sleep and intoxication.

Mr. Eastman writes both imaginatively and logically. His quotations from a considerable variety of poets seem not merely to illustrate his thought, but to contain the germ of it. They justify the method of the book by the added value they derive from the context in which they are placed.

THE DAFFODIL FIELDS. By JOHN MASEFIELD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

To find oneself, at this date, reading a long narrative poem, dealing with modern people and situations, and to find oneself, moreover, enjoying every word of it, is an amazing experience. Still more surprising is it to realize that peculiarities which we would have condemned antecedently as soul-offending defects have not offended us in the least. Before the fact, who would have admitted that such a line as

"The Irishman removed his pipe and spoke"

would be tolerable, would be even conceivable, in, of all things, the Spenserian stanza? There are any number of such lines in *The Daffodil Fields*. There are, in fact, whole passages which might tempt derisory comparison with Crabbe's famous description of the dredger who

"—cold and wet and driving with the tide
Beats his weak arms against his tarry side,
Then drains the remnant of diluted gin
To aid the warmth that languishes within."

Compare with this Mr. Masefield's stanza:

"His footing paid, he joined the living-shed,
Lined with rude bunks and set with trestles: there
He, like the other ranchers, slept and fed,
Save when the staff encamped in open air,
Rounding the herd for branding. Rude and bare
The barrack was; men littered it about
With saddles, blankets blue, old headstalls, many a clout—"

But there is all the difference in the world between Crabbe at his worst and Masefield at his homeliest. For at his homeliest Masefield is still a true poet, and even when he is prosy he is never perfunctory, nor by any chance unintentionally comic. At his best he gives us the purest poetic pleasure. Nothing could be more unexpectedly delicious than a passage such as this:

"The bull-calf gamboled with his tail acock,
Then shyly nosed towards them, scared but tame;
His troublous eyes were sulky with blue flame.
Softly he tiptoed, shying at a touch;
He nosed, his breath came sweet, his pale tongue curled to clutch."

And of such passages there is an extraordinary variety. Fundamental sincerity, singleness of aim, truth of detail—these, with the liquidity of his verse, are the qualities that make Mr. Masefield's plainest narrative acceptable, while they underlie the originality of his finest stanzas. At times he is so naïve an impressionist that we think of him momentarily as a poetic Stephen Crane:

"And there the pickers come, picking for town
Those dancing daffodils; all day they pick;
Hard-featured women, weatherbeaten brown,
Of swarthy red, the color of old brick—"

At other times he gives us beauty of the more traditional sort:

"There are three fields where daffodils are found;
The grass is dotted blue-gray with their leaves;
Their nodding beauty shakes along the ground
Up to a fir-clump shutting out the eaves
Of an old farm, where always the wind grieves
High in the fir boughs, moaning—"

But whatever else he is, he is always genuine. The narrative form suits his genius, and his genius reconciles us to the much-abused narrative form. For the form does not require the poet to be always—or always to pretend to be—under the greatest stress of inspiration, and so it conduces to genuineness. The reader is not weighed down with factitious melancholy, nor oppressed with a heavy atmosphere, nor bedazzled with generalities. Limpid narrative, when no more is required, dialogue that appeals solely by its unrestrained expression of emotion,

beautiful pictures and poignant emotion upon occasion—what more in all conscience can we ask? It almost seems that one who could fail to feel the charm of Mr. Masefield's verse would be capable of disliking Chaucer! Certainly, if we like *The Daffodil Fields,* we may be sure that what we enjoy is poetry, and that we have not been deluded by a trick of mood or a mere chime of words.

TALES OF THE MERMAID TAVERN. By ALFRED NOYES. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1913.

In his new volume of poems Alfred Noyes does supremely well the thing that he may always be depended upon to do. He pours forth quantities of splendid verse, satisfying in sound and lavish in imagery. Mr. Noyes commands the whole range of his instrument: no one uses with such astonishing variety of effect the power of rhythm to stir and soothe, the subtle music of syllables, or the echoing suggestiveness of words. He has "the touch of velvet and thunder."

It is ungrateful to find fault with poetry that exhilarates if it does not exalt. Of a poet lyrically so gifted it is, perhaps, beside the mark to say that we miss the touch of genius in his phrases, and that he has hardly a line that will bear comparison with a really great line. Of more weight, if it be justified, is the feeling some of us may have that in writing Elizabethan ballads Mr. Noyes has somehow missed (except musically) the ballad note. In other words, the robustness of the verses may seem to us, on the whole, a little sentimental and shrill, and at his best Mr. Noyes makes us think rather of a Shelley or Keats, writing of taverns and adventures instead of clouds or nightingales, than of a Kipling or a Scott. Is the tale of "Black Bill's Honeymoon," in which a burly English seaman hunting for honey in a strange land is plunged up to his neck in a hollow tree full of the treasure he sought, and rescued therefrom by a bear—is this truly written in the spirit of Elizabethan manhood, or is it not conceived full more in the spirit of a nursery tale? Is the tragedy of Kit Marlowe, as told by Mr. Noyes, terrible, or merely intensely sentimental? Are we not dealing, in fact, with an Elizabethan fairyland rather than with anything like the truly Elizabethan scene?

Such questions inevitably arise, but they may be safely suppressed. If Mr. Noyes's Elizabethan world suggests a tapestry, the tapestry at all events wavers to gusts of emotion, it flaps with color, and its glowing figures seem really alive. There is magic in his verse even if we cannot help feeling a lack of the substantial humanity which it so insistently professes to portray.

THE LORE OF PROSERPINE. By MAURICE HEWLETT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Those who are lured to read Mr. Hewlett's book by the hope of biographical information or in the expectation of discovering the secret of his temperament have only a very moderate satisfaction in store for them. *The Lore of Proserpine* is a hypnotic book: it is a lesson in magic, which will almost teach one how to believe the impossible; but it is far from

unreservedly biographical, and only in a very indirect way is it a revelation of temperament. Mr. Hewlett does indeed tell us something of his boyhood and of his school days. But such actual details as he gives us serve but as the words of a hypnotist to soothe us into the required trance.

When he was a boy Mr. Hewlett saw in the woods a satyr or faun-like creature in the shape of a youth of about his own age. This we believe, on the whole, easily enough. The description of the creature seems truthful. The supernatural thing is just natural enough and just unnatural enough to be convincing. Mr. Hewlett must have seen the wood-spirit or he could hardly describe the color of its eyes down to the specks in the iris, and we experience a rather pleasantly uncanny feeling when we realize that in some corner of our brains we must always have known that the eyes of such a creature would, in the nature of things, look just so. The thing was amusing itself by half-choking a rabbit. "Just as children squeeze a snap-dragon flower to make it open and shut its mouth, so precisely did he, pressing or releasing the windpipe, cause that poor beast to throw back its lips and dart out its dry tongue. . . . If this creature had been human, upon seeing that I was conscious of its behavior to the rabbit it would either have stopped the moment it perceived that I did not approve or was not amused, or it would have continued deliberately out of bravado. But it neither stopped nor hardily continued. . . . He went on with it mechanically, dreamingly, as if to the excitation of some other sense than sight, that of feeling, for instance. He went on lasciviously, for the sake of the pleasure to be bad."

Throughout the book, and after reading it, this is the picture that remains most persistently before the mental vision. It is supernaturally natural, and it seems to imply, too, a characteristic quality of Mr. Hewlett's mind. This unmoral and appreciative attitude toward cruelty and this unsensual sensuousness are certainly elements in the charm of certain stories of his.

Moreover, he quite persuades us that, as a slightly older boy, he saw a nymph in a brake. Many of us, no doubt, dimly believe that, in spite of science and common sense, such an experience might somehow, sometime, occur to us. If it did, it would happen in some such way as it happened to Mr. Hewlett. Here again we get the effect of vision rather than imagination, and we are impressed with that quality of a surprising reality whereby it always seems both less and more surprising than we would have anticipated. This faculty of day-dreaming (or of seeing the unsubstantial, as you choose to believe) seems to bear somewhat the same relation to Mr. Hewlett's art that Stevenson's power of dreaming by night bore to his.

But when, still in the form of veritable reminiscence, we are told of the supernatural behavior of a woman whose window faced the window of Mr. Hewlett's lodging in London—a woman who was by day the none too reputable wife of a cabman, but at night a fairy, who dropped from her window and floated away light as thistledown to supernatural revels —when we read of this we begin to feel that we have been tricked into a dissipation in credulity. So of the narrations which follow. The story of "Quidnunc," the messenger-boy who was really none other than Hermes, is a masterpiece in its way; the tale of the man who captured

a fairy which subsequently disappeared carrying his child with it—well, if these things are believable at all they are believable in Mr. Hewlett's version. If the sincere desire to be convinced which the author creates in us could materialize for us the unreal, we should all become seers after one perusal of *The Lore of Proserpine.* But unfortunately we feel a growing inclination to escape from the spell which the book casts upon us. It is as if we were being hypnotized against our will, or as if some strong opiate had been administered to us. After soothing us to pleasant reverie, the narrative produces at last a positive reaction of the nerves.

In philosophizing about the preternatural, Mr. Hewlett explains that spirits, not in themselves visible or tangible or audible, have physical qualities for us merely because they could in no other way become perceptible. When they are unseen they are not unreal, nor when they are seen are they really substantial. Analogously, if we may be permitted to speculate on the author's purpose in writing this strange book, we may conceive him as saying to us: "Such is the quality of my experience, such is the temper of my thought—of what I tend to believe. But if it were not clothed upon with a garment of apparent fact, you could not properly apprehend it."

Altogether, *The Lore of Proserpine* is a fascinating but a rather empty book. Unhappily, it does not ring quite true either as fiction or as subjective fact. Mr. Hewlett really appeals not merely to our imagination, but to our faith—to the highest emotion that poetry or religion knows—and we suspect that he does it rather wantonly. The trick seems hardly legitimate: we feel that we have been led to use a high faculty for a base purpose of amusement, and, if we take the book with the earnestness which it seems to demand, we shall feel at the end as if we had been engaged in some sort of delicate psychic debauch. But to whatever depth we look for truth in this narrative of Mr. Hewlett's we cannot fail to delight in the sweetness and rich suggestiveness of his style.

A Small Boy and Some Others. By Henry James. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Admitting heartily the genius of Henry James in his own peculiar and individual field, one cannot help feeling that the outstanding fact concerning his latest work, *A Small Boy and Some Others,* is that autobiography written Henry-James fashion is very teasing. Here we have, as in his novels, endless impressions, wonderful felicities of phrase, but no perspective, no apparent progress in time, little substantial reality for the mind to cling to. Undoubtedly there is a legitimate fascination in this fine mosaic of suggestions. The reader has now and then an experience like that of watching the development of a photographic plate. Of a sudden, a thing that seemed all meaningless blotches of light and shade, a mere glimmering surface spotted with shadows, is transformed magically into a familiar scene. This is a pleasure worth considerable effort—the pleasure which the mind takes in divining reality beneath perversely flashing and colorful impressions, as the eye divines distance and substance in flat surfaces. But in the end, since we are required to imagine practically all the reality for ourselves, the

strain upon the constructive faculty becomes rather too great. "Mild apparitionism" is the phrase that the author uses to characterize the images he calls up, and the phrase fits. We are haunted, throughout the book, with the atmosphere of old New York, but it never becomes appreciably thick; we are haunted by intimations of character as fragmentary as messages from the spirit world: we see, in short, the grin of the Cheshire Cat without the cat. Most disappointing of all, the youthful William James hovers through the narrative as the most illusory of ghosts.

We catch, indeed, here and there among the impressions, hints of active influences. Such an influence was evidently The Bookstore, which "enriched the brave depths of Broadway." Here, the author tells us, he became "prematurely poisoned"—infected, that is, with the virus of English associations. The place was "overwhelmingly and irresistibly English, as not less tonically English was our principal host there, with whom we had, moreover, my father and I, thanks to his office, such personal and genial relations that I recall seeing him grace our board at home, in company with his wife, whose vocal strains and complexion and coiffure and flounces I found none the less informing, none the less 'racial' for my not being then versed in the language of analysis." And the influence was strengthened by the conversational references of his parents to a happy time spent in and about London, creating, we gather, one of those vivid conceptions of the unknown.

Again we become clearly aware of a step in the author's development, in a passage describing a youthful attendance at a performance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—"where the point exactly was that we attended the spectacle just in order *not* to be beguiled, just in order to enjoy with ironic detachment, and, at the very most, to be amused ourselves at our sensibility, should it prove to have been trapped and caught."

There are, moreover, in the book some rather finely substantial descriptions of character—we catch a satisfactory glimpse of General Winfield Scott, and Thackeray fairly materializes before us for an instant none too long. No one can read the narrative without encountering some delightful realizations of feeling or point of view, as in the following scrap of child psychology, which has reference to a group of generally orphaned cousins: "I think my first childish conception of the enviable lot, formed amid these associations, was to be so little fathered or mothered, so little sunk in the short range, that the romance of life seemed to lie in some constant improvisation by vague overhovering authorities of new situations and horizons."

But in general the author's method is not such as to lead to pleasurable realizations. It seems, indeed, less sympathetic than dryly scientific, producing, by an inevitable process, impressions faint and painfully exact, without further aim or significance; so that in the end we are in the strange condition of not being able to tell what we have learned, or gained, by reading the book, without quoting it entire.

NOTE.—Through an inadvertence in the May issue of the REVIEW, Paul E. More's *The Drift of Romanticism*, VIII. Shelburne Essays, was noted as published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. It should read Houghton, Mifflin Company.

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To the Lost Friend. By Auguste Angellier. Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1913.

Justice and the Modern Law. By Everett V. Abbott. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Reflections of a Beginning Husband. By E. S. Martin. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913.

Home Life in Russia. By A. S. Rappoport. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Wilsam. By S. C. Nethersole. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Myself and I. By Fannie Stearns Davis. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Scientific Auction Bridge. By E. V. Shepard. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913.

The Price of Inefficiency. By Frank Koester. New York: Sturgis & Walton Company, 1913.

Harper Books for the Young Naturalists. By Alpheus Hyatt Verrill. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913.

The Problem of Christianity. Two volumes. By Josiah Royce. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Problems of Power. By William Morton Fullerton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

The Farmer of To-morrow. By Frederick Irving Anderson. New York: The Macmillan Company.

European Cities at Work. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

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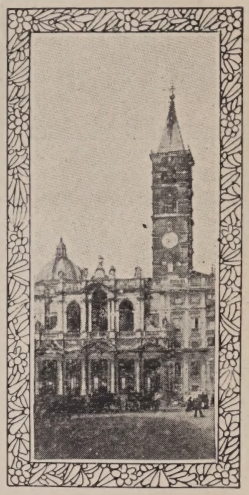

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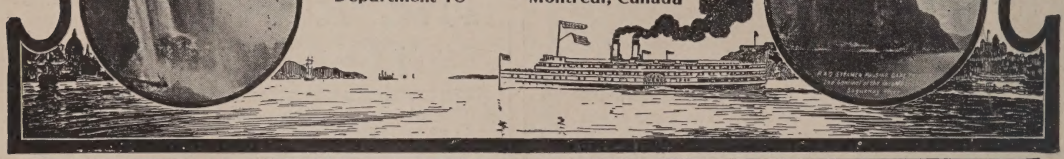

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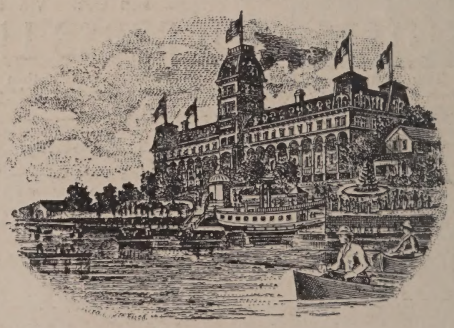

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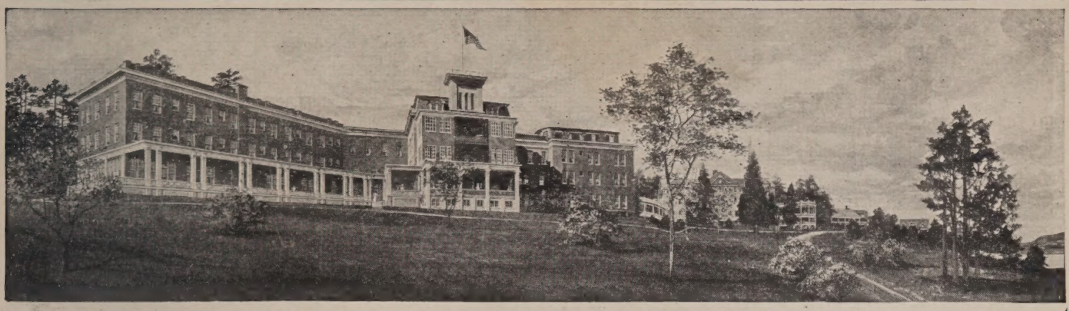

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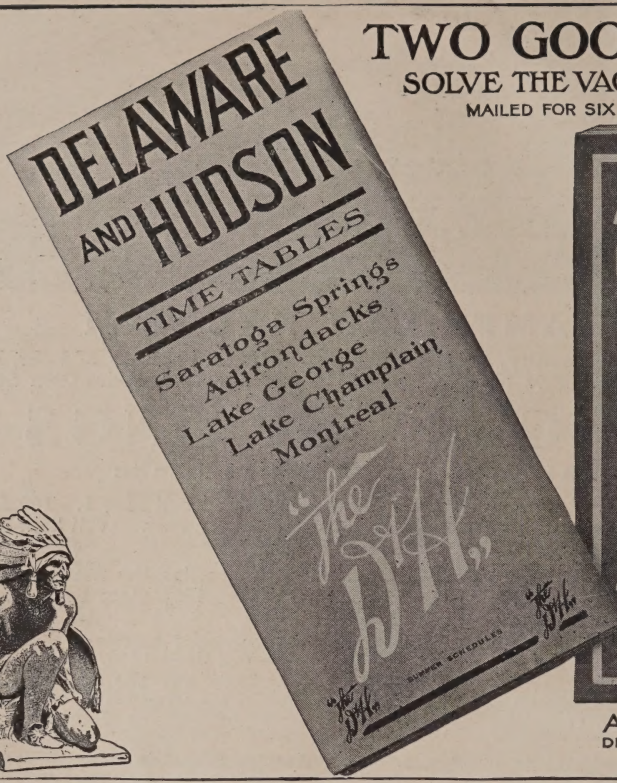

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